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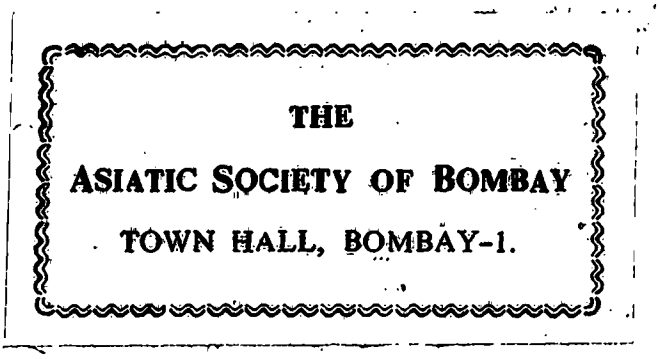

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THE HISTORY

OF

SCOTISH POETRY

BY DAVID IRVING, LL.D.

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF BUCHANAN," ETC. ETC.

EDITED BY

JOHN AITKEN CARLYLE, M.D.

WITH A MEMOIR AND GLOSSARY.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE manuscript of this HISTORY OF SCOTISH POETRY—written very neatly and distinctly—was put into my hands in December last. After due consideration, I recommended the publication of it—both because there is no other work of the kind, and because it contains a great deal of accurate and solid information, which, in addition to its present value, will be of essential use to any one who may hereafter attempt to treat the subject more completely and in a more modern form.

As to the Editorship, since no one else was ready to undertake it, I consented—chiefly from love of the subject and respect for the memory of the Author—to superintend the last proof-sheets, and very speedily got more deeply entangled in the business. A few words will suffice to state what has been attempted by me:—

The Text itself is printed exactly as it was left by the Author: from the outset all changes seemed perfectly hopeless—might swell or diminish the work, but could do it no good—for the whole of it is written with a deliberate and steadfast coherency and compactness.

The Poetical Extracts, in many cases, required a somewhat different treatment. The Author, though he possessed in his own private library all the careful and accurate editions of Old Scotish Poems published by Mr. Laing, had seldom made use of them; and it seemed absolutely necessary to remedy that defect by giving various improved readings from those editions. The quotations from Barbour and Winton and Henry the Minstrel needed no alteration. For the King's Quair, Mr. Laing

kindly allowed me to use his latest collations (made in 1860) from the only known MS. of that poem. The extracts from rare and sometimes unique volumes, in the Advocates Library, were always verified when anything seemed doubtful, and corrected if necessary.

Every addition of mine in the Text or Notes is enclosed in brackets; and in order to make the extracts more intelligible to diligent readers, a brief Glossary, occasionally illustrated by cognate words from the Anglo-Saxon and German and Old French, is given at the end of the volume.

J. A. C.

EDINBURGH, *15th June* 1861.

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MEMOIR OF DR. IRVING.

DAVID IRVING, LL.D., the author of the following work, is best known as the Biographer of George Buchanan. He was born in the town of Langholm, and county of Dumfries, on the 5th of December 1778. On the father's side, the Irvings for at least three generations had been farmers in Eskdale, and his mother, HELEN LITTLE, was one of eight daughters of Simon Little, also a farmer near Canonbie in the same pastoral district. His father, whose name was JANETUS IRVING, resided in Langholm, and was likewise engaged in trade; and being a man of substance was enabled to give his children a liberal education. He had four sons who attained to maturity. The eldest, SIMON IRVING, born in 1769, was brought up for business, and settled in London as a merchant, carrying on a Manchester warehouse, and was very successful, until at a later period, having engaged in farming on a large scale in Cornwall, in company with Mr. Hayter, his brother-in-law, he lost most of his property in the attempt to introduce the modes of farming in use in Scotland. He was a tall, handsome man, of prepossessing appearance, and died in 1850. The second son, JAMES, belonged to the medical profession, and was employed as surgeon in a merchant vessel, but died abroad, in the prime of life. The third son, JOHN, preferred remaining at home, assisting his father, and looking after the various fields, etc., which he had in lease in the neighbourhood of Langholm. He still survives at a very advanced

age. DAVID, the youngest son, received the rudiments of his education at the Grammar School of his native place, then conducted by John Telfer,[1] who, judging from the proficiency of his pupils, must have been a skilful and successful master. The subject of the present brief sketch had reached the age of fourteen or fifteen, before he commenced the study of the learned languages, with the ultimate view, it is supposed, of entering the ministry, a very common destination, at that time, for a younger son. Of his parents, Dr. Irving always spoke in the highest terms. His father, who died at an advanced age in April 1815, was greatly respected by all who knew him; and his mother, who died in August 1797, was possessed of superior mental powers, fond of reading, with a most retentive memory, qualities which her son possessed in no small degree. At this time, there was in New Langholm a private school, in which Latin and Greek were taught by a master named Andrew Little, who had lost his sight by lightning on the coast of Africa, when surgeon of a Liverpool vessel.[2] Here David Irving became a pupil, and laid the foundation of those classical attainments for which he was distinguished in after life. Little's powers in teaching the learned languages is further attested by another pupil, General Sir Charles W. Pasley, of the Royal Engineers, also a native of Langholm,[3] who, upon Dr. Irving's death, was kind enough to communicate his recollections of his class-fellows, which had lost none of the freshness of youth, and which are subjoined as an Appendix.[4] From the circumstance of the writer himself having so recently departed at the mature age of eighty, they will be read with additional interest as giving a lively picture of school-boy amusements in a retired country place. The town of Langholm, the scene of these juvenile ex-

[1] His name is ascertained from the Parochial Registers, in November 1788.

[2] Andrew Little was buried at Langholm on the 7th May 1803. (Parochial Registers.)

[3] Sir Charles Pasley died at London, on the 19th of April 1861. He was the author of the "Essay on the Military Policy, etc., of Great Britain," and other works, enumerated in Bohn's edition of Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual.

[4] See page xxiii.

ploits, is situated on the east bank of the river Esk ; the village known as New Langholm, having sprung up in the course of the last century, on the other side of the river, over which there is a substantial stone bridge. The inhabitants are chiefly engaged in manufactures, and the town itself is of no great antiquity, nor is it possessed of objects to attract attention, but "the adjacent country," as Dr. Irving, in one of his early works,[1] remarks, "affords an infinite variety of romantic scenes, such as a poet might delight to feign. It was here that Armstrong and Meikle began to listen to the whispers of fancy, and to store their minds with images and sentiments of genuine poetry." At a much later period, he recurs to the same theme,[2] and with no exaggerated estimate he says, "A more beautiful tract of pastoral country than that which extends about twelve miles along the banks of the river, it would not perhaps be very easy to mention."

But the course of events led the writer to forsake such scenes, and to spend the rest of a prolonged life in the heart of a city well suited for one pursuing a literary career. He came to Edinburgh in October 1796, to attend the philosophical classes of the University. Being then of a more mature age than usual for the younger students, and having advanced beyond the rudimentary elements of classical learning, he was prepared to enrol himself among the students of the second year's course of Greek and Latin, under Professors Dalzel and Hill. During the next two sessions, 1797-98 and 1798-99, he continued his attendance on Greek, and also the classes of Logic, Moral Philosophy, and Natural Philosophy, under Professors Finlayson, Dugald Stewart, and Playfair. About this time David Irving seems to have followed the example of many other advanced students intended for the ministry, who aided their limited resources, and in many instances secured their chance of preferment in the Church, by acting as private tutors. At least, in

[1] Life of Dr. W. Russell, in 1801.

[2] Art. Russell, in Encyclop. Britannica, 1839.

the list of Dr. Walker's class of Natural History, in the year 1799, we find—

"20. Ilay Campbell, Ph.S. (Philosophical student) son to the Receiver-General.

"21. David Irving, Ph.S., Langholm, his tutor."

In like manner, in 1798, John Leyden was so entered as tutor to the sons of Campbell of Fairfield.

Not long after David Irving's arrival in Edinburgh, he became acquainted with Dr. Robert Anderson, a native of Lanark, who, previously to the appearance of the Edinburgh Reviewers, was regarded as a literary dictator. In early life he had practised as a physician in Alnwick, Northumberland, but in taking up his residence in our metropolis, in 1784, he devoted himself wholly to literature. From that time he was in the habit of receiving at social tea-parties, in his house, Heriot's Bridge, Grassmarket (before he removed to Windmill Street), most of the young aspirants after literary distinction, who submitted their productions to his friendly criticism, and who were in many instances benefited by his kind exertions in their behalf. In this number may be reckoned Dr. John Leyden, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Murray, Dr. Thomas Brown, and Thomas Campbell. The latter acknowledged this by the dedication to him of "The Pleasures of Hope," in 1799; and, to those who were familiar with the circumstances, it was doubtful whether the poem itself would ever have appeared unless for the Doctor's advice and recommendation. In like manner, David Irving "gratefully inscribed" to Dr. Anderson his earliest performance, in 1799.[1] This was "The Life of Robert Fergusson, with a Critique on his Works." Encouraged by the offers of assistance in collecting information, he next prepared similar Lives of William Falconer, author of The Shipwreck, and of Dr. William Russell, well known by his History

[1] To the author of the "Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell," published in 1849, Dr. Irving communicated his recollections of the Poet, with copies of some interesting letters which were addressed to Dr. Anderson by Campbell, from Germany, in 1800.

of Modern Europe. The three lives were printed in a separate volume, with a dedication to Andrew Dalzel, Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh, dated from King James's College, 30th December 1800, in which he says—

"Sir,—The politeness with which you undertook to procure materials for the lives of Falconer and Russell, and the punctuality with which you have performed your promise, induce me to prefix your name to the following juvenile performance. Though for a long series of years your attention has been steadily directed towards the learning of ancient times, yet your unaffected zeal on the present occasion sufficiently demonstrates that you are not indifferent with regard to the lives and writings of any of your countrymen who, in an unpropitious situation, have manifested a laudable ambition of literary distinction."

Before this volume was published, the author was entitled to add A.M. to his name, having taken the degree of Master of Arts, 30th January 1801. As the next name in the roll of Graduates, 20th March 1802, is that of Matthew Irving, it may be noticed that, although school-fellows when at Langholm, they were not related. According to Sir Charles Pasley's Recollections, he "went to Cambridge, and took orders in the Church of England, and met with considerable preferment after having been tutor to Lord Camden's only son." In 1801 there also appeared the very useful and most successful of all Dr. Irving's publications, his "Elements of English Composition." He only claimed for it the merit of compilation, yet it may be esteemed a most meritorious and able work, showing great critical discernment for a youth who had scarcely yet completed his own academical studies. From the author's statement contained in the eighth edition, in 1828, of his not having had an opportunity to correct the previous editions, the errors had so multiplied as to render many passages altogether unintelligible, it may be inferred that he had disposed of the copyright, which then reverted into his own hands, and that the exertions of the publisher, Sir Richard Phillips, may have contributed to its success in having it introduced as a text-book in many English schools and private academies.

It has already been noticed that David Irving was originally destined for the ministry. There is, however, no evidence of his having entered the Divinity Hall, after he had completed his philosophical course; and the immediate cause of his changing his purpose is unknown. It is scarcely necessary to remark that such changes often occur, but the cases of two of his fellow-students may be mentioned. Dr. John Leyden, after he became a probationer, being disappointed in his expectations of a presentation to a parish church, hastily completed his medical studies, and took the degree of M.D. before setting out for the East; and having accompanied the Earl of Minto in his expedition to Java, for the purpose of acting as an interpreter, he died in the full vigour of his powers, in August 1811. The other was Dr. John Lee, the late venerable Principal of the University of Edinburgh, who, after taking his degree as Doctor of Medicine, entered the Church, and speedily obtained various preferments. In the session 1802-1803, Mr. Irving's name occurs as attending the class of Civil Law, and this probably contributed in giving his mind a bias towards his subsequent investigations connected with the history of ancient Jurisprudence. But he pursued his career as a literary biographer with unabated ardour, and in 1804 there appeared his "Lives of the Scotish Poets, with preliminary Dissertations on the Literary History of Scotland, and the early Scotish Drama." It was favourably received, yet its success was not remarkable, as, in 1810, the copies that remained unsold were re-issued, without the author's sanction, with a deceptive title, as a new edition.

In this work, an advertisement announced as preparing for publication, Memoirs of George Buchanan; and a MS. note, in his own hand, formally states, "On the twenty-third of May 1804, I began to direct all my attention towards the Life of G. Buchanan." In collecting his materials, he found it necessary to proceed to London, where he remained a considerable

time frequenting the libraries of the British Museum, of Sion College, and of Dr. Daniel Williams, in Red-Cross Street. The volume appeared in the year 1805, and secured for him the character of an accomplished scholar, and the friendship of such men as Principal Brown of Marischal College, Aberdeen, Professor Richardson of Glasgow, and Dr. John Hunter of St. Andrews; while in the year 1808, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him by Marischal College, Aberdeen. In the same year, having come forward as a candidate for the classical chair in the College of Belfast, these learned professors furnished him with testimonials in the highest terms for learning, research, and discrimination, as well as for his moral and religious principles; "but he withdrew his application on finding that this new institution was to be placed on a less liberal footing than had originally been expected."

The intimacy with Dr. Anderson's family eventually led to Dr. Irving's marriage with the eldest daughter, Anne Margaret Anderson, 1st June 1810; but she died in 1812, within a short time of the birth of their son Robert, who, in after life, manifested proofs of superior ability. Dr. Anderson himself, who survived till 1830, when he had attained his eightieth year, was an amiable, enthusiastic old man, and had by no means been an inactive labourer in the fields of literature. In proof of this may be mentioned his editions of the works of Smollet, Dr. John Moore, Dr. Grainger, and of Blair the author of The Grave; besides his life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, and above all his edition of the "Works of the British Poets, with prefaces Biographical and Critical, by Robert Anderson, M.D." London and Edinburgh, 1795, 14 vols. Southey, in an article in the Quarterly Review, pays a merited compliment to Anderson as "a thorough lover of poetry, indulgent to the artist for the sake of art," and in reference to his having included so many of the earlier English poets in that collection, says—"To good old Dr. Anderson the poets and the literature of this country are deeply beholden; it

is with great pleasure that we render this tribute of justice to him while he is living to receive it."[1] An account of his life was contributed by his son-in-law to the seventh edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica.

With the view of receiving into his house young gentlemen as pupils while attending the University, Dr. Irving resided first in No. 54, York Place, then No. 99, Princes Street; but he afterwards removed to No. 6, Meadow Place, where the rest of his days were spent with his own family.

While at the University, Mr. Irving's attention had been directed towards the Law, but beyond his preliminary studies he seems to have relinquished any plan of following it as a profession. For several years, however, he was employed in giving private instructions in the Civil Law to such of his pupils who proposed to pass their examinations for admission into the Faculty of Advocates. This led him to print a tract for private circulation, in 1815, entitled "Observations on the Study of the Civil Law." It was twice reprinted, in 1820 and 1823. At the end of the first edition there is announced as "Preparing for the Press, The History of the Roman Jurisprudence, by David Irving, LL.D." As this announcement was not repeated, he probably found little encouragement to proceed, while the materials may have been employed for his subsequent articles in the Encyclopædia, and his volume, "An Introduction to the Study of the Civil Law."

Soon after this, Dr. Irving devoted himself assiduously to preparing a new edition of his Memoirs of Buchanan. The work, so enlarged, and most carefully revised, was published at Edinburgh in 1817, by the late Mr. Blackwood, who had then commenced his enterprising career as a publisher. According to the author's statement, "These Memoirs have undergone such essential alterations, that this new edition may almost be considered as a new work."

[1] Quarterly Review, art. "Chalmers's English Poets," vol. xi. July 1814, p. 504.

Another event occurred which forms an important epoch in Dr. Irving's life. In March 1818, the office of Principal Librarian to the Faculty of Advocates became vacant; and that learned body, desirous of putting their Library, confessedly the first in Scotland, under a better system of management, held out a strong inducement for persons of learning or skill to apply for the situation. Among the various candidates who appeared, Dr. Irving was early in the field, but it was not till June 1820 that the election actually took place, when he was chosen by a considerable majority of votes. There prevailed strong party feelings at the time, on which it is not necessary to enlarge, except to remark, that it was alleged that the successful candidate was not possessed of the experience and practical habits essentially requisite to the discharge of the ordinary routine duties of such an office; and, doubtless, had he been fortunate enough to obtain academical preferment, such a position would have been much more congenial to his acquirements and peculiar turn of mind. But Dr. Irving having devoted himself assiduously to the care and improvement of the Library, the prejudice and party feelings alluded to in a great manner passed away. In reference, however, to his appointment, it appears from the Faculty Minutes on the 6th of July, that, "The Curators had signified their opinion that it would be for the benefit of the Library that Dr. Irving should avail himself of the offer made by Dr. Benecke, in his letter to Sir William Hamilton, to give the Librarian of the Faculty every aid in his power in getting acquainted with the management of the Göttingen Library, and that for that purpose Dr. Irving should pass the ensuing vacation at Göttingen: That this proposal is perfectly agreeable to Dr. Irving;" and was accordingly moved and agreed to, "That the Faculty approve of Dr. Irving passing, as proposed, the ensuing vacation at Göttingen." Having accordingly availed himself of such a favourable opportunity, Dr. Irving, during his visit to that seat of learning, became acquainted with many

of its eminent professors; and at a later period (in 1837) they sent him their own Diploma as Doctor of Laws.

This appointment was followed by another event which contributed in no small degree to the happiness of his subsequent life, Dr. Irving, on his return from Germany, having, on the 28th October 1820, a second time entered into the married state, by his marriage with his second cousin, Miss Janet Laing, daughter of Mr. Charles Laing, Canonbie, Dumfriesshire. But while he continued as Librarian to discharge with unremitting fidelity his official duties, he was still enabled to carry on his favourite pursuits by editing or contributing largely to the various publications which are specified in the subjoined list of works. In particular for the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, he was the Editor of several works, of which the most important was a republication of Dempster's "Historia Ecclesiastica sive De Scriptoribus Scotis." This was followed by the similar work of David Buchanan. He likewise, without undertaking the task of revising the text, wrote prefaces to the metrical Romance of Clariodus, the Tragedy of Philotus, and Henryson's Fables; having previously furnished Biographical Notices of Alexander Montgomery, author of The Cherrie and the Slae, to an edition of his Poems. The substance of these prefaces is engrossed in the present work. But a very important series of contributions at this period to literary history, consisted of his biographical articles which appeared in the seventh edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. To the Supplement of the sixth edition he had furnished a few articles; but when the property of this great national work was acquired by Mr. Adam Black and other partners, it was resolved to republish it under the superintendence of Professor Napier in a style, enlarged and improved, to which the previous editions could make no pretensions. Dr. Irving's aid was secured for nearly all the biographical articles connected with Scotland; in addition to the articles on Jurisprudence, Canon Law, Civil

Law, and Feudal Law. These contributions extended from 1830 to 1842; and from them he prepared his two volumes of "Lives of Scotish Writers," in 1839. In the preface to this work, he states that of the thirty-nine lives which it contained, twenty-seven had appeared in the Encyclopædia. "All the articles now republished," he adds, "have been carefully revised, and some of them have been much enlarged. It is almost superfluous to mention that the present work has no claim to be considered as a general collection of the literary biography of Scotland." The articles comprised in these two volumes display the author's learning and research to great advantage. Some of those withheld, such as Barbour, Dunbar, Henryson, Lyndsay, were reserved, as they formed chapters of the present History.

In 1837, Dr. Irving published his "Introduction to the Study of the Civil Law," professing to be the fourth edition. There were three editions of his "Observations," but this "Introduction" should rather be viewed as a new work. He had also previously devoted much time to preparing the "History of Scotish Poetry," which now solicits the public attention, as a posthumous work indeed, but one of too much importance to have been withheld. So early as 1828, he had announced it as preparing for the press.[1] Had the author himself lived to give it a final revisal, he might perhaps have availed himself of additional materials which have appeared during the last thirty years; but, upon mature consideration, it was deemed advisable to give the work to the public without alteration or addition; and it may safely be stated that the arduous task of revising the sheets while at press has been accomplished by the Editor with signal success.

In December 1848, in conformity with some private arrangements with the Curators of the Advocates' Library, Dr. Irving, with some reluctance, resigned his office as Keeper, after twenty-

[1] Advertisement subjoined to the eighth edition of his Elements of English Composition. Edinb. 1820.

nine years' most faithful and devoted service. From this period, he continued to lead rather a retired life, never having mixed much in general society; but seated in the midst of his own library, his love of literary research remained unabated, and he cheerfully rendered his friends any advice or assistance they required in such pursuits. The only separate work which he published was a new edition, with notes, of Selden's Table Talk, in 1854.

During the course of a long life, having always had a passion for books, Dr. Irving had collected a private library of no small extent, sufficient to occupy all the upper rooms in his house. It was natural, then, that the care with which he was accustomed to watch over the rarer books in the Advocates Library should be transferred to his own collection. In an obituary notice (by the Rev. Dr. Hanna) in the *Witness* newspaper on the day of his funeral, this is specially described, and the concluding passages may here be quoted. After alluding to Dr. Irving's feelings, when the ties connecting him with the Advocates Library were severed, the writer of the article referred to says—

"That attachment which had here suffered such a violence now transferred itself with all its force to his own private library, which he now nursed with double care. It grew beneath that care. He has left about 7000 volumes, all in the most perfect order, many of them rare and valuable,—altogether, one of the best private collections that our city contains. It was among these books he lived, and it was actually among them that he died. Every upper room in his house was clothed with book-shelves, his own among the rest. He lay upon his deathbed surrounded with them. Within a few hours of his decease, his eye chanced to rest upon a new edition of 'Whiston's Josephus' that he had lately added to his stores. He asked his daughter, who acted as his librarian, to hand him one of the volumes. He took it tenderly into his hands, turned it over and over again, regarding it with a placid and benignant look. He tried to open and to read it, but the feeble hands and eyes refused the office. It fell out of his hands upon the bed. His daughter took it up to replace it on the shelf. His quick eye followed her, and noticed that, in her haste, she had pushed it in too far. With something like impatience, he directed her to draw it out, and place it level with the rest. It was done as he directed, and he was pleased. It was his last earthly act.

"Like so many book-minded men, Dr. Irving mixed but little with general

society. He had too strong convictions, too decided tastes, too fixed habits, to have much facility in accommodating himself to the opinions, tastes, and habits of others, especially when these were such as he strongly disliked or disapproved. In such cases he was too honest not to say all he thought, and show all he felt. The outward roughnesses that he sometimes thus exposed to others he was at no pains to soften or conceal; but those who knew him best,—who knew him within the inner circle of home and friendship,—know what a true, kind, loving heart he had.

"What the religious scruples were which kept him from entering the Church at first we do not precisely know. Whatever they were, they were removed in after life. A sincere and intelligent receiver of the Christian Revelation, his faith in the Redeemer was devout and entire.

"At the period of the Disruption, he joined the Free Church; and in his death the Kirk-Session of Free St. John's has to mourn the removal of one who, for so many years, was its most aged and honoured member."

In connexion with the last paragraph of this extract it is scarcely necessary to add, that St. John's Free Church, which Dr. Irving joined in 1843, enjoys the joint pastoral superintendence of his eminent friends Dr. Guthrie and Dr. Hanna. In his earlier days he had belonged to the congregation of the Old Church, St. Giles, but he afterwards changed, first to the New Greyfriars, during the incumbency of the Rev. Dr. Muir, and then to St. Stephen's parish, acting for several years as one of the elders. Although confined to his house, by the increasing infirmities of age for nearly two years before his death, he enjoyed the full exercise of all his mental faculties, taking the usual interest in all passing events, his recollections as fresh and vigorous as ever, and his handwriting, always remarkable for great precision and elegance, unchanged. In his personal appearance, he was not less precise, adhering to full-dress costume, in black, which his large and comely figure set off to advantage. Even his mode of walking was somewhat characteristic. It is of more importance to add, in the words of an old friend (J. R. Macculloch, Esq.), who had long entertained for him the highest regard and respect, that "his independence, his integrity, and his learning were such as are very seldom indeed found combined in one individual."

After a few days' illness, Dr. Irving died on the 10th of May 1860, in the eighty-second year of his age. He was interred in the new cemetery of the Grange; the funeral being attended by many of his old friends and neighbours, some of the former coming from a considerable distance to pay him the last tribute of respect. His family by the second marriage consisted of two sons and two daughters; James, the eldest son, after pursuing the study of medicine, has been a surgeon in the East India Company's service in Bengal, since 1846. The second son, David, who was an Ensign in the 17th Regiment of Native Infantry, died in Sinde, at the early age of twenty-one, on the 2d of August 1845.

As an Author, Dr. Irving in all his works exhibits no common degree of learning and research, combined with great clearness and precision of language, along with critical sagacity and minute accuracy in his statements. His research did not lead him to any laborious examination of unpublished sources of information, his faculty lay rather in availing himself of all that had previously been discovered, for which he was so well qualified by his familiar acquaintance with the standard literature both of ancient and modern times. His critical knowledge of ancient authors and of literary history has seldom been equalled in this country. But these qualities, and the care bestowed in the choice of words and the construction of his sentences, have imparted a certain degree of formality to his style. As a learned, accurate, and successful labourer in the field of literary biography, it is not, however, too much to assert, that DR. IRVING'S name will always be remembered in Scotland; and the present work, it is hoped, will contribute to his reputation.

DAVID LAING.

NARRATIVE FROM RECOLLECTION

OF THE EARLY LIFE OF MY FRIEND THE LATE DR. IRVING:

BY THE LATE GENERAL SIR CHARLES W. PASLEY, K.C.B., ROYAL ENGINEERS.

I FIRST became acquainted with David Irving about the year 1786, when I was a small boy, boarding with Miss Easton, then postmistress at Langholm, who, with a motherly affection and care, prevented me from going out after dark, whilst battles were going on between the boys of Langholm and the new town, or, as they were called, the Langholmers and the Mucklehowmers. The combatants were separated by a bridge over the Esk, by which sometimes the enemy made incursions into Langholm, but more usually the Langholmers were the invaders. David Irving, who was some years older than I, and whose father's house was not far from the bridge, was the commander of the Langholm boys; and after I had become a pupil of a school in the new town, kept by Mr. Andrew Little—who had lost his sight by lightning on the coast of Africa, when surgeon of a Liverpool vessel, by whom I was taught Latin, Greek, and French,—as I always had a strong military turn, and delighted in a History of Sir William Wallace in rhyme, and in Barbour's History of King Robert Bruce, and a book entitled "The Warlike Achievements of the Scottish Nation,"—after I had made some progress in Latin, I wrote a history of the wars of Langholm in that language, in imitation of the style of Livy, in which David Irving was the leader in most of the battles. But on one occasion, when he was not present, the enemy penetrated into Langholm as far as the Lake, a small pond near the waterside; but when the hostile armies were about to engage, it was agreed that the war should be decided by a single combat between the generals, the mother of one of whom, a Langholm woman, put an end to further hostilities, and drove her own son home before her.

On another occasion, when the Langholmers, by a sudden inroad, carried everything before them, and were throwing stones at the fugitives, a pane of glass was broken in the window of a householder in the new town, who, rushing out, put the whole army to flight, and drove them over the bridge into their own territories.

Though I had thus made David Irving the hero of my first and only history, I did not know much of him until he joined Mr. Andrew Little's school,

having determined—I should think at the age of 15, several years later than was then usual in Eskdale—to study the learned languages; after which we became very intimate.

About this time he formed a regiment, for so it was called, though only consisting of 40 or 50 boys from 10 to 12 or 13 years of age, of whom I was one, armed with sticks, whom he drilled on the kiln-green, on the other side of the Ewes; and one of his soldiers, who had deserted, was tried and punished, but with no great severity. On one occasion a grown-up man, who officiated behind the counter of one of the numerous merchants of Langholm, having the presumption to treat our manœuvres with ridicule, he was charged by the whole regiment, with the gallant colonel at its head, and put to flight in a moment.

Thomas Scott, a young man about 23 years of age, also joined Mr. Little's school about the same time, and commenced the study of classics. Having composed a tragedy in tolerably smooth blank verse, which I thought below mediocrity, on the strength of it he commenced a correspondence with Burns, who put an immediate end to it by a copy of verses, in which he treated his pretensions as a brother poet with great contempt, alluding also to his former trade (of a tailor), which, on the Scotish Border, is considered much inferior to the occupations of a shepherd or a ploughman,—in which two poets not unworthy of the name, also stimulated by Burns's example, did honour to Eskdale. The first, who in his boyhood was a herd in summer, but went to school in winter, afterwards became a mason, and set up his father's humble monument, the work of his own hands, in Westerkirk churchyard, with an inscription, in which he designated him as a blameless shepherd, probably from having read of the "blameless Ethiopians" in Pope's Homer, —for, like Allan Ramsay's gentle shepherd, "On the braes he crack't wi' kings,"—first attracted notice by a poem on Eskdale. I allude to the afterwards celebrated Thomas Telford,[1] who was almost self-educated, and raised himself by his talents and industry, with very little patronage or encouragement, to a high reputation and extensive employment as an engineer, and was elected the first president of the Institution of Civil Engineers. The other was William Park, ploughman or farm-servant to the minister of Eskdalemuir, author of "The Vale of Esk, and other Poems," published by W. Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1833, of which I particularly admire his Ode to Poverty—a state from which he never emerged,—breathing that high spirit and national pride that I hope will ever distinguish the Scotish peasantry.

The other school-fellows, beside David Irving, with whom I was most intimate, were Matthew Irving, of a different family, who went to Cambridge and took orders in the Church of England, and met with considerable preferment, after having been tutor to Lord Camden's only son, and Josiah Stewart, who afterwards went to Edinburgh College, and became a tutor in a gentleman's family, through whose interest he afterwards obtained a com-

[1] A copy of this juvenile production, entitled "Eskdale, a Descriptive Poem," will be found in the Life of Thomas Telford, written by himself, containing a Descriptive Narrative of his Professional Labours, etc. Edited by John Rickman, one of his Executors; with a Preface, Supplement, Annotations, and Index. Published in London, 1838.

mission in the service of the East India Company, in which he distinguished himself.

In 1792 there was a strong, though not general, revolutionary feeling in Langholm, in which a number of men, with as many fowling-pieces as they could collect, assembled and drank success to the French Convention, after which toast they fired in the air, and lighted a bonfire, of which, from their pronunciation of the word, the boys believed that bones made a necessary ingredient, and as this happened at mid-day, I went with others, some time beforehand, about a mile out of the town, to drag the skeleton of a horse to the spot. After their sort of *feu-de-joie*, the same men had a dinner, at which it was reported that more seditious toasts than the above were drunk, in consequence of which, Stewart's father, who was one of the ringleaders, was tried and imprisoned for some time in Dumfries.

At this time there was a great difference of opinion amongst Mr. Little's scholars, David and Matthew Irving both being strenuous Royalists, but Josiah Stewart, influenced by his father, took the opposite side of the question, and so did I, from the impression made upon me by the Latin authors, and by a translation of *Plutarch's Lives*, as well as by the perusal of many spirited English poems in praise of liberty.

After the revolutionary movement in Langholm, that has been described, Sir William Maxwell of Springkell, came over from Annandale, and convened a meeting of the inhabitants of Langholm and the neighbourhood in the church, which I attended, sitting in my usual seat in the loft, and after making an appropriate speech, he called upon the men present to sign a declaration of loyalty, and of their readiness to arm in defence of their king and country; on which I saw David Irving, whom I had not observed before, step forward amongst the first, if not the very first, to sign the book, with an air of zeal and decision, though he could not have been much more than fifteen or sixteen at that time, upon which I have often thought with admiration since. Soon after this, the atrocities of the French Republic, their declaration of war against this country, and their threats of invasion, disgusted Josiah Stewart and myself with French liberty.

In the winter of 1794, I was sent to school at Selkirk, where three of my cousins, William and Charles Malcolm, and Thomas Little of Langholm, had been domiciled some time before as boarders, with Mr. Porter, who had previously been the tutor of the Malcolms at Burnfoot. After remaining more than a year, I was sent back to Langholm at the summer vacation of 1795, the two Malcolms being removed at the same time, one to Glasgow, and the other being sent to sea; and next year I was sent to London, having obtained a cadetship at Woolwich Academy, which I joined in August 1796.

During this interval I was again a school-fellow of David Irving, and our friendship was never interrupted by any differences, such as had occurred before I went to Selkirk, owing to the impetuosity of both leading to disputes, which, though rare, were violent at the moment, but soon over. On one occasion, for example, when David Irving was forming a little garden on a small rock in a deep pool, below the first arch of the bridge on the Lang-

holm side, for which we carried over mould and plants in a little boat, I was mortally offended by something he said or did, but dissembling my anger, I went over with a cargo in the boat, which could only take one person conveniently, and forgetting, in my passion, that wood would not sink, I suddenly started up, and stamping with my feet, I succeeded in filling the boat with water, in hopes that it would go to the bottom, and plunging into the river swam to the other side, pelted by a shower of stones from my fellow-labourers, who soon recovered the boat in a shallow below the pool.

On our parting in 1796, David Irving, who might be eighteen or nineteen, was taller and stronger than most men, and no one could compete with him either at a running leap, or at hop-step-and-jump.

When I returned home in 1807, after eighteen years' foreign service in the Mediterranean, I found that John Stewart, the father of my school-fellow, a man of great energy, had become a loyal subject after the war broke out, and had served as a sergeant in the Dumfries militia. After seeing my friends in Eskdale, I went to Edinburgh in March of that year, where I found David Irving established, and invited him and all my other Eskdale friends to dinner, which, after so long an absence, proved a very pleasant party, in which Irving, who was evidently looked up to by all the others, made himself very agreeable. Captain Birch, a distinguished brother officer and particular friend of mine, whom I met there after an absence of six years, was also present.

C. W. PASLEY,
Lieut.-General R. Engineers.

12, Norfolk Crescent, London,
May 15, 1860.

LIST OF WORKS PUBLISHED BY DR. IRVING.

1. The LIFE OF ROBERT FERGUSSON, with a Critique on his Works. Glasgow, printed by Chapman and Lang, 1799. 12mo, pp. 44.

   The Poetical Works of Robert Fergusson, with the Life of the Author. By David Irving. Glasgow, printed by and for Chapman and Lang. 1800. 12mo, pp. 30 and pp. 193.

2. LIVES OF SCOTISH AUTHORS, viz., Fergusson, Falconer, and Russell. By David Irving, A.M. Edinburgh, printed by J. Pillans and Sons, for A. Constable, 1801. 12mo, pp. 129. With a portrait of William Russell, LL.D., Dighton, del.; D. Lizars, sculpt.

3. ELEMENTS OF ENGLISH COMPOSITION; treating of Purity, Propriety, and Precision of Style; of Synonymous Words; of the Structure of Sentences; of Clearness and Precision, Unity, Strength, and Harmony in the Structure of Sentences; of Figurative Language in general, of Personification, Apostrophe, Hyperbole, Comparison, Metaphor, and Allegory. London, Richard Phillips, 1801. 12mo.

   The Elements of English Composition. The eighth edition, corrected and enlarged. Edinburgh, John Boyd, 1828, small 8vo, pp. 358. The same, 12th edition, Edinburgh, 1858, small 8vo.

4. THE LIVES OF THE SCOTISH POETS; with Preliminary Dissertations on the Literary History of Scotland, and the early Scotish Drama. By David Irving, A.M. Edinburgh, printed by and for Alexander Lawrie & Co. 1804. 2 vols. 8vo. Inscribed, "To Mr. Simon Irving these volumes are inscribed in testimony of the Author's fraternal affection. Edinburgh, Nov. 10, 1803." Copies of this work were afterwards issued as a new edition, with a false title-page, as follows:—

   The Lives of the Scotish Poets, etc. "By David Irvine, L.L.D. Edinburgh, published by Oliver & Boyd, Netherbow, 1810." A portrait of Burns, and another of Ramsay, wretchedly engraved, are prefixed; the dedication and two leaves of corrections being cancelled.

   Other copies have the titles reprinted, giving the author's name in its correct form, "David Irving, LL.D.," adding "Second edition, improved. London, printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme; Cadell & Davies, 1810," but varying in no other respect.

5. MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF GEORGE BUCHANAN. Edinburgh, printed for Bell & Bradfute, and A. Lawrie, 1807. 8vo, pp. 318.
Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan. The second edition. Edinburgh, printed for William Blackwood. 1817. 8vo, pp. 435.

6. A MEMORIAL OF ANNE MARGARET ANDERSON, the Wife of David Irving, LL.D. Edinburgh, printed by A. Balfour, 1813. 8vo, pp. 17. Printed for private circulation. This Memorial, in the form of a letter to Principal Brown, Aberdeen, 16th August 1812, is followed by Verses which had been addressed to Miss Anderson by Dr. Leyden, Dr. A. Murray, J. S., and David Carey.

7. OBSERVATIONS ON THE STUDY OF THE CIVIL LAW. By David Irving, LL.D. Edinburgh, printed by A. Balfour, 1815. 8vo, pp. 31.
Observations, etc. Edinburgh, printed for David Brown, 1820. 8vo, pp. 40.
Observations, etc. The Third Edition. Edinburgh, printed by Oliver and Boyd, 1823. 8vo, pp. 78. Dedicated to Gustavus Hugo, LL.D., Professor of Civil Law in the University of Göttingen. This work was afterwards greatly enlarged, and published, with the same dedication to Dr. Gustaf Hugo, under this title:—
An Introduction to the Study of the Civil Law. By David Irving, LL.D. The Fourth Edition. London, A. Maxwell, 1837. 8vo, pp. 284. In the Appendix, the author inserts two articles on the Civil Law which he had contributed to the *Foreign Quarterly Review*.

8. TABLE-TALK: BEING THE DISCOURSES OF JOHN SELDEN, ESQ.; or his Sense of various matters of weight and high consequence, relating especially to Religion and State. Edinburgh, printed for Fairbairn and Anderson, 1819. 12mo, pp. xxii. 204.
The Table-Talk of John Selden: with Notes by David Irving, LL.D. Edinburgh, Thomas Constable & Co. 1854. Demy 8vo, pp. xl. 247. In this edition many of the notes have been enlarged, and the preface extended from 9 to 25 pages.

9. THE POEMS OF ALEXANDER MONTGOMERY: with Biographical Notices by David Irving, LL.D. Edinburgh, printed by James Ballantyne & Co., for W. & C. Tait, 1821. Post 8vo, pp. xxix. 319.

10. THOMÆ DEMPSTERI HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA GENTIS SCOTORUM, SIVE DE SCRIPTORIBUS SCOTIS. Editio altera, Edinburgi, 1828-29. 2 vols. 4to. Printed for the Bannatyne Club.

11. CLARIODUS; a Metrical Romance. Printed from a Manuscript of the Sixteenth Century. Edinburgh, 1830. 4to. Presented by Edward Pyper, Esq., to the Maitland Club.

12. The Moral Fables of Robert Henryson. Reprinted from the edition of Andrew Hart. Edinburgh, 1832. 4to. Presented by Duncan Stewart, Esq., to the Maitland Club.

13. Philotus; a Comedy. Reprinted from the edition of Robert Charteris. Edinburgh, 1835. 4to. Presented by John W. Mackenzie, Esq., to the Bannatyne Club.

14. Davidis Buchanani de Scriptoribus Scotis Libri duo, nunc primum editi. Edinburgi, 1837. 4to. Edited for the Bannatyne Club.

15. Lives of Scotish Writers. Edinburgh, Adam and Charles Black, 1839. 2 vols. post 8vo.

16. History of Scotish Poetry. Edinburgh, 1861. 8vo. Now published.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTISH POETRY.

CHAPTER I.

THE infancy of literature, like the infancy of man himself, must invariably be feeble. If any particular branch of it should seem to have arrived at sudden maturity, the wonder must rather be apparent than real: Nature pursues a course that is uniform in the midst of all its varieties; nor can we reasonably suppose the writer who recorded the divine tale of Troy to have been the earliest of the Greeks who cultivated heroic poetry.

The history of Scotish poetry does not ascend to a very remote era: it is the poetry of one subdivision of a nation, neither remarkable for its antiquity, nor comprehending any considerable extent of population. In all attempts to estimate the intellectual merits of any particular people, it is of some consequence to recollect their number;—for it certainly would not be reasonable to expect that Scotland, Denmark, and Island should exhibit the same height or variety of literary excellence as Italy, France, and England. A dialect of the Celtic language, which was once so widely disseminated in Europe, is still vernacular in nearly one-half of this kingdom. Those who speak the Celtic tongue do not, indeed, amount to one-third of the inhabitants; but from this distribution of the soil, it is evident that the successful cultivators of Scotish poetry were by no means few in proportion to the number of the people who spoke the Scotish language.

The history of Celtic poetry in Scotland has been invested with a false brilliancy, which time is gradually impairing. The

poems ascribed to Ossian, whatever may be their intrinsic merit, have been chiefly admired as the productions of a remote age, and of a nation which, if not utterly barbarous, was, at all events, very imperfectly civilized; and when this charm of antiquity is completely dissolved, they cannot be perused with the same degree of enthusiasm. We are required to believe that these poems were composed in the third century; that they were composed by the son of a certain Caledonian hero, named Fingal; and that, by means of oral tradition, they were delivered by one generation to another for the space of nearly fifteen hundred years. If this account could be received as authentic, if these poems could be regarded as genuine, they must be classed among the most extraordinary efforts of human genius. That a nation so rude in other arts, and even unacquainted with the use of letters, should yet have carried the most elegant of all the arts to so high a degree of perfection, would not only be sufficient to overturn every established theory, but would exceed all the possibilities of rational assent. But if we could suppose an untaught barbarian capable of combining the rules of ancient poetry with the refinements of modern sentiment,[1] one difficulty is indeed removed; but another difficulty, scarcely less formidable, still remains—By what rare felicity were many thousand verses, only written on the frail tablet of the memory, to be safely transmitted through fifty generations of mankind? If Ossian could compose epic poems on the same model as Homer, how was it possible for them to preserve their original texture through the fearful vicissitudes of nearly fifteen centuries? A series of verses, not exceeding the length of an ordinary ballad, may certainly float

[1] Dr. Blair, a firm believer in the genuineness of the poems attributed to Ossian, has described them in the following terms:—"There we find the fire and the enthusiasm, of the most early times, combined with an amazing degree of regularity and art. We find tenderness, and even delicacy of sentiment, greatly predominant over fierceness and barbarity. Our hearts are melted with the softest feelings, and at the same time elevated with the highest ideas of magnanimity, generosity, and true heroism." (Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, p. 11. Lond. 1763, 4to.) According to Macpherson himself, the original "contains what is beautiful in simplicity, and grand in the sublime." (Dissertation concerning the Antiquity, etc., of the Poems of Ossian, p. xvi., prefixed to Fingal. Lond. 1762, 4to.) Gray makes the subsequent allusion to these poems, which he evidently considers as genuine: "He would there see that imagination dwelt many hundred years ago, in all her pomp, on the cold and barren mountains of Scotland." (Works, vol. ii. p. 411. Mitford's edit.)

upon the memory of a people for several ages; though it is evident that many changes must be successively introduced, and that every age will be apt to assimilate such traditionary verses to its own peculiar standard; so that the plan, and perhaps the spirit of a poem, may remain the same, when its diction and phraseology have been subjected to essential transformations. But it is utterly incredible that such poems as Fingal and Temora, consisting each of several thousand lines, were thus transmitted from the supposed age of Ossian to the age of Macpherson. The difficulty of accounting for the transmission of the Iliad and Odyssey, has been strongly urged by some modern critics. The entire history of these ancient poems has been placed in a very striking light by Wolf, who, after discussing the subject with much learning, and with ingenuity superior to his learning, arrives at the conclusion, that those productions which bear the name of Homer, were composed by different poets and in different ages, and were not committed to writing till the time of the Pisistratidæ;[1] so that the venerable name of Homer thus remains, while his individual character is completely annihilated. These bold opinions, though rejected by some of the ablest critics of the present age,[2] have been widely disseminated, and particularly in the

[1] Dr. Bentley had previously remarked, that Homer "wrote a sequel of songs and rhapsodies, to be sung by himself for small earnings and good cheer, at festivals and other days of merriment: the Ilias he made for the men, and the Odysseïs for the other sex. These loose songs were not collected together in the form of an epic poem till Pisistratus's time, above five hundred years after." (Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free-Thinking, p. 26, edit. Camb. 1743, 8vo.) According to another computation, the interval only extended to about three centuries and a half. (See Heyne's Excursus de Iliade universe, et de ejus Partibus, Rhapsodiarumque Compage, tom. viii. p. 807-10.) This learned and able writer makes one averment, which can scarcely be called in question: "Vidimus fide historica destitui quicquid de Homero traditum est." After examining all the professed lives of Homer, beginning with that ascribed to Herodotus, and descending to that written by Blackwell, many readers may be apt to imagine that they have been engaged in pursuing a shadow. Respecting the country of Homer, Leo Allatrius, a modern Greek, has composed a treatise of three hundred pages. (De Patria Homeri. Lugduni, 1640, 8vo.) But the historical result of all his disquisitions might very easily be comprised in three lines. Of the earliest era of Greek poetry, some very able views may be found in the publication of a young philologer of the highest promise: "Orpheus Poetarum Græcorum antiquissimus: auctore Georgio Henrico Bode." Gottingæ, 1824, 4to In this work, p. 6, he mentions his intention of preparing a General History of Greek Poetry, distributed into different periods, and written in the German language.

[2] Among this number we may class Ruhnkenius and his excellent biographer, Wyttenbach. (Vita Davidis Ruhnkenii: Opuscula, tom. i. p. 725. Lugd. Bat. 1821, 2 tom. 8vo.) Knight arrives at the conclusion, that the Iliad must have been the production of an earlier poet than the Odyssey; but he is very far from being inclined to adopt Wolf and

universities of Germany. Between the case of Homer and that of Ossian there is some analogy, but no very close resemblance :[1] the state of the respective countries in which they are supposed to have flourished was widely different; the Greek poems were never supposed to have been abandoned to the oral tradition of fifteen centuries; nor is it so certain that at the period to which they are referred, the art of writing was unknown to the inhabitants of Greece. It is no longer pretended that any Gaelic poetry has been preserved in early manuscripts; and indeed the period when Gaelic can be traced as a written language is comparatively modern. That many poems, and fragments of poems, were preserved in the Highlands of Scotland, cannot however be doubted; and it is sufficiently ascertained, that Macpherson was assiduously employed in collecting such popular reliques, some of which had perhaps existed for many ages.[2] From the materials which he had thus procured, he appears to have fabricated the various works which he delivered to the public under the name of Ossian,[3] and afterwards to have adjusted the Gaelic by the English text. He thus exhibited many strains of genuine poetry, which he himself was apparently incapable of producing. With respect to the poet

Heyne's theory of a great multiplicity of poets. "Feracia maximorum ingeniorum præter omnem naturæ rationem modumque fuisse ea secula oportet, quæ tot greges poetarum enutrirent, quorum quilibet carmina ejusmodi effuderit, quæ nemo omnium gentium postea per tria millia annorum æmulari posset, neque nisi unus aut alter probabiliter imitari." (Prolegomena in Homerum, p. 7.)

[1] "Nolo Homerum, *i.e.*, antiqua carmina Ionum, comparare cum Ossiani carminibus Celticis, quæ tamen nec unius ætatis nec genuina nobis tradita esse puto." (Wolfii Prolegomena ad Homerum, § xlix. Halis Saxonum, 1795, 8vo.)

[2] Dr. Young, the late accomplished Bishop of Clonfert, who, in the year 1784, collected various fragments of Gaelic poetry, has made the following remarks: "Mr. Macpherson is by many supposed to be the sole and original author of the compositions which he has published as translations of the works of Ossian; this charge I am enabled to refute, at least in part, having fortunately met with the originals of some of them. Mr. Macpherson, I acknowledge, has taken very great liberties with them; retrenching, adding, and altering as he judged proper: but we must admit that he has discovered great ingenuity in these variations." (Ancient Gaelic Poems respecting the Race of the Fians: Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. i. Antiq. p. 43.)

[3] "But the Committee has not been able to obtain any one poem the same in title and tenor with the poems published by him. It is inclined to believe that he was in use to supply chasms, and to give connexion, by inserting passages which he did not find, and to add what he conceived to be dignity and delicacy to the original composition, by striking out passages, by softening incidents, by refining the language, in short, by changing what he considered as too simple, or too rude for a modern ear, and elevating what in his opinion was below the standard of good poetry." (Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, appointed to inquire into the Nature and *Authenticity* of the Poems of Ossian, p. 152. Edinb. 1805, 8vo.)

whom he professes to translate, the traditions of Ireland have represented him as a native of that country,[1] and his history is involved in impenetrable obscurity. His name seems to have absorbed all the good poetry that lingered on the stream of popular tradition: the success of Macpherson, which greatly surpassed all expectation, could not fail to produce similar attempts; but no other translator of Gaelic verses had much reason to congratulate himself on his profits or reputation. The poems of Ossian, the son of Fingal, were received with enthusiastic admiration in all the learned countries of Europe: they have been translated not only into the French and Italian, but even into the Danish[2] and Polish languages; but their highest celebrity seems at present to be confined to Germany, where many different versions have appeared.

Such is the vague and unauthentic history of ancient Celtic poetry in Scotland. The Celtic language is supposed to have been originally spoken in every district of the kingdom; nor has it been found an easy task to account for the introduction of a Gothic dialect, bearing a very close affinity to English. That the Scotish language is merely a dialect of the English,

[1] Baron Harold, an Irish officer in the service of a German prince, tried the experiment of an Irish Ossian, but his success does not appear to have been very brilliant. This work was published both in English and German. "Poems of Ossian, lately discovered by Edmond Baron de Harold, Colonel-Commander of the Regiment of Königsfeld," etc. Düsseldorf, 1787, 8vo. "Neuentdeckte Gedichte Ossians, übersetzt von Freiherr von Harold, General-Major," v. s. w. Düsseldorf, 1798, 8vo. This latter publication bears *zweite Auflage;* but it seems to be a first edition with a new title. Dr. Warner, an Englishman, had at an earlier period maintained the Irish origin of Ossian's poetry, as well as of his heroes. "I must beg leave to be of opinion," he remarked, ". . . that all the famous champions, Cuchullin, Fingal, Ossian, Oscar, etc., were absolutely Irish heroes; and that it is extremely probable—though I suspend my judgment upon that article—that all the poems in their original composition were fables finely imagined, and inimitably executed by an old Irish bard." (Remarks on the History of Fingal, and other Poems of Ossian, by Ferdo. Warner, LL.D., p. 80. Dublin, 1762, 12mo.) See likewise Dr. Campbell's Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland, p. 177. Dublin, 1789, 8vo.

[2] Ossian has been repeatedly translated into the Danish language; and Professor Magnusen has lately published a copious explanation of some passages in his poems, chiefly such as relate to the Scandinavian mythology. His work bears the title of "Forsög til Forklaring over nogle Steder af Ossians Digte, mest vedkommende Skandinaviens Hendenold." Kiöbenhavn, 1814, 8vo. He soon afterwards published a second tract, intended as a sequel to the first: "Om Picternes og deres Navns Oprindelse." Kiöbenh. 1817, 8vo. In their reverence for Ossian, the Swedes do not seem to be inferior to the Danes. Gustavus Rosén wrote an academical dissertation, which begins thus: "Instituimus comparationem inter par poëtarum, Eoi alterum, alterum Septemtrioni ortum insigne decus ac ferme prodigium." (Comparatio Homeri et Ossiani. Upsaliæ, 1792, 4to.) This writer quotes a dissertation which I have not seen: "S. B. Lindblom in Dissert. de Poematis Ossian."

seems indeed to be the more prevalent opinion; and this foreign speech is supposed to have been gradually adopted by our Pictish ancestors, who are at the same time described as a people of Celtic origin. The ancient history of every race of men which is possessed of no ancient records, and which has not attracted much attention from its enlightened neighbours, must ever be involved in doubt and uncertainty. In the present instance, we have little to guide our inquiries, besides a few scattered and contradictory notices, added to the ordinary and well-ascertained progress of human speech. When other records fail, the history of a nation may be often traced in the history of its language; and a very moderate degree of reflection will enable us to determine the probability of a Celtic people unlearning its native tongue, and from deliberate choice adopting another speech completely and radically different.

Dr. Geddes, in a Dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon Dialect, has strenuously maintained this extraordinary opinion, which has likewise been adopted by a more recent writer, possessing no portion of his acuteness or learning.[1] "The names," it is stated, "of all the rivers, mountains, towns, villages, and castles, of any note or antiquity, from Berwick-law to Buchanness, and from Buchanness to Arder-Sier, are all evidently Celtic. We must, then, either suppose that the language of the Picts was a dialect of the Celtic; or that they were not the original inhabitants of the country; or, in fine, that, after the extinction of the Pictish empire, or rather its union with the Irish-Scots, the language of these latter universally prevailed, and effaced the very remembrance of its Gothic predecessor. The second of these suppositions is contrary to history; the third is belied by experience; the first, then, is the only one that is founded on probability."[2] This observation, with re-

[1] Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i. p. 214. The same opinion is likewise maintained by Ritson, Annals of the Caledonians, Picts, and Scots, and of Strathclyde, Cumberland, Galloway, and Murray, vol. i. p. 120. Edinb. 1828, 2 vols. 8vo. In a critical notice of this posthumous publication, inserted in the Quarterly Review for July 1829, Sir Walter Scott zealously espoused the Celtic theory. (Miscellaneous Prose Works, vol. xx. p. 301. Edinb. 1834-6, 28 vols. 16mo.) But in attempting to expose the errors and inconsistencies of Pinkerton, he appears to have committed not a few himself; and these were very fully detected by Dr. Jamieson, in an elaborate article to be found in the Westminster Review, vol. xvi. p. 125.

[2] Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. i. p. 408.

spect to the prevalence of Celtic names, though too strongly stated, is not entirely without foundation; but all terms that are Celtic are not necessarily Gaelic, and we are assured that many of these names are of a Cumraig or Welsh origin. Such a fact as this directs our attention to a different race of Celts: that Scotland was originally peopled by a colony of Cumri, an able writer has shown to be extremely probable;[1] and probability is the only evidence of which so dark a subject appears susceptible. The wandering Celts had, at a very remote era, spread their various tribes over a great portion of Europe; and in many places they have left a few remnants of their speech, where there are no other vestiges of their progress. Such tribes as these produced no writers of annals; nor would it be very rational to expect that every emigration of every horde of savages or barbarians should be recorded in the page of history. We may therefore admit that the south of Scotland was at some remote period inhabited by a Celtic people; but it is not a necessary inference that this people must be identified with the Picts. Whatever hypothesis may be adopted, it is not denied that many Celtic names of places have been retained where the inhabitants have long ceased to speak any dialect of the Celtic language. It may very naturally be conjectured that this primitive race of Celts was finally supplanted by new settlers; and that those settlers, whether Scandinavians or some other Gothic tribe, adopted many of the names which the original inhabitants had applied to mountains, rivers, and other conspicuous objects. That a similar process has been followed in innumerable instances, must be obvious to every person acquainted with the history of the European settlements in other quarters of the globe: the native appellations are almost always retained to a certain extent; and these are mingled with other names, borrowed from the language of the colonists.

Bede, who died in the year 735, relates that in the island of

[1] Pinkerton's Enquiry into the History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 14. Lond. 1789, 2 vols. 8vo. Professor Magnusen, who has more recently investigated the origin of the Picts, bestows sufficient commendation on the learning and research of this writer, and to a certain extent is disposed to adopt his leading opinions; but, at the same time, he declares himself unable to approve of all the arguments by which that opinion is supported, especially of those which rest upon erroneous interpretations of Scandinavian words and antiquities; nor does he fail to express his disapprobation of Mr. Pinkerton's unseasonable invectives against the Celts. (Om Picternes og deres Navns Oprindelse, S. 56.)

Britain the gospel was preached in five languages; namely, those of the Angles, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Romans.[1] Here the languages of the south and of the north of Scotland are clearly distinguished from each other; nor is there any apparent necessity for admitting the explanation of Buchanan, that we are merely to understand five dialects. Adomnan has stated that when St. Columba preached to the Picts, he had recourse to an interpreter.[2] As this saint was a native of Ireland, we may certainly infer that he spoke a dialect which was then intelligible to the Celtic tribes of the north; and both these early notices have a tendency to evince that the language of the Picts, if not a dialect of the Gothic, was at least very different from the Celtic of their northern neighbours. Of the languages anciently spoken in Britain, Henry of Huntingdon has given the same account as Bede; but his testimony seems more liable to animadversion. According to Dr. Macpherson, he professes his astonishment to find the Pictish tongue was in his time totally extinguished, insomuch that the accounts given of it by writers of former ages have the appearance of downright fiction. Henry wrote his history within less than four hundred years after the Pictish nation was incorporated with the Scots. It is therefore matter of great surprise that no vestige of the Pictish tongue remained in his time, if it differed at all from the Gaelic of the Scots.[3] But this is by no means a complete exposition of the passage to which he refers. After having enumerated the Pictish among the other languages then spoken in Britain, the Archdeacon of Huntingdon proceeds to state that the Picts and their language seemed to be utterly extinct;[4] and if one part of this averment should be found inaccurate, the other must at least be received with caution. The national appellation of Picts may then have been commonly merged in that of Scots; but that the nation itself was ever extirpated, is an

[1] Bedæ Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Anglorum, p. 41, edit. Smith.

[2] Adomnani Vita Columbæ, lib. ii. cap. xxxiii.

[3] Macpherson's Dissertations on the Ancient Caledonians, p. 57. Lond. 1768. 4to.

[4] "Quinque autem linguis utitur Britannia; Brittonum videlicet, Anglorum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum, quæ doctrina Scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis: quamvis Picti jam videantur deleti, et lingua eorum ita omnino destructa, ut jam fabula videatur quod in veterum scriptis eorum mentio inveniatur." (Henrici Huntingdonensis Historia, p. 299, apud Savile.)

opinion which has at length become almost entirely obsolete: at the Battle of the Standard, fought in the year 1138, during the archdeacon's own lifetime, the Picts are mentioned by different English historians as forming a part of King David's army.[1]

If we should suppose the Picts to have been a Celtic people, a very hard problem will remain to be solved: By what extraordinary means could a distinct race of men, placed in such circumstances, be induced to reject one language, and to adopt another? This radical and unprecedented change, Dr. Geddes is disposed to ascribe to the operation of such causes as the following: to the temporary subjection of the southern provinces of Scotland by the Northumbrians; to the immense number of captives seized during the ancient wars with the English; to the planting of English garrisons in several of the Scotish towns; to the amicable intercourse of the Picts with the English; and, finally, to the influence of Malcolm Kenmore's courtiers, whom he supposes to have learnt the English language from Queen Margaret and her retinue. But it may without much temerity be affirmed that, in the entire annals of the human race, such an effect was never produced by such causes. In a more refined state of society, the love of knowledge, the hope of gain, or the influence of fashion, may induce many individuals to betake themselves to the acquisition of foreign languages; but the great body of the people will ever be disposed to rest perfectly satisfied with the speech, whether rude or cultivated, which they have derived from their parents. It is only by some great revolution, by a total conquest, or by an overwhelming extent of colonization, that the current language of a country can be materially changed. After the Norman conquest, when French became the language of the court, and of the law, and when Norman barons were planted in almost every corner of England, did the combined operation of such causes eradicate the old, and establish a new language in its place? Many new words were unquestionably introduced, but these were merely engrafted on the old stock of the Anglo-Saxon.[2] "Had the

[1] See Ailred de Bello Standardi, col. 342, apud Twysden, and Lord Hailes' Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 88, 3d edit.

[2] The history of the Anglo-Saxons has lately been illustrated in an able history of their law, written by Dr. Phillips, Professor of Law in the University of Berlin. (Versuch einer Darstellung der Geschichte des Angel-

Saxon," as Dr. Jamieson well observes, "found its way into Scotland in the manner supposed, it would necessarily have been superinduced on the Gaelic. This has always been the case where one language prevailed over another; unless the people who spoke the original language were either completely or nearly exterminated. Thus was the Norman gradually incorporated with the Saxon, as the Frankish had been with the Latinized Celtic of France. But the number of Gaelic words to be found in what is called the Broad Scots bears a very small proportion to the body of the language."[1] And this solitary fact is indeed sufficient to evince that the inhabitants of the south of Scotland cannot be sprung from Celtic ancestors. Dr. Geddes must have been greatly at a loss for an illustration when he suggested, that "as the Greek was first propagated among the Romans through their Grecian captives, so might the English captives be instrumental in spreading the Saxon among their Pictish masters." The number of captives whom Malcolm brought from England in 1070 appears to have been immense;[2] but even when the kingdom changes its masters, it never changes its language, unless the old inhabitants are nearly extirpated; and shall we impute to captives what could not have been effected by conquerors? Whether the influence of Grecian captives was so considerable as this learned writer seems to suppose, may perhaps admit of some dispute; in one corner of Italy the Greek certainly continued to be a spoken language for many centuries after the foundation of Rome; and some of the inhabitants of the city possessed a familiar knowledge of that language before the commencement of the Macedonian war,[3] and consequently before their countrymen could have

sächsischen Rechts. Göttingen, 1825, 8vo.) Omnino multas habet et egregias hic liber laudes, atque illum non dubitamus unicuique commendare, qui rei publicæ Britannorum historiæ peculiarem navat." (Bibliotheca Critica nova, vol. iii. p. 265. Lugd. Bat. 1827, 8vo.) The learned author, who is of English origin, has formed the plan of illustrating the juridical history of other northern nations.

[1] Jamieson's Dissertation on the Origin of the Scottish Language, p. 21.

[2] "Repleta est ergo Scotia servis et ancillis Anglici generis, ita ut etiam usque hodie nulla non dico villula, sed nec domuncula sine his valeat inveniri."—(Simeon Dunelmensis de Gestis Regum Anglorum, col. 201, apud Twysden.)

[3] The first Macedonian war commenced in the year 540 from the foundation of Rome; but it is evident that some of its inhabitants were not unacquainted with the Greek language so early at least as the year 514. "Antiquissimi doctorum," says Suetonius, "qui iidem et poetæ et oratores semigræci

many Grecian captives; but, at all events, it has never been imagined that the Romans rejected their native tongue, and adopted that of captives and slaves.[1]

Dr. Geddes has ventured to specify the reign of Malcolm the Third, which commenced in the year 1057, as the period of a general denization of the Saxon language in Scotland. "That monarch," he remarks, "had been bred in England. English, in consequence, would become the language of that court. The courtiers would carry it to their respective homes; their domestics would be ambitious to speak the language of their masters; and thus it would be gradually introduced into every fashionable circle."[2] But to introduce a language into every fashionable circle, is somewhat different from rendering it the current speech of the people. French has long been the court language and the language of fashionable circles in England, and yet the great body of the people still persists in speaking English. It is indeed true that Malcolm had spent many of his earlier years at the English court; but there is some reason to suspect that was not the best seminary for acquiring the English language. Into that court the language of France had already been introduced; and it is extremely probable that this was the fashionable speech of Queen Margaret and her English retinue. Edward the Confessor, under whose protection Malcolm had continued for several years, was educated at the court of his uncle, Richard the Second, Duke of Normandy, and from his long residence in that country, might almost be considered as a Frenchman. Upon his accession to the throne of England in the year 1043, the whole nation, under the influence of the king and his Norman favourites, began to imitate the manners of France; and in particular, Ingulph

erant (Livium et Ennium dico, quos utraque lingua domi forisque docuisse adnotum est) nihil amplius quam Græce interpretabantur, ac, si quid Latine ipsi composuissent, prælegebant." (De illustribus Grammaticis, § 1.) Livius Andronicus flourished in the 514th year from the foundation of the city. Ennius was born in 515, and died in 585. The former was a Greek slave, and was employed in instructing the children of Livius Salinator, to whom he was indebted for his liberty, and for his Roman name of Livius. The latter was a native of Rudiæ, a city of Magna Græcia. It was from Ennius that Cato the Censor learned the Greek tongue during his old age.

[1] Gradenigo, Ragionamento istorico-critico intorno alla Letteratura Greco-Italiana, p. 16. Brescia, 1759, 8vo.

[2] Verstegan reasons in nearly the same manner. (Restitution of decayed Intelligence, p. 180. Antwerp, 1605, 4to.) See likewise the preface to Dr. Wallis's Grammatica Linguæ Anglicanæ, p. 22, edit. Lond. 1765. 8vo.

observes,[1] that all the nobility in their courts began to adopt the French language as a mark of gentility.[2] But if the language of Malcolm, his queen, and all his courtiers, had been purely English, and if they had exerted their united influence to substitute it as the national speech, they would speedily have discovered the hopelessness of such an undertaking. To conquer a nation would be much easier than to change its current speech.

In effecting this supposed transition from one language to another, a late ponderous writer, not entirely satisfied with the aid of the Anglo-Saxons, is disposed to ascribe much influence to Flemish soldiers and merchants.[3] On the accession of Henry the Second, we are told, "he banished the Flemings and other foreigners, who had come into England in such numbers during the preceding reign." His accession took place in the year 1154; and this writer conceives that many of these foreigners, having sought refuge in Scotland, contributed to produce a radical change in the language of the country. The commencement of the transitive state, he has deferred about a century longer than Dr. Geddes; nor is it unworthy of remark, that all those who adopt the Celtic theory, differ most widely from each other as to the causes adequate to produce the supposed effect.

The insuperable difficulty of accounting for such a transition from a Celtic to a Gothic dialect, seems to render the conclusion obvious and unavoidable, that the Gothic speech of Scotland was derived from a Gothic race of ancestors. Nor is this conclusion altogether free from difficulties, though they are of very inferior weight to those which are to be deposited in the opposite balance. It is the opinion of a late writer, who has investigated the subject with much ability, that the Picts emigrated from Scandinavia;[4] and, according to this opinion,

[1] Ingulphi Hist. Croyl. p. 62, apud Gale.

[2] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 3. Tyrwhitt's Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, p. 4.

[3] Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i. p. 600, 769.

[4] Pinkerton's Enquiry into the History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 168. "The Picts, or more properly Phichts, probably a colony of Scandinavians, originally from Scythia, as they are said to have come over the Northern Sea, Triad 7." (Roberts's Sketch of the Early History of the Cymry, or Ancient Britons, p. 125. London, 1803, 8vo.) Ritson has remarked, "that the Scythia of Bede is universally allowed to be Scandia, Scandinavia, modern Denmark, or Jutland." (Annals, vol. i. p. 78.)

the Picts and Saxons must have spoken two dialects of the same original tongue. The Pictish must have been more ancient than the Anglo-Saxon, which was however the language of a more learned people. If the Picts began to direct their attention to literary composition, they might naturally enough be inclined to study such models as their more cultivated neighbours could then furnish. Whether the Pictish, while it continued unmixed, was a written language, we have indeed no means of ascertaining; but it may be presumed that the use of letters was introduced with the knowledge of Christianity.[1] The account which places the conversion of Scotland at the beginning of the third century, is evidently supported by vague and doubtful evidence, inasmuch as it chiefly rests on the authority of some nameless versifier quoted by Fordun.[2] Tertullian, who flourished about this period, is supposed to afford additional evidence,[3] when he remarks that those parts of Britain which the Romans had found inaccessible were however subjected by Christ.[4] But on such authorities as these we cannot very safely rely; the verses were probably fabricated by some zealous monk; and it has been sufficiently shown that the passage quoted from the ancient father is too indefinite to be received as a proof of this particular fact.[5] The first authentic account of the propagation of Christianity in this part of the island is to be found in the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, who informs us that the southern Picts were converted by Ninian, Bishop of Whithern;[6] and this event Archbishop Usher refers to the year 412.[7] Bede further

[1] See Ritson's Annals of the Caledonians, Picts, and Scots, vol. i. p. 126.

[2] Forduni Scotichronicon, vol. i. p. 72, edit. Goodall. Layamon also states that the Picts, "folk of much might," came from Scythia. (Layamon's Brut or Chronicle of Britain, a poetical Semi-Saxon paraphrase of the Brut of Wace, vol. i. p. 423. London, 1847, 3 vols. 8vo.)

[3] Forbesii Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ, p. 171. Amst. 1645, folio. The same conclusion had been drawn by Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, tom. v. p. 537. By neglecting to distinguish Scotland from Ireland, the Scotia of the ancients, this writer has been betrayed into several errors.

[4] Tertullian. adversus Judæos, cap. vii. "The language," says Bishop Kaye, in reference to the entire passage, "is declamatory, yet such a representation would not have been hazarded, unless it had been realized to a considerable extent in the actual state of Christianity." (Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the writings of Tertullian, p. 94. Cambridge, 1826, 8vo.)

[5] Richardson, Prælectiones Ecclesiasticæ, vol. ii. p. 91. London, 1726, 2 tom. 8vo.

[6] Bedæ Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Anglorum, p. 106.

[7] Usserii Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, p. 1094. Dublin, 1639, 4to. "Ninianus Britannus, cujus fama per literas notissima omneis Britannicæ insulæ partes, quas oceanus alluit, inradiat, non est cum de illustribus agitur, temere silentio prætereundus." (Leland. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, tom. i. p. 56.)

relates that St. Columba arrived from Ireland in the year 565. Before this period a considerable number of the Picts had perhaps been converted to the Christian faith; but it was not till after the commencement of his mission that the king and the nobility abjured Paganism.

Wherever Christianity is propagated, something approaching to civilisation must either be produced, or must previously have existed; without some power of reasoning and susceptibility of feeling, its doctrines can find no proper receptacle. With this new religion the Picts must have acquired new ideas, and new ideas are apt to introduce new words. Of their progress in literature, however, we have no vestige of evidence. The name of the Pictish nation and tongue was finally merged in that of the Scotish; and the history of the language under this new denomination becomes somewhat more intelligible. It is scarcely to be doubted that our early poets were intimately acquainted with such models of composition as the French language then afforded; and this circumstance will partly enable us to account for the correspondent progress of the Scotish, as a language distinct from the English. French indeed appears to have been the fashionable speech of the ancient Scotish court. To Alexander the Third, whose reign commenced in the year 1249, the coronation oath was first administered in Latin, and afterwards in French.[1] We cannot but suppose that both languages were understood by some portion of the audience: the coronation being considered as a species of religious ceremony, the oath was administered in Latin, the language of the church; and, as there is every reason to infer, was repeated in a language more intelligible to the nobility who were

[1] "Prius Latine, postea Gallice." (Bower, Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 81.) The obvious interpretation of the latter word is, in French; but Mr. Innes supposes it may here signify, in Gaelic. Mr. Pinkerton avers that "it is French all the world over; and, had Gaelic been implied, it would have been *Hibernice*; for writers of a century or two after call it *Irish*. Gaelic is a very late word, nay, I believe unknown till this present century." (Essay on the Origin of Scotish Poetry, p. 64.) The last assertion is perhaps erroneous; for in the Aberdeen Breviary, printed in 1509 and 1510, the Celtic inhabitants are termed Galli. "Rediens autem Sanctus Irchardus per Pictaviam, Pictos multum per *Gallos* vidit subjugatos et in servitutem redactos." (Breviarium Aberdonense, tom. ii. Aug. f. 89, a.) But as Bower has never used the word in this sense, we are apparently authorized to conclude that, by the adverb *Gallice*, he intended to convey the meaning which has now been assigned. In an act of the General Assembly, passed so late as the year 1717, Gaelic is described as the Irish language. "(Dundas's Abridgement, p. 119;) and the modern term Earse is manifestly a corruption of Irish.

present. The negotiations at Norham, between Edward the First and the Scotish nobles, appear to have been chiefly conducted in the French tongue; and for this circumstance, as Mr. Tyrwhitt observes, it will be difficult to account, unless we suppose French to have been the language of both courts. As Latin and French were in both kingdoms the languages of the learned and great, it is sufficiently probable that, when they had occasion to speak in their native tongue, they were satisfied with employing the phraseology of the vulgar. The spoken dialects of the two nations might differ much more widely than their written speech. In an assembly of the dignified clergy, Malcolm the Third performed the office of an interpreter to his queen.[1] It is stated by Bower, that when James the First was detained in England, he heard a language with which he was not previously acquainted;[2] and yet of the Scotish poets who flourished about this era, the compositions do not, in point of language, differ so materially from those of their English contemporaries.

The history of these kindred tongues may be illustrated from that of some others, derived from the same Gothic origin. The Islandic, Swedish, and Danish languages are all descended from the ancient Scandinavian. Island, which, as Dr. Müller has remarked, is entitled to particular attention as the foster-mother of northern history,[3] was peopled by a colony of Norwegians in the year 874. This race of men, confined to a remote island, and maintaining but little intercourse either of peace or war with other nations, has preserved its ancient language with singular purity.[4] The Swedes and Danes, more extensively engaged in the pursuits of commerce, and more closely connected with the rest of mankind, have exhibited a different progress; but while both languages have receded very widely

[1] Turgoti Vita Margaretæ, cap. ii.

[2] "Etsi linguam quam non noverat audivit, artes tamen mechanicas, et scientias morales, quas non noverat, didicit et intellexit." (Bower, vol. ii. p. 506.) Baldwyn represents King James as learning the English language: "Seeing he was brought up in England, where he learned the language, hys example also so notable it wer not mete it should be forgotten." (Myrrour for Magistrates, f. xxxv. b. edit. London, 1563. 4to.)

[3] Müller's Sagabibliothek, med Anmœrkninger og indledende Afhandlinger, 1 Bind. S. 4. Kiöbenhavn, 1817-20, 3 Bind. 8vo.

[4] Dr. Sharpe has well stated, that "War, invasion, conquest, treaties, intercourse with different nations, commerce, colonies, rise of arts, logical refinements, controversies, time or age, and the humours of a people, are all causes of alteration in language." (Two Dissertations, upon the Origin of Language, and upon the Original Powers of Letters, p. 35, edit. Lond. 1751, 8vo.)

from the Islandic, they have not receded very widely from each other; a similar state of society, similar relations with other countries, and the study of the same foreign authors, have produced corresponding changes in both.[1] In the history of these two languages we do not indeed find a complete parallel with that of the Scotish and English; the Swedish and Danish are both dialects of the ancient Scandinavian, while the Scotish is derived from the Scandinavian, and the English from the ancient German. But the Scandinavian and the German proceeded from the same common stock; and when we ascend to a period sufficiently remote, they are only to be regarded as dialects of the same language.[2] "It is to be remarked," says Baron Holberg, "that various languages were used in Great Britain from the first arrival of the Anglo-Saxons. The English tongue, or that which was spoken by the Angles, differed very little from the Danish, because the Angles came from Jutland; on which account their language was also called by ancient writers Cimbric, or Gothic. This language was spoken in the provinces which lay north of the river Thames, as the Saxon was in the south. Although they differed from each other, yet the distinction was not so great but that each of them could be understood by both nations, the Angles and the Saxons. These languages flourished together in the country, till the heptarchy was abolished, and the seven small kingdoms united; for then the Saxon began to prevail together with the Saxon kings, and the English or Danish fell gradually into disuse. But afterwards, when a new swarm of Danes established themselves in the country, the Danish again came into use, although it was not the same that the Angles or South

[1] The spoken language of Norway only differs from that of Denmark as the dialect of one province differs from that of another; the written language is the same in both countries. "Norvegi, quamvis Danice loquantur, ex diverso enunciandi sono, a Danis dignoscuntur." See Pauli Vidalini de Linguæ Septentrionalis Appellatione Danica, Commentatio, p. 222, subjoined to *Sagan af Gunnlaugi*. Hafniæ, 1775, 4to. Capt. De Capell Brooke has remarked, that "the Norwegian language, which hardly differs from the Danish, resembles English very much; and a Scotchman, in particular, will find many of the words, and even phrases, so exactly similar to those of his own country, and spoken with the same accent, that the acquisition of it will be extremely easy to him." (Travels through Sweden, Norway, and Finmark, to the North Cape, p. 162. Lond. 1823, 4to.)

[2] Unde Normanni? unde, nisi ex Dania et Norvegia? Unde Anglo-Saxones? Ex eadem Dania et Cimbrica Chersoneso, Germanias et Gallias tum suq, tum aliis nominibus occupantes." (Sperlingii de Danica Lingua Commentariolus, p. 2. Hafniæ, 1694, 4to.)

Jutlanders had brought with them."[1] "The Danish and Anglo-Saxon," says Mr. Ellis, "the supposed parents of the Scotish and English languages, were distinct dialects of the elder Gothic; but, in the infancy of literature, the poets of both countries, being equally dissatisfied with the poverty of their respective jargons, and conscious of the superior elegance which appeared in the French minstrel compositions, vied with each other in borrowing from these favourite models as many words and phrases as it was possible to incorporate with their native forms of speech. In consequence of this practice, the two languages seem to have attained, about the middle of the fourteenth century, their greatest degree of similarity. But these foreign words, being once naturalized, could not fail of undergoing considerable alterations, because the broader vowel-sounds, the gutturals, and the strongly-aspirated accents of the Scots, differed equally from the French and English pronunciation; and this difference was preserved and increased, on both sides, by discordant and capricious systems of orthography. At the same time, as the number of readers increased, the writers became desirous of accommodating themselves to the general taste; and, consequently, began to transplant from colloquial into literary language a variety of popular expressions, which, being peculiar to the one country, were obscure, or even unintelligible, to the natives of the other."[2]

As an insuperable objection to the theory which we have adopted, it has been urged, that in the Scandinavian dialects, the definite article is uniformly postpositive, coalescing with the substantive; that in those dialects there is a simple passive voice, instead of its being formed, as in all the languages of Germanic origin, by the perfect participle and the substantive verb; and that most of the particles in the Scotish language are manifestly of a Germanic, not Scandinavian origin.[3] This objection is very plausible in itself, and has been ably stated; but perhaps it may in some measure be obviated by a reference to the history of Orkney and its language. It is not disputed

[1] Dannemarks Riges Historie ved Ludvig Holberg, i B. 150 S See Herbert's Works, vol. i. p. 183.

[2] Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Poets, vol. i. p. 395, 4th edit.

[3] Quarterly Review, vol lv. p. 361.

that those islands were peopled by the Scandinavians. They were long subject to the Norwegians or Danes, nor were they finally ceded to the crown of Scotland till the year 1469, when James the Third married a princess of Denmark. "All," says Dr. Wallace, "speak English, after the Scots way, with as good an accent as any county in the kingdom; only some of the common people, amongst themselves, speak a language they call Norns, which they have derived to them either from the Picts, or some others who first planted this country."[1] *Norns* evidently signifies Norse or Norwegian; and this writer has subjoined the Lord's Prayer in the Scandinavian dialect of Orkney. "For many years past," says Dr. Barry, "it has been almost entirely forgotten, except in one parish in the heart of the Mainland, where the people are said, till of late, to have retained some acquaintance with it. In Shetland it continued much longer; for within these thirty years, there were some people in Fula, and even perhaps in other places, who not only recollected words, such as the names of things, but could repeat many stanzas, if not whole poems, in that language. Here it now exists only in a few vulgar and obsolete words, and in the names of men and places."[2] The people, from their remote and secluded situation, were not much exposed to foreign influence on their ordinary pursuits and current speech. The Scandinavian inhabitants were doubtless mixed with Scotish settlers of different denominations; but although those settlers might,

[1] Wallace's Account of the Islands of Orkney, p. 68. Lond. 1700, 8vo. He has published one very curious document, dated at Kirkwall, in 1403, and bearing the form of an epistle, addressed to Eric, king of Norway, by Thomas, bishop of Orkney, the canons of St. Magnus, "legifer, ceterique proceres, nobiles, populus, ac communitas ejusdem." The king had directed them to investigate the claims of William Sinclair to the Earldom of Orkney. Here, among other historical statements, we find the following: "Sed verum est quod tunc non denominabatur Orcadia, sed terra Petorum, sicut clare verificatur hodie adhuc, cronica attestante, per mare dividens Scociam et Orcadiam, quod usque ad hodiernum diem mare Petlandicum appellatur." According to their statements, Orkney was, at a very early period, denominated the land of the *Picts*. This document, consisting of fourteen pages, is reprinted in the Appendix to *Orkneyinga Saga*. Hafniæ, 1780, 4to. It is likewise reprinted in the Appendix to Dr. Barry's History of the Orkney Islands, where it is accompanied with a Scotish translation, executed in 1554, by Thomas Gule, or more probable, *Yule*, a monk of Newbattle Abbey. The translation seems to be very inaccurately printed. I shall quote one curious specimen, "With certane sawlis of others faythfull parsonis of the cuntrie, till thair presents ar to-Hangit at Kirkwaw in Orchadie." We ought manifestly to read *seillis*, and *ar to-hangit*—"sunt appensa." The history of these islands is copiously detailed by Torfæus, Orcades, seu Rerum Orcadensium Historiæ libri tres. Havniæ, 1697, fol.

[2] Barry's History of the Orkney Islands, p. 222. Edinb. 1805, 4to.

from time to time, engraft a variety of new words, it is scarcely to be imagined that they were so numerous as to plant a new language. We may suppose the inhabitants of Orkney, like those of the lowlands, to have effected a slow and gradual modification of the dialect which their ancestors brought from the shores of the Baltic; and as they were evidently a more recent body of emigrants, the present dialect of their posterity was more recently formed.

It is not to be concealed that Barbour, Winton, Henry, and other early poets of Scotland, have described their native language as English.[1] This application of the name has been explained, with at least some degree of plausibility, by referring to the circumstance of the Gaelic being then denominated the Scotish language.[2] A Celtic and a Gothic dialect could not be described by the same term; and "when, by a necessary contingency, the Gothic language had in the same space, though in different nations, retained much the same hues, the name of that dialect, which was spoken by the greater and politer people, was imparted to the other inhabiting a contiguous part of the very same island."[3] Mr. Pinkerton is less fortunate in another suggestion, namely, that it is not more strange to perceive that the Italian, French, and Spanish languages were originally termed Romance. They were all described by this common name, because they were all derived from one common source, the language of the Romans; but we are not inclined to believe that Scotish and English stand in precisely the same relation to each other. It is worthy of remark, that Douglas, one of the most learned of our early poets, has evidently represented the Scotish and English as two distinct languages:—

And zit forsoith I set my besy pane,
As that I couth, to mak it brade and plane,

[1] This wes the spek he maid, perfay;
And is in Inglis toung to say.
BARBOUR'S Bruce, p. 72.

Allsua set I myne intent,
My wyt, my wyll, and myne talent,
Fra that I sene had storis sere
In crounyklys quhare thai wryttyne were,
Thare matere in-tyl fowrme to drawe
Off Latyne in-tyl Ynglys sawe.
WINTON'S Cronykil, vol. i. p. 4.

Lykly he was, manlik off contenance,
Like to the Scottis be mekill gouernance,
Saiff off his tong, for Ingliss had he nane.
HENRY'S Wallace, p. 231.

[2] Duabus enim utuntur linguis, Scotica videlicet et Teutonica; cujus linguæ gens maritimas possidet et planas regiones: linguæ vero gens Scoticæ montanas inhabitat, et insulas ulteriores." (Forduni Scotichronicon, vol. i. p. 44.)

[3] Pinkerton's Essay on the Origin of Scotish Poetry, p. lxxi.

Kepand no Sodroun, bot oure awin langage,
And speke as I lerned quhen I wes ane page:
Na zit so clene all Sudroun I refuse,
Bot sum wordc I pronunce as nychboure dois;
Like as in Latine bene Grewe termes sum,
So me behuffit quhilum, or be dum,
Sum bastard Latyne, Frensche, or Ynglis ois,
Quhare scant wes Scottis, I had nane vther chois;
Not that oure toung is in the seluin skant,
But for that I the fouth of langage want.[1]

As our ancestors apparently derived their language, they may likewise be supposed to have derived their poetry, from the Scandinavians. There is scarcely any nation so rude and barbarous as to be utterly inaccessible to the Muses;[2] even the dreary wastes of Greenland are occasionally cheered by the strains of poetry and music. We are informed that the natives chiefly display their wit in satirical songs, which they compose against each other; and that he who is victorious in this species of contest, is applauded by the rest of the assembly. "There is not to be expected great ingenuity or sallies and points of wit in their poesies, yet there is some cadence and number in their verses, and some kind of rhime in them."[3] The various tribes of Scandinavians have generally been distinguished by their love of poetry; many ancient reliques of Islandic poetry are still preserved, and are regarded as very curious specimens of the literature of the various ages to which they belong; nor are the kindred nations of Sweden and Denmark without their early and recent poets, some of whom have attained to high reputation. Of the ballad poetry of these northern nations, many early remnants have descended to our times; and ample collec-

[1] Douglas's Virgil, pref. p. 5, edit. Edinb. 1710, fol. :—"Gif ze throw curiositie of nouationis hes forget our auld plane Scottis, quhilk zour mother lerit you, in times cuming I sall wryte to zou my mynd in Latin; for I am nocht acquyntit with zour Southeroun." (Winzet's Buke of four-scoir-thre Questions, tueching Doctrine, Ordour, and Maneris, sig. H. 4. Antwerp, 1563, 8vo.) In another publication, the same writer expresses himself thus :—"And zit I hoip yat yow sal think me to speik propir langage, conforme to our auld brade Scottis." (Vincentius Lirinensis for the Antiquitie and Veritie of the Catholik Fayth, aganis ye prophane Nouationis of al Hæresels, translatit in Scottis be Niniane Winzet, a Catholik Priest, sig. *a.* 4 b. Antwerp, 1563, 8vo.)

[2] In climes beyond the solar road,
Where shaggy forms o'er ice-built mountains roam,
The Muse has broke the twilight gloom,
To cheer the shiv'ring natives' dull abode.
GRAY'S Progress of Poesy.

[3] Egede's Description of Greenland, translated from the Danish, pp. 153, 154. Lond. 1745, 8vo.

tions of Danish,[1] Swedish,[2] and even Feroese[3] ballads have recently been published by respectable editors. This species of composition seems in several countries to be referable to a very remote age. "The songs mentioned by Tacitus in his account of the Germans," says Mr. Jamieson, "those collected by the order of Charlemagne, and those which the Goths brought with them out of the east, are now not to be found; yet it is more than probable, that much more of them is preserved, in however altered a form, than we are aware of; in the elder northern and Teutonic romances, the Danish and Swedish, Scottish and English popular ballads, and those which are sung by old women and nurses, and hawked about at fairs in Germany."[4] The same ingenious and well-informed writer has elsewhere expressed his conviction, that many of the traditionary ballads still current in this kingdom have been preserved in the north of England and the lowlands of Scotland, ever since the arrival of the ancient settlers in Britain.[5] Many of our historical ballads may at all events be considered as the productions of a remote period; but it is not to be supposed that they have been transmitted from one generation to another without innumerable transformations. A great proportion of them have doubtless been preserved by oral tradition, and they seem in general to have undergone such changes as brought them nearer to the current speech of each successive generation; for, without this progressive adaptation, the lapse of a few centuries would have rendered them unintelligible to a great majority of the people; nor is it usual for any

[1] Udvalgte Danske Viser fra Middelalderen; efter A. S. Vedels og P. Syvs trykte Udgaver og efter haandskrevne Samlinger udgivne paa ny af Abrahamson, Nyerup, og Rahbek. Kiöbenhavn, 1812-14, 5 Bind. 8vo.

[2] Svenska Folk-Visor fran Forntiden, samlade och utgifne af Er. Gust. Geijer och Arv. Aug. Afzelius. Stockholm, 1814-16, 3 del. 8vo.

[3] Færöiske Qvæder om Sigurd Fofnersbane og hans Æt, med et Anhang: samlede og oversatte af Hans Christian Lyngbye, Sognepræst i Gjesing; med en Indledning af P. E. Müller, Dr. og Prof. i Theol. Randers, 1822, 8vo. Debes mentions that, at their weddings and at Christmas, the Feroese were accustomed to "recreate themselves with a plain dance, holding one another by the hand, and singing some old champion's ballad." (Description of the Islands and Inhabitants of Foeroe, Englished by Dr. Sterpin, p. 273. Lond. 1676, 12mo.) These islands were peopled in the ninth century by a colony of Norwegians. (Torfæi Commentatio historica de Rebus gestis Fœreyensium seu Farœensium, p. 7. Havniæ, 1695, 8vo.) The language of the people, as it appears in these ballads, is removed to a considerable distance from the Islandic as well as the Danish.

[4] Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, p. 245. Edinb. 1814, 4to.

[5] Jamieson's Popular Ballads and Songs, vol. ii. p. 87. Edinb. 1806, 2 vols. 8vo. See however, Mr. Finlay's Scotish Historical and Romantic Ballads, vol. i. p. xxv. Edinb. 1808, 2 vols. 8vo.

combination of words to be retained in the memory without being understood. Thus, for example, we have reason to believe that the ballad of Sir Patrick Spence derives its origin from a very early age; but the variations to which it must gradually have been subjected, may easily be inferred from a comparison of the different copies which are now to be found.[1] A story may thus be preserved, when most of the original words have been changed. The close affinity between the old Danish and the old Scotish and English ballads has been noticed by various writers, by Pinkerton, Jamieson, Nyerup, Geijer, and Grimm;[2] their resemblance is to be traced in the general spirit and contrivance of the poems; while some of the Danish and Scotish ballads exhibit a remarkable coincidence in their particular stories. Whether these effects are to be imputed to so remote a cause as the emigrations of the ancient Scandinavians, may however admit of much doubt and hesitation. Fiction moves from one region to another with very elastic steps, and in many instances it is impossible to trace her progress.

Dr. Percy, the late worthy bishop of Dromore, has very ably attempted to prove that the romances of chivalry may be deduced in a lineal descent from the historical songs of the ancient Gothic bards and scalds; and as a strong indication of this descent, he remarks, that many of those songs, still preserved in the north, exhibit all the seeds of chivalry before it had assumed the appearance of a regular institution.[3] This romantic spirit of gallantry had likewise been described by Mallet as an early characteristic of the northern nations,[4] and as having long preceded the order of chivalry, which formed a branch of the feudal system, and is referred to so recent a period as the eleventh century.[5] A devoted and respectful attachment to the fair sex, a

[1] Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, vol. i. p. 81. Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. 7. Jamieson's Popular Ballads and Songs, vol. i. p. 157. See Mr. Motherwell's Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern, p. xliv. Glasg. 1827, 4to.

[2] Pinkerton's Enquiry, vol. i. p. 364. Jamieson's Ballads, vol. ii. p. 87. Nyerup, Danske Viser, 5 Bind. s. 12. Geijer, Svenska Folk-Visor, 1 del. s. liv. The affinity between the old English and the old Danish ballads is noticed in the preface (s. xxxi.) to "Altdanische Heldenlieder, Balladen, und Märchen, übersetzt von Wilhelm Carl Grimm." Heidelberg, 1811, 8vo.

[3] Percy's Essay on the Ancient Metrical Romances. Reliques, vol. iii. p. 3.

[4] See Dr. Stuart's View of Society in Europe, p. 51. Edinb. 1778, 4to.

[5] Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. i. p. 318; vol. ii. p. 234. This opinion respecting the progress of chivalry from the north, has been recently controverted by Depping, Histoire des Expéditions maritimes des Normands, et

romantic deference to their opinions and wishes, were but little felt by the most celebrated people of antiquity; nor could the Romans, by the influence of their manners or literature, impart to the conquered provinces a tender elevation of sentiment of which they were themselves unconscious. Of the merits of a beautiful mistress or chaste wife, we cannot suppose them to have been insensible; but the gallantry of the ancient Romans was very different from the gallantry of the chivalrous ages. After the fall of the Roman empire, new sentiments of devotedness to the softer sex began to be widely diffused; and, as Mallet remarks, these sentiments, so peculiar to the northern nations, could only be diffused by themselves.[1] With this characteristic spirit of gallantry, they are likewise supposed to have conveyed to more southern climates, that appropriate vein of composition which belongs to romance. About the beginning of the tenth century, the Northernmen, under the command of Rollo, made a formidable descent upon the coasts of France, and obtained possession of a considerable territory, which was afterwards denominated Normandy. The Scandinavian chiefs were commonly attended by their scalds, and at that period the scaldic art, that is the art of northern poetry, had arrived at a high degree of perfection. It is scarcely to be doubted, although the fact is not recorded in history, that these warriors were accompanied by various scalds, ready to celebrate the achievements of which they themselves were witnesses; and the northern vein of composition seems thus to have been communicated to another climate.[2] The conquerors were not sufficiently numerous to intro-

de leur Etablissement en France au dixième Siècle, tom. ii. p. 252. Paris, 1826, 2 tom. 8vo.

[1] See Meiners, Geschichte des weiblichen Geschlechts, i. Th. S. 198. Hannover, 1788-1800, 4 Theile, 8vo. This writer, relying on the authority of Pelloutier's *Histoire des Celtes*, confounds the Gothic and Celtic nations, which are sufficiently distinguished from each other.

[2] It was in Normandy that some of the earliest specimens of French poetry made their appearance. (La Ravallière, Poësies du Roy de Navarre, tom. i. p. 128, 166. Roquefort de l'Etat de la Poësie Française dans les XII^e. et XIII^e. Siècles, p. 39. Paris, 1815, 8vo.) The trouveres of the north differed very materially from the troubadours of the south, not merely in the language, but likewise in the general complexion of their poetry: the lively tales of the former are still capable of affording much entertainment; in the compositions of the latter we find more of sentiment and less of character. Many of the ancient *fabliaux* have been preserved in the French libraries, and some ample collections have been given to the public. The collection originally formed by Barbarzan has been enlarged and improved by Meon: "Fabliaux et Contes des Poëtes François des XI. XII. XIII. XIV. et XV^e. Siècles." Paris, 1808, 4 tom. 8vo. The same meritorious edi-

duce their native language into this new settlement; they gradually adopted the language of the more numerous inhabitants, imparting to it some of the peculiarities of their northern speech. With the language, they likewise adopted the religion of the people with whom they were thus associated. They were apparently unwilling that the memory of the Scandinavian heroes should perish; for Holger the Dane, under the name of Ogier Danois, became a conspicuous character in romance;[1] but, as the Bishop of Dromore has remarked, they generally substituted the heroes of Christendom for those of their pagan ancestors, and began to celebrate the exploits of Charlemagne, Roland, and Oliver, whose genuine history they embellished with the scaldic figments of dwarfs, giants, dragons, and enchantments. He adds that the earliest mention of those personages as heroes of chivalry, occurs in the song of a Norman minstrel at the battle of Hastings.

Such is the hypothesis of this accomplished prelate, which, if not completely satisfactory, is at least plausible and ingenious; but other writers have endeavoured to trace this romantic fabling to a very different source. Salmasius supposed it to have been borrowed from the Arabians; a similar opinion was adopted by Bishop Warburton,[2] and was copiously illustrated by Mr. Warton;[3] but, notwithstanding his powerful support, it

tor has likewise published another collection, entitled, "Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux et Contes inédits." Paris, 1823, 2 tom. 8vo. A very readable and pleasant book was formed by Le Grand, who transfused a copious selection of *fabliaux* into prose, and illustrated them in a lively and graceful manner. "Fabliaux ou Contes, de XII^e. et du XIII^e. Siècle, traduits ou extraits d'après plusieurs Manuscrits du tems." Paris, 1779-81, 4 tom. 8vo. Paris, 1781, 5 tom. 12mo. To the second edition he has added a dissertation on the troubadours, in which the merits of those southern poets are not very favourably estimated. From this publication of Le Grand, the late Mr. Way selected a considerable number of tales, and translated them into English verse with uncommon felicity: and the value of the work was not a little enhanced by the preface and notes of Mr. Ellis, written with his usual taste and information. "Fabliaux or Tales, abridged from French Manuscripts of the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries, by M. Le Grand, selected and translated into English verse." Lond. 1796-1800, 2 vols. 8vo.

[1] The story of this hero has been industriously, but not very critically investigated by Thomas Bartholinus, in a little volume, entitled, "De Holgero Dano, qui Caroli Magni Tempore floruit, Dissertatio historica." Hafniæ, 1677, 8vo.

[2] Warburton, in a long and rambling note on Love's Labour Lost, makes the following remark: "Nor were the monstrous embellishments of enchantments, etc., the invention of the romancers, but formed upon eastern tales, brought thence by travellers from their crusades and pilgrimages." Shakspeare, vol. iv. p. 470.)

[3] Warton's Dissertation on the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe. Another writer of ingenuity and learning has very recently supported the same opinion. (Fairy-Mythology, vol. i. p. 46. Lond. 1828, 2 vols. 8vo.)

has not been generally admitted in its full extent. Bishop Percy and Mr. Tyrwhitt[1] have clearly demonstrated that the superstructure rests on no adequate foundation. Other writers persuade themselves that Armorica was the cradle of romantic fiction;[2] nor is this opinion entirely destitute of plausibility. The natives of that country were of a Celtic origin; and they are said to have afforded a place of refuge to a large colony of Britons, who, flying from their Saxon conquerors, carried along with them such historical records or traditions as they possessed. In this manner we may suppose the marvellous tales of King Arthur, and his knights of the round table, to have been imparted to the early poets of France; and it is at least certain, that even the Norman poets frequently profess to have derived their stories from the lays of Armorica. It is not perhaps very safe to adopt any one of these hypotheses, to the exclusion of the other two; and Mr. Ellis is of opinion, that that they are by no means incompatible. There is, as he conceives, no absurdity in supposing that the scenes and characters of romantic story were, to a great extent, derived from the Armoricans, or from the Welsh; that much of the colouring, and perhaps some particular adventures, may be of Scandinavian origin; and that occasional episodes, together with some portion of the machinery, may have been borrowed from the Arabians. "In fact," as he very ably remarks, "there is reason to believe that critics, in their survey of Gothic literature, as well as of Gothic architecture, have too hastily had recourse to a single hypothesis, for the purpose of explaining the probable origin of forms and proportions which appeared unusual, and of ornaments which were thought to arise from a wild and capricious fancy; and in both cases it will perhaps be found that invention is often nothing more than accidental association, and that what has been attributed to originality of design, was only

[1] Shakspeare, vol. iv. p. 473, Edit. 1821. See likewise Ritson's Dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy (p. li.), prefixed to his Ancient Engleish Metrical Romaneis. Lond. 1802, 3 vols. 8vo.

[2] This was the opinion of La Croze, a man of variegated erudition: "Tous les romans de chevalerie doivent leur origine à la Bretagne et au pays de Galles, dont notre Bretagne est sortie." (Jordan, Histoire de la Vie et des Ouvrages de M. La Croze, p. 220. Amst. 1741, 8vo.) See likewise Dr. Leyden's Dissertation on the Complaynt of Scotland, p. 257; and Taylor's Historic Survey of German Poetry, vol. i. p. 121. Lond. 1830, 3 vols. 8vo.

the result of an awkward attempt to combine incongruous materials."[1] Human nature is in all ages and in all countries essentially the same; and similar customs are to be traced among tribes of mankind the most widely removed from each other in time and place. When some modern writers described the process of tattooing, so prevalent among the savages of the present age, they were not perhaps aware that Herodotus had discovered the very same custom among the Thracians,[2] and Xenophon among the Cappadocians.[3] When we trace a similar

[1] Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Metrical Romances, vol. i. p. 37, 2d edit.

[2] The practice of imprinting marks on the body is prohibited by Moses: "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you." (Leviticus, xix. 28.) The first clause refers to a particular occasion, and the second apparently contains a general prohibition. This method of imprinting marks was practised by the Arabians, a people of kindred origin. (Hottingeri Juris Hebræorum Leges CCLXI. p. 392. Tiguri, 1655, 4to.) Among the ancient Thracians, tattooing was a mark of superior rank. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστιχθαι, εὐγενὲς κέκριται· τὸ δ' ἄστικτον ἀγενές. (Herodotus, lib. v. p. 374, edit., Wesselingii.) This passage affords a sufficient illustration of the following line of Valerius Flaccus, Argonaut. lib. i. v. 150:—

Picta manus, ustoque placet sed barbara mento.

Phanocles assigns a poetical origin to the practice of tattooing the Thracian women, representing it as a continued mark of their crime in murdering Orpheus. (Philetæ Coi, Hermesianactis Colophonii, atque Phanoclis Reliquiæ, disposuit, emendavit, illustravit Nicolaus Bachius, p. 200. Halis Saxonum, 1829, 8vo.)

Ἂς ἀλόχους ἔστιζον, ἵν' ἐν χροΐ σήματ' ἔχουσαι
Κυάνεα, στυγεροῦ μὴ λελάθοιντο φόνου·
Ποινὰς δ' Ὀρφῆι κταμένῳ στίζουσι γυναῖκας
Εἰς ἔτι νῦν, κείνης εἵνεκεν ἀμπλακίης.

[3] Ποικίλους δὲ τὰ νῶτα, καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν πάντα ἐστιγμένους ἀνθέμιον. ἐζήτουν δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἑταίραις αἷς ἦγον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐμφανῶς συγγενέσθαι· νόμος γὰρ ἦν σφίσιν οὗτος. (Xenophon de Cyri Expeditione, lib. v. p. 375, edit. Hutchinson. Cantab. 1785, 4to.) Those who are described as marked in this manner, were the children of the rich; and among these tribes tattooing may likewise have been a distinction of rank. The last sentence it is not necessary to translate. The first is thus rendered by Dr. Hutchinson: "Tergis vario colore imbutis, anterioribusque partibus omnibus pictura florida distinctis." Mr. Spelman translates it thus: "Their backs were painted with various colours, and all their fore parts *impressed with flowers.*" But, as I have elsewhere remarked, it ought rather to be translated, "Pricked or punctured with a florid colour;" and the passage then exhibits a description of the process of tattooing. Both these sentences may be very aptly illustrated from Dr. Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 387; vol. iii. p. 24, 3d edit.

Isidorus Hispalensis, a writer of the sixth century, has stated that the Picts derived their name from the circumstance of their bodies being punctured, or, to express the same meaning by another word, tattooed: "Nec abest genti Pictorum nomen a corpore, quod minutis opifex acus punctis et expressos nativi graminis succos includit, ut has ad sui specimen cicatrices ferat pictis artubus maculosa nobilitas." (Origines, lib. xix. cap. xxiii.) In the Islandic language, the verb *picka* signifies to prick or puncture. (Gudmundi Andreæ Lexicon Islandicum, p. 191. Havniæ, 1683, 4to. Haldorsonii Lexicon Islandico-Latino-Danicum, vol. ii. p. 171. Havniæ, 1813, 2 tom. 4to. Magnusen om Picternes og deres Navns Oprindelse, S. 44.) This etymology, borrowed, not from the Latin, but from the Scandinavian, involves nothing absurd or improbable: we may naturally enough suppose this northern tribe to have described itself as that of the tattooed men, in contradistinction to some neighbouring tribes who were not accustomed to decorate their bodies in the same manner. When Claudian, de III. Cons.

vein of poetry in very remote regions, we must not in every instance impute this similarity to the force of imitation; the Scandinavians and the Arabians, without any mutual communication, might each devise their peculiar order of giants, dragons, and enchantments; nor is it necessary to have recourse to the agency of the Crusades, in order to account for the propagation of those excrescences of imagination which seem to be the spontaneous production of almost every climate.

The Arabians are supposed to have produced another material change in the literature of Europe, by disseminating the use of rhyme; and as this ornament is generally regarded as so essential to modern poetry, the subject appears entitled to some share of our attention in the course of these preliminary inquiries.[1] "Rhymes, it will be said, are a remnant of monkish stupidity,[2] an innovation upon the poetry of the ancients. They are but indifferently acquainted with antiquity who make this assertion. Rhymes are probably of older date than either the Greek or Latin dactyle or spondé."[3] This opinion of Goldsmith is not so paradoxical as it may at first appear; the most ancient poetry with which we are acquainted occurs in the Old Testament; and the Hebrew poets, as many learned writers aver, employ that recurrence of similar sounds which we denominate rhyme.[4] The same form of composition seems to have been very extensively cultivated by the eastern nations, by the Arabians and Persians, and even by the Hindus, Chinese, and Tartars; nor has it been neglected by the ruder people of

Honor. v. 54. mentions our ancestors as "nec falso nomine Pictos," he may therefore be understood as employing terms sufficiently appropriate.

[1] With respect to the origin of rhyme, six different theories have been enumerated by Massieu, Hist. de la Poësie Françoise, p. 76. Paris, 1739, 12mo. See likewise Velasquez, Origines de la Poesia Castellana, p. 80. Malaga, 1754, 4to.

[2] Gravina is one of those critics who have visited rhyme with the heaviest censure. Among other animadversions, he makes the following: "Tanto l'ignoranza naturale delle nazioni barbare, quanto il giudizio già corrotto delle nazioni Latine convennero all' estinzion del metro antico, ed alla produzion della rima. Vi concorse l'ignoranza della natura, poiche il commercio de' Gotti e de Vandali stemperò l'orechio, e sconcerto la pronunzia." (Della Ragion Poetica, p. 144, ed. Napoli, 1716, 8vo.) In consequence of such censures as these, Quadrio thought it necessary to demonstrate "che la rima è cosa pregevole, e che malamente fu da alcuni ripresa." (Storia e Ragion d'ogni Poesia, tom. i. p. 725.)

[3] Goldsmith's Enquiry into the present State of Polite Learning in Europe, p. 151. Lond. 1759, 8vo.

[4] Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. ix. p. 230. Fourmont, Dissertation sur l'Art Poëtique et sur les Vers des Anciens Hébreux: Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, tom. iv. p. 470.

Africa and America.[1] We may even venture to affirm that the ancient classics did not altogether despise this species of embellishment. Rhymes may undoubtedly be produced by accidental combinations; and in a language which abounds with words of similar terminations, it must often be difficult to avoid them. But an occasional recurrence of the same sound is enumerated by the ancient rhetoricians, and even by Aristotle himself, among the graces of oratorical compositions;[2] and an ancient biographer of Homer has particularized the admission of rhyming verses as one of the various merits of his poetry.[3] It is indeed obvious to every reader of his works, that such verses are very numerous: how far they are to be ascribed to accident or to design, we cannot so easily determine; but when critics and rhetoricians commended poets and orators for this introduction of rhyming verses and clauses, they evidently presupposed a deliberate intention of producing what they considered as a pleasing effect.[4] Rhymes are to be found in most of the classical poets; but I shall at present content myself with producing a very few examples.

Πρῆξαι δ' ἔμπης οὔτι δυνήσεαι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ζυμοῦ
Μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ ἔσεαί, τὸ δέ τοι καὶ ῥίγιον ἔσται.

[1] Vossius de Poematum Cantu, et Viribus Rythmi, p. 25. Oxonii, 1673, 8vo. Turner's Inquiry respecting the early Use of Rhime. Archæologia, vol. xiv. p. 169.—"Les vers Chinois les plus anciens sont rimés, et on en a depuis près de quarante siècles." (Mémoires concernant les Chinois, tom. viii. p. 201.) See Davis on the Poetry of the Chinese, p. 22. Macao, 1835, 8vo. "So naturall a melody is it, and so universall, as it seems to be generally borne with all the nations of the world, as an hereditary eloquence proper to all mankind. The vniuersallitie argues the generall power of it: for if the barbarian vse it, then it shews that it swais th' affection of the barbarian; if ciuil nations practise it, it proues that it workes vpon the hearts of ciuil nations: if all, then that it hath a power in nature on all." Daniels' Defence of Ryme, sig. F. 3. Lond. 1603, 8vo.) See Mémoire sur la Versification, et Essais divers, par le Comte de Saint Leu, p. 13. Florence, 1819, 4to.

[2] Aristoteles de Rhetorica, lib. iii. cap. ix. p. 223, edit. Oxon. 1820, 8vo.

[3] After quoting several examples of the ὁμοιοτέλευτον σχῆμα, this writer, who is sometimes supposed to be Plutarch, subjoins the following remark: Τὰ δὲ εἰρημένα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μάλιστα προστίθησι τῷ λόγῳ χάριν καὶ ἡδονήν. (Plutarchi Moralia, tom. v. p. 1096, edit. Wyttenbach.)

[4] Professor Thorlacius of Copenhagen has lately published a prolusion, "De homœoteleutis Græcorum et Latinorum Versibus." Havniæ, 1818, 4to. See his "Prolusiones et Opuscula Academica, argumenti maxime philologici," tom. iv. p. 31. Havniæ, 1806-22, 5 tom. 8vo. The general result of his inquiries appears in the following passage: "Id quidem nos effecisse credimus, ut pateat, Græcis Latinisque id rythmi genus, quod eosdem in versuum vel continuorum vel alternantium sine sonos adoptat, haud ignotum fuisse; sed illos, exactionem pedum syllabarumque numerum amantes, istam soni paritatem ceu mollem et inanem tinnitum plerumque sprevisse." In Mr. Turner's Inquiry respecting the early Use of Rhime, this subject has received much new and curious illustration.

Εἰ δ' οὕτω τοῦτ' ἐστὶν, ἐμοὶ μέλλει φίλον εἶναι.
Ἀλλ' ἀκέουσα κάθησο, ἐμῷ ἐπιπείθεο μύθῳ·
Μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμωσιν, ὅσοι θεοί εἰσ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ.[1]

In this passage of Homer we find two successive couplets with unexceptionable rhymes. The same poet furnishes other instances of a different kind, namely, of rhymes occurring in the middle and termination of his verses :—

Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι.[2]

The following quotations from Euripides, Theocritus, and Horace, exhibit other varieties of rhyme :—

Γυναῖκες, εἰς μὲν ἔσθλ' ἀμηχανώταται,
Κακῶν δὲ πάντων τέκτονες σοφώταται.[3]

Φοιτῇς δ' αὖθ' οὕτως, ὅκκα γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἔχῃ με,
Οἴχῃ δ' εὐθυς ἰοῖσα, ὅκα γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῇ με.[4]

Non satis est pulchra esse poemata ; dulcia sunto,
Et quocumque volent, animum auditoris agunto.[5]

A passage in Aristophanes contains a more singular specimen of rhyme. In order to render the passage intelligible, it is necessary to recollect that, instead of *κόρεις*, bugs, the speaker makes a ludicrous and satirical substitution of *Κορίνθιοι*, Corinthians :—

Δάκνουσί μ' ἐξέρποντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι,
Καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς, δαρδάπτουσιν,
Καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκπίνουσιν,
Καὶ τοὺς ὄρχεις ἐξέλκουσιν,
Καὶ τὸν πρωκτὸν διορύττουσιν,
Καὶ μ' ἀπολοῦσιν.[6]

Anacreon supplies us with a very good specimen of alternate rhymes :—

Ἐγὼ δ' ἔσοπτρον εἴην,
Ὅπως ἀεὶ βλέπῃς με·
Ἐγὼ χιτὼν γενοίμην,
Ὅπως ἀεὶ φορῇς με.[7]

The poetry of the Emperor Nero may be supposed to have

[1] Homeri Ilias, lib. i. 562.
[2] *Ibid.* lib. ii. 484.
[3] Euripides Medea, 409.
[4] Theocriti Idyl. xi. 22.
[5] Horat. de Arte Poetica, 99.
[6] Aristophanis Nubis, 710, edit. Dindorf.
[7] Anacreon, Od. xx.

abounded with rhyming verses. Persius has quoted two different specimens for the purpose of exposing them to ridicule. The first is a specimen of a rhyming couplet:—

Berecynthius Attin,
Et qui cæruleum dirimebat Nerea delphin.

The other is a specimen of alternate rhymes:—

Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis;
Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo
Bassaris, et lyncem Mænas flexura corymbis,
Evion ingeminant; reparabilis adsonat Echo.[1]

In the elegiac compositions of the Latin poets, rhyme occurs so frequently, and produces so pleasing an effect that its introduction cannot always be regarded as unintentional: Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius were apparently of opinion that it contributed to improve the soft and plaintive cadence of the verse. The rhyme is not placed in proximate or alternate lines, but at the middle and close of the same pentameter; and when such verses are read with due attention to the cæsura, these corresponding sounds fall very agreeably on the ear. The following passage of Propertius contains five pentameter lines, none of which is without its rhyme:—

Osculaque opposito dicat sibi debita vento,
Et nihil infido durius esse viro.
Tu patrui meritas conare anteire secures,
Et vetera oblitis jura refer sociis.
Nam tua non ætas unquam cessavit amori,
Semper at armatæ cura fuit patriæ.
Et tibi non unquam nostros puer iste labores
Afferat, et lachrymis omnia nota meis.
Me sine, quem semper voluit Fortuna jacere,
Hanc animam extremæ reddere nequitiæ.[2]

In the elegiac poetry of the Greeks, instances of this kind are more rarely to be found; but of ancient Greek elegies, which properly deserve that name, no considerable reliques have descended to our times; for the moral sentences of Theognis, and various epigrams of other poets, though written in elegiac verse, are not to be regarded as elegies. Yet several instances

[1] Persii Sat. i. 93-99.

[2] Propertius, lib. i. eleg. vi. 17.

of such rhymes might easily be produced, and I shall only quote the following passage from Tyrtæus and Mimnermus:—

Λαῷ γὰρ σὺμπαντι πόθος κρατερόφρονος ἀνδρὸς
Θνήσκοντος, ζώων δ' ἄξιος ἡμιθέων.
Ὥσπερ γὰρ μιν πύργον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶσιν·
Ἔρδει γὰρ πολλῶν ἄξια μοῦνος ἐών.[1]

Τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης;
Τεθναίην ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι.[2]

Causabon and Hurt suppose the Romans to have been acquainted with rhyming verse of another description: on the authority of Servius, they represent the Saturnian verses, sung by the ancient rustics, and by the soldiers in triumphal processions, as depending upon rhyme for their chief embellishment.[3] But it can scarcely be doubted that the expression of this ancient commentator is solely applicable, not to rhyme, but to rhythm;[4] for the word *rhythmus* is certainly not employed to denote rhyme by any writer who preceded the most barbarous ages of Latinity. Rhythmical are distinguished from metrical verses by their cadence depending upon emphasis instead of quantity: they contain a regulated number of syllables, but are not reducible to the rules of prosody; and to an unpractised ear they make some approach to the melody of that particular species of metre for which they exhibit an imperfect substitute. Such verses, we may conceive, were generally composed by writers who wanted sufficient skill or promptitude to follow the more severe model. Many specimens of this mode of versification are still to be found. Of an ancient date, the most extensive specimen with which I am acquainted occurs in the *Instructiones adversus Gentium Deos*, written by Commodianus, who is supposed to have lived, we can scarcely describe him as having flourished, about the year 270. His lines so far resemble hexameter verses that they contain the

[1] Tyrtæi quæ supersunt omnia, edidit C. A. Klotzius, p. 98. Altenb. 1767, 8vo. The elegy which contains these lines, has sometimes been ascribed to Callinus.

[2] Brunckii Analecta Veterum Poetarum Græcorum, tom. i. p. 60.

[3] Casauboni ad Persium Commentarius, p. 133. Paris, 1615, 8vo. Huetiana, p. 187.

[4] "Id est, carminibus Saturnio metro compositis, quod ad rhythmum solum vulgares componere consueverunt." (Servius in Virgilii Georgic. ii. 386, p. 112, edit. Daniel.)

requisite number of syllables; and they are therefore to be considered as quasi-hexameters. Each sub-division of the work contains an acrostich. As a specimen of this composition, I shall transcribe the introductory lines, containing an acrostich of the word *Præfatio*.

Præfatio nostra viam erranti demonstrat,
Respectumque bonum, cum venerit sæculi meta,
Aeternum fieri quod discredunt inscia corda.
Ego similiter erravi tempore multo,
Fana prosequendo, parentibus insciis ipsis.
Abstuli me tandem inde, legendo de lege.
Testificor Dominum; doleo pro civica turba,
Inscia quod perdit, pergens deos quærere vanos.
Ob ea perdoctus ignaros instruo verum.[1]

The same spurious versification was introduced among the Greeks; and many early specimens, particularly in the works of Constantinus Manasses and Tzetzes, have been transmitted to our times.[2] About the year 1150, Manasses wrote a metrical compendium of chronology, deduced from the creation of the world to the year 1081. The following verses, relating to the history of Nero, may serve as a specimen :—

Κλαυδίου φαρμαχθέντος δὲ Νέρων ὁ μητροκτόνος
Παρεισεφθάρη κάκιστα τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων σκήπτροις.
Ἦν δ' ἀσελγὴς καὶ βδελυρὸς καὶ πλήρης ἀσωτείας,
Ἥττων γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν γαστρὸς, φίλοινος, φιλοπότης·
Ουτος πολλοὺς ὑπήγαγε θανάτοις πικροτάτοις,
Καὶ τὴν μητέρα σὺν αὐτοῖς. εἴποι τις ἂν δικαίως
Ὅτι κακὸν εἰσήνεγκε τοιοῦτον τοῖς ἐν βίῳ.[3]

The accomplished Dean of Manchester states that he has examined a large part of this work "without discovering any

[1] The work of Commodianus is subjoined to Dr. Davies's edition of Minucius Felix. Cantab. 1712, 8vo.

[2] G. J. Vossii Institutiones Poeticæ, lib. i. cap. viii. Is. Vossius de Poematum Cantu, p. 21. Du Cange, Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, v. *Politici Versus*. Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Græcitatis, v. Πολιτικοὶ Στίχοι. Foster's Essay on Accent and Quantity, p. 202, 2d edit. Mitford's Inquiry into the Harmony of Language, p. 333, 2d edit. Ilgen ad Homeri Hymnos, etc., p. 656. Gaisford ad Hephæstion, p. 247. Maltby Lexicon Græco-Prosodiacum, p. lxiv. Struve über den Politischen Vers der Mittelgriechen, eine Abhandlung, verbunden mit einer Recension des Textes der neuesten Ausgabe von Tzetzes' Chiliaden. Hildesheim, 1828, 8vo. "Ilgen," says Dr. Parr, "has given the best explanations I ever saw of the principle upon which are constructed the *Versus Politici*."

[3] Constantini Manassis Breviarium Historiæ metricum, recognovit Immanuel Bekkerus, p. 88. Bonnæ, 1837, 8vo.

lines that offend against the following rules. The verse shall consist of 15 syllables, and shall be divided into hemistichs of 8 and 7. An accent shall invariably fall on the 14th, and no expressed accent, grave, acute, or circumflex, shall fall on any odd syllable, saving the 1st and 9th, in which the aberration is permitted, excepting in the case of monosyllables, and acute accents, thrown by an enclitic upon a circumflexed word, which may occupy any of the odd places except the last. This metre is not connected, as some have imagined, with the catalectic iambic, which has not that division, and seldom that cadence; but it is an accentual form of the trochaic, quantity being disregarded. . . . Not long after, Tzetzes wrote verses exactly similar; but although they are accented like our poetry, and clearly derive their whole harmony from those accents, he, the same Tzetzes, wrote also strict iambic verse."[1] He has likewise written many hexameters; but his learned editor Jacobs has had occasion to remark that, either from want of skill or attention, he has frequently violated the rules of metre.[2] Of accentual verses we have an ample specimen in his *Chiliades*, an historical rhapsody comprehending a great variety of discussion.[3]

Those nations of modern Europe whose language is chiefly derived from the Latin, have apparently derived their art of versifying from the rhythmical verses of the ancients.[4] And other nations of a different origin have borrowed the same art from the French and Italian poets. In the classical poetry of the ancients, the length of every syllable is regulated and ascertained: but modern languages being differently organized, do not admit of the same degree of nicety;[5] and no success has yet attended any project of making English verses move on

[1] Works of the Hon. and Very Rev. William Herbert, Dean of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 45. Lond. 1842, 2 vols. 8vo.

[2] Joannis Tzetzæ Antehomerica, Homerica, et Posthomerica. E codicibus edidit et commentario instruxit Friedericus Jacobs. Lipsiæ, 1793, 8vo.

[3] Joannis Tzetzæ Historiarum variarum Chiliades. Græce textum ad fidem duorum codicum Monacensium recognovit, brevi adnotatione et indicibus instruxit Theophilus Kiesslingius, Ph.D., etc. Lipsiæ, 1826, 8vo.

[4] Muratori de Rhythmica Veterum Poesi, et Origine Italicæ Poeseos, Dissertatio: Antiquitates Italicæ Medii Ævi, tom. iii. col. 702.

[5] "This new way consisted in measure or number of feet and rhyme; the sweetness of rhyme, and observation of accent, supplying the place of quantity in words, which could neither exactly be observed by those bar-

Roman feet.[1] Although English words contain long and short syllables, yet the quantity of every syllable is not fixed by specific rules; and the harmony of English verse depends rather upon emphasis than quantity. Those nations which derive their language from the Latin are very plausibly supposed to have received the art of rhyming from the same source;[2] nor is it necessary to have recourse to the agency of the Arabians, who are represented as producing so many wonderful effects upon the literary tastes of the western world.[3] According to the theory of Huet, compositions in rhyme were not common in Europe till after their invasion of Spain.[4] But this invasion did not take place till the year 712, and Latin rhymes appear to have been common at a much earlier period; they are to be traced not merely in the eighth, but even up to the fourth century. Such rhymes are chiefly to be found in hymns and other ecclesiastical compositions. They are re-

barians who knew not the rules of it, neither was it suitable to their tongues, as it had been to the Greek and Latine." (Dryden's Essay of Dramatick Poesie, p. 44. Lond. 1684, 4to.)

[1] See Historical and Critical Remarks upon the Modern Hexametrists, and upon Mr. Southey's Vision of Judgment. By the Rev. S. Tillbrook, B.D., Fellow of Peterhouse. Cambridge, 1822, 8vo.

[2] Crescimbeni, Istoria della Volgar Poesia, tom. i. p. 11. Muratori, *ibid.* col. 705.

[3] Andres has written a long chapter "Dell' influenza degli Arabi nella moderna coltura delle belle lettere." (Dell' Origine, de' Progressi e dello Stato attuale d'ogni Letteratura, tom. ii. p. 245, 8vo.) He supposes the poets of Spain and Provence to have derived the art of rhyming from the Arabians; but his opinion was speedily confuted by Arteaga, in a work on the "Rivoluzioni del Teatro Musicale Italiano." Of the controversy which thus took place, an account may be found in a publication of the learned Assemani, "Se gli Arabi ebbero alcuna Influenza sull' Origine della Poesia Moderna in Europa, Dissertazione." Padova, 4to. He inclines to the opinion of Andres, which was likewise adopted by Tiraboschi, by Ginguené, Histoire Littéraire d'Italie, tom. i. p. 250, and by Sismondi, Littérature du Midi de l'Europe, tom. i. pp. 38, 78. The supposed influence of the Arabians is strongly contested by Whyte, Histoire des Langues Romanes et de leur Littérature, tom. i. p. 439. "Ils ont communiqué à l'Europe occidentale," says Schlegel, "quelques connoissances en mathématiques, en médecine, en chimie, en leur absurde traduction d'Aristote. Mais les sectateurs de Mahomet n'ont jamais eu la moindre influence sur rien de ce que constitue le génie original du moyen âge." (Observations sur la Langue et la Littérature Provençales, p. 68.)

[4] Huet, Traité de l'Origine des Romans, p. 25, 8me edit. Paris, 1711, 12mo. Huetiana, p. 190.—Gebauer, an eminent professor of the Civil Law in the University of Göttingen, has written a Dissertatio pro Rhythmis seu ὁμοιοτελευτοις poeticis, adversus ea quæ in Huetianis leguntur;" which occurs in his *Anthologicarum Dissertationum Liber*, p. 265. Lipsiæ, 1733, 8vo. In this collection he has inserted two dissertations, by E. Major and R. Moreau, on Leonine verses. A learned professor of physic has written, "De Versibus Rhythmicis et Carmine Leonino Dissertatio;" which may be found in a publication entitled, "Regimen Sanitatis Salerni, sive Scholæ Salernitanæ de conservanda bona Valetudine Præcepta: edidit, Studii Medici Salernitani Historia præmissa, J. C. G. Ackermann, M.D.," etc. Stendaliæ, 1790, 8vo.

peatedly to be found in the hymns of Ambrosius[1] and Damasus, who both flourished during the fourth century; and one of the hymns of this Bishop of Rome exhibit a series of rhymes almost entirely regular:—

Martyris ecce dies Agathæ
Virginis emicat eximiæ,
Christus eam sibi qua sociat,
Et diadema duplex decorat.
Stirpe decens, elegans specie,
Sed magis actibus atque fide,
Terrea prospera nil reputans,
Jussa Dei sibi corde ligans.
Fortior hæc trucibusque viris
Exposuit sua membra flagris;
Pectore quam fuerit valido
Torta mamilla docet patulo.
Deliciæ cui carcer erat
Pastor ovem Petrus hanc recreat,
Lætior inde magisque flagrans,
Cuncta flagella cucurrit ovans.
Ethnica turba rogum fugiens,
Hujus et ipsa meretur opem,
Quos fidei titulus decorat
His venerem magis ipsa premat.
Jam renidens quasi sponsa polo,
Pro misero regita Damaso.
Sic tua festa coli faciat,
Se celebrantibus ut faveat.[2]

The next two centuries produced Sedulius, Fortunatus, and other Christian poets, who likewise betrayed a predilection for this species of ornament. Leonine verses, which became so current among the monkish Latinists, are by some writers supposed to derive their appellation from Pope Leo, perhaps the second of that name, who, towards the close of the seventh century, introduced various improvements into the chants and hymns of the Church.[3] Others indeed ascribe the invention as well as the name to Leonius, a canon of St. Victor at Paris, who

[1] See the ample collection of Georgius Fabricius, entitled, Poetarum veterum Ecclesiasticorum Opera Christiana, col. 363. Basil. 1564, 4to.

[2] S. Damasi Papæ Opera quæ extant, cum notis M. M. Sarazanii, p. 143. Paris, 1672, 8vo.

[3] Fauchet de l'Origine de la Langue et Poësie Françoise, p. 52. Paris, 1581, 4to.

wrote about the year 1154;[1] but whatever may have been the origin of this particular name, it is evident that Latin rhymes are of a more ancient date.

In the vernacular poetry of the northern nations, rhyme does not appear to have been adopted at a very remote era.[2] It is occasionally to be traced in the reliques of Saxon poetry; and Olfrid, a monk of Weissenberg, composed a work in German rhyme about the year 870. This is commonly regarded as the earliest specimen that now remains of rhyming verses written in any of the modern languages of Europe. There are, however, many Welsh poems in rhyme which are referred to so remote a period as the sixth century; and their genuineness is maintained by Mr. Turner, whose laborious and able researches have illustrated various subjects of history and literature.[3] The oldest specimen that now remains is not necessarily to be viewed as the first attempt in any particular language; and Olfrid, who has left a poem of a formidable length, probably imitated such domestic models as he deemed most popular.[4] According to Mr. Tyrwhitt, rhyme was introduced into English poetry about the age of Henry the Second. "Except a few lines in the Saxon Chronicle upon the death of William the Conqueror, which seems to have been intended for verses of the modern fashion, and a short canticle, which, according to Matthew Paris, the blessed Virgin was pleased to dictate to Godric, an hermite near Durham, I have not been able to discover any attempts at riming poetry, which can with probability be referred to an earlier period than the reign of Henry the Second. In that reign, Layamon, a priest of Ernleye near Severn, as he calls himself, translated (chiefly) from the French of Wace a

[1] Pasquier, Recherches de la France, liv. vii. chap. ii. p. 596, edit. Paris, 1621, fol. A more recent author contends that Pasquier and other writers have confounded the poet, who was a canon of Notre-Dame, with another ecclesiastic of the same name, who was a canon of St. Victor. (Histoire Littéraire de la France, tom. xiii. p. 434.)

[2] Wormii Literatura Runica, p. 177. Hafniæ, 1636, 4to.—The Ransom of Egill Scalagrim, a rhyming poem of some length, is however of considerable antiquity. It occurs in this work of Olaus Wormius, p. 227, and in Bishop Percy's Five Pieces of Runic Poetry, translated from the Islandic Language, p. 92. Lond. 1763, 8vo.

[3] Turner's Vindication of the Genuineness of the ancient British Poems of Aneurin, Taliesen, Llywarch, Hen, and Merdhin. Lond. 1803, 8vo.

[4] Olfrid's paraphrase of the gospel history is inserted in Schilter's Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum, tom. i. An account of this curious relique may likewise be found in Gley's Langue et Littérature des Anciens Francs, p. 208. Paris, 1814, 8vo.

fabulous history of the Britons, entitled 'Le Brut,' which Wace himself, about the year 1155, had translated from the Latin of Geffrey of Monmouth. Though the greatest part of this work of Layamon resembles the old Saxon poetry, without rime or metre, yet he often intermixes a number of short verses, of unequal lengths, but riming together pretty exactly, and in some places he has imitated, not unsuccessfully, the regular octosyllable measure of his French original."[1] But the alliterative anapæstic measure of the Anglo-Saxons was frequently adopted at a much later period.

From these historical notices, it is evident that the European poets were not indebted to the Arabians for the art of rhyming; and it is equally evident that there is no room for supposing this art to have originated with the troubadours, or early poets of the southern provinces of France. The troubadours began to write in a language which arose from the gradual corruption of the Latin; but from the researches of Raynouard, who has displayed unrivalled knowledge of the subject, it clearly appears that the new dialect was formed with a more uniform reference to analogy than has commonly been imagined. In the best provinces of the Roman empire, those who spoke the Latin tongue were mingled with various tribes of a different origin. It long continued to be a maxim of government, or a point of national pride, that the ascendency of the Latin language should be scrupulously maintained:[2] the inhabitants of those provinces had many inducements, as well as many opportunities, for making it an object of particular attention; nor must we forget the influence of the colonists and soldiers, who propagated their race and language in some of the most fertile countries which had been subjected to the Roman yoke.[3] The people of Italy were at length overpowered by the Goths, and were thus associated with new tribes. The modern languages of Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal were formed of similar materials: the

[1] Tyrwhitt's Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, p. 54.

[2] See Dr. Taylor's Elements of the Civil Law, p. 513. A very elaborate dissertation on the public use of foreign languages among the Romans, has lately been published by Dr. Dirksen, a distinguished professor of the civil law in the university of Königsberg. (Civilistische Abhandlungen, Bd. i. S. 1. Berlin, 1820, 2 Bde. 8vo.)

[3] Aldrete del Origen y Principio de la Lengua Castellana ò Romance que oi se usa en España, pp. 53-103. Roma, 1606, 4to.

words of each are to a great extent derived from the ancient Latin, but are blended with words of a different origin; and in all of them the most essential rules of grammar seem to be in a great measure the same. The Latin terminations were altered or retrenched, the vowels were very frequently interchanged, the definite article was formed from the first or the second syllable of the pronoun *ille*, and the introduction of auxiliary verbs completed this transformation of one language into another. We have already seen that in the declining ages of Latin poetry, rhyme supplied the place of more classical ornaments; nor can it reasonably be doubted that those who communicated the language in this new form, likewise communicated its new system of versification.

Raynouard supposes the Romance to have been a widely extended language, which derived its origin from the modification and corruption of the Latin during the middle ages; and instead of arriving at the conclusion that a similar process must have taken place in the gradual formation of the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French languages, he endeavours to trace them all to the Romance as to a common source. This hypothesis, which he maintains with much ingenuity as well as research, is obviously liable to not a few exceptions; and it has accordingly been rejected by Schlegel, Lewis, Whyte, and other writers who have investigated this curious subject of philological inquiry.[1]

Of the language and poetry of the troubadours it is not at present necessary to trace the further progress;[2] but it is

[1] A. W. de Schlegel, Observations sur la Langue et la Littérature Provençales. Paris, 1818, 8vo. Lewis's Essay on the Origin and Formation of the Romance Languages: containing an examination of M. Raynouard's Theory of the Relation of the Italian, Spanish, Provençal, and French to Latin. Oxford, 1835, 8vo. Bruce-Whyte, Histoire des Langues Romanes et de leur Littérature.

[2] Nostredame had at an early period written the lives of the most eminent poets of Provence, but in a slight and superficial manner: "Les Vies des plus célèbres et anciens Poëtes Provensaux, qui ont floury du temps des Comtes de Prouence: recueillies des Œuures de diuers Autheurs nommez en la page suyuante," etc. Lyon, 1575, 8vo. In the title-page he describes himself as Jehan de nostre Dame, Procureur en la Cour de Parlement de Prouince; the dedication to the king of France is subscribed Jean de Nostradamus. His work was immediately translated into Italian by Gio. Giudicj, and published under the title of "Le Vite delli piv celebri et antichi primi Poeti Provenzali, che florirno nel tempo delli Ré di Napoli & Conti di Prouenza, liquali hanno insegnato à tutti il Poetar Vulgare." Lione, 1575, 8vo. From the copious materials collected by Sainte-Palaye, a book was compiled by Millot, under the title of "Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours." Paris, 1774, 3 tom. 12mo. But this abbé, though an ingenious man, had no peculiar qualifications for such an under-

difficult to refrain from alluding to the very singular views of society and manners which here solicit the attention of the curious inquirer. Love and poetry seem to have been among the chief concerns of human life. Sentiments even of devotion were strangely blended with sentiments of gallantry.[1] Courts of Love are said to have been instituted for the determination of questions, so important in the estimation of this gay and fantastic people: ladies of exalted rank, one of whom was Eleanor, the consort of Louis the Seventh of France, and afterwards of Henry the Second of England, are represented as presiding in these high tribunals; and, assisted by various assessors of their own sex, as pronouncing formal decisions, which appear to have been confirmed by the irresistible force of opinion, so frequently superior to that of law itself.[2] Nor

taking, and his publication has never been held in much estimation. M. de Rochegude has more recently published a work entitled "Le Parnasse Occitanien, ou Choix des Poésies originales des Troubadours." Toulouse, 1819, 8vo. This collection is accompanied by a separate "Essai d'un Glossaire Occitanien, pour servir à l'intelligence des Poésies des Troubadours." Toulouse, 1819, 8vo. But the most indefatigable and the most distinguished labourer in this department of literature is M. Raynouard, who has lately published a very curious and valuable work, which is inadequately described as "Choix des Poésies originales des Troubadours." Paris, 1816-21, 6 tom. 8vo. Among other important additions, it contains a grammar of the Romance language, a comparison of the modern languages derived from the Latin, and biographical notices of the troubadours. He had prepared another work, which was published after the lamented death of the author: "Lexique Roman: ou, Dictionnaire de la Langue des Troubadours, comparée avec les autres Langues de l'Europe Latine." Paris, 1836-44, 6 tom. 8vo. Nor must we forget M. Roquefort's "Glossaire de la Langue Romane." Paris, 1808, 2 tom. 8vo. Supplement. 1820. An interesting volume was published by the late Edgar Taylor, under the title of "Lays of the Minnesingers or German Troubadours of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: illustrated by Specimens of the cotemporary Lyric Poets of Provence and other Parts of Europe." Lond. 1825, 8vo. The lives and writings of the troubadours have been ably illustrated by Diez in three different works. "Beiträge zur Kentniss der Romantischen Poesie. Erster Heft." Berlin, 1825, 8vo. "Die Poesie der Troubadours, nach gedruckten und handschriftlichen Werken derselben dargestellt." Leipzig, 1826, 8vo. "Leben und Werke der Troubadours: ein Beitrag zur nähern Kentniss des Mittelalters." Leipzig, 1829, 8vo. These have been followed by the copious and elaborate work of Mr. Bruce-Whyte: "Histoire des Langues Romanes et de leur Littérature, depuis leur origine jusqu'au XIVe siècle." Paris, 1841, 3 tom. 8vo.

[1] Sainte-Palaye, Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, tom. ii. p. 6. edit. Paris, 1781, 3 tom. 12mo. Raynouard, Poésies des Troubadours, tom. ii. p. xxxiv.

[2] The institution of these courts suggested the plan of a facetious work to Martial d'Auvergne, a French notary, who, according to one account, died in the year 1508. (Le Long, Bibliothèque Historique de la France, tom. iv. p. 184.) His *Arrêts d'Amours* were illustrated by the facetious commentary of Benedictus Curtius, or Benoit de Court, written in Latin, and abounding with citations of the civil and canon laws. An edition of the text and the commentary was published by Lenglet du Fresnoy. (Les Arrêts d'Amours, avec l'Amant rendu Cordelier, à l'observance d'Amours; par Martial d'Auvergne, dit, de Paris, Procureur au Parlement: accompagnez des Commentaires juridiques et joyeux de Benoit de Cour, jurisconsulte. Amst. 1731, 2 tom. 12mo.) An anonymous volume appeared under the title of "Die Minnehöfe des Mittelalters und ihre

can we overlook another characteristic institution, which however belongs to a period somewhat more recent; namely, that of academies of the *Gay Saber*, or science of poetry. A consistory or academy of this denomination was founded at Toulouse in the year 1323;[1] and the ordinances or regulations of its seven maintainers were afterwards embodied in prose and verse by the secretary. On the model of this consistory, another was instituted at Barcelona in the year 1390; and on that important occasion, the King of Spain thought it necessary to solicit assistance from the King of France.[2] But we must now return from these warm regions of fancy in order to trace the progress of poetry among a more sedate people; and we shall speedily discover that, even in their sober estimation, the Gay Science occupied a very eminent place.

Entscheidungen oder Aussprüche." Leipzig, 1821, 8vo. The ordinary account of these courts has been very strenuously disputed by Professor Diez in his Beiträge.

[1] Histoire générale de Languedoc, tom. iv. p. 196.—The first association was denominated "La gaie Société de septs Trobadors de Tolosa;" and the institution was afterwards known by the name of "L'Académie des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse."

[2] Sanchez, Coleccion de Poesias Castellanas anteriores al Siglo xv., tom. i. p. 8. Madrid, 1779-90, 4 tom. 8vo.

CHAPTER II.

THE first name which presents itself is that of Thomas of Erceldoune; a name which Scotland once viewed with reverence scarcely inferior to what Orpheus obtained in Greece. The intellectual attainments of those who at an early period in the history of refinement have exceeded the vulgar standard of excellence, are generally estimated among contemporaries with all the partiality of blind admiration; and the adventitious honours which they thus enjoy, are for the most part augmented by the credulity and national prejudices of succeeding generations. Every nation, however insignificant in the eyes of its neighbours, is apt to represent its own genius and valour as unparalleled; its poets and heroes, if they flourished in an age sufficiently remote, are apt to be blended with mythological personages, to be assimilated with those of more than mortal power. The gift of poetry was often considered as allied to that of prophecy; and, in this respect, the history of Thomas of Erceldoune is similar to that of the earliest poets of Greece; for he continued till a recent period to be recognised in the venerable character of a prophet and poet.

The history of his life and writings is involved in that degree of obscurity which may well be supposed to attend so remote an æra of our literary annals; nor is his very name ascertained beyond all doubt or controversy. According to Macpherson, the very accurate editor of Winton, he received his surname of Learmont from Hector Boyce: but it seems unnecessary to suppose that the inventive faculties of this historian were so unprofitably exercised; and, if credit is due to one of our genealogists, his family name is sufficiently established by its occurrence in authentic documents. In one charter, says Nisbet, he is called Thomas Rymor, but in others

of an earlier date, Thomas Learmount of Ercildoun.[1] Certain however it is that no writer who preceded Boyce has yet been found to describe him by the surname of Learmont; by Robert of Brunne, Barbour, Winton, Bower, and Mair, he is named Erceldoune, while Henry designates him Thomas the Rhymer. In a charter granted to the Trinity House of Soltra, the poet's son describes himself as Thomas of Ercildoun, the son and heir of Thomas *Rymour* of Ercildoun; but whether this addition is to be considered as an ordinary surname, or as an epithet commonly applied in allusion to the father's poetical talents, cannot be positively determined. It must at least be recollected that Rymer is a surname in both parts of the island, and that it has been traced to the poet's own age, and to the particular district in which he resided.[2] Thomas the Rymer is the name by which he continues to be best known among the common people of Scotland. Erceldoune, from which he derived his other appellation, is a village situated in the county of Berwick at a small distance from Melrose; and the western extremity of this village still exhibits the ruins of a tower which was once honoured by his residence.[3] His estate was afterwards acquired by the Earl of March, who at the opposite end of the village possessed another place of strength, called the Earl's Tower; and hence the ancient name of Erceldoune is supposed to have been gradually corrupted into Earlstoun.

The period of his birth it seems impossible to ascertain; but it is evident that he must have reached the height of his reputation about the year 1280, the date of his famous pro-

[1] Nisbet's System of Heraldry, vol. i. p. 134.—The same writer has on one occasion styled him Sir Thomas Learmont; but on what authority, it would not perhaps be easy to discover. (Essay on Additional Figures and Marks of Cadency, p. 158. Edinb. 1702, 8vo.)

[2] Scott's Introduction to Sir Tristrem, p. viii. 3d edit. Under the date of 1220 we find Magister Willelmus de Ercheldune, probably an ecclesiastic, named as one of five arbiters for adjusting certain differences between Walter Bishop of Glasgow and Peter Abbot of Jedburgh. *Wallenhope*, one of the vicarages to which they direct their attention, is apparently Wauchope, formerly a separate parish, but now merged in that of Langholm. The next vicarage mentioned is Kirkandrews, which now belongs to the county of Cumberland and diocese of Carlisle. (Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis, tom. i. p. 97. Edin. 1843, 2 tom. 4to.)

[3] "The ruin called the Rhymer's Tower rears its shapeless form in the midst of a beautiful *haugh*, on the east side of the Leader, half-way between the river and the town, and about fifty yards from the Edinburgh road. All that now remains of a mansion said to have been entire, as well as its outer wall or barbican, within the memory of man, is a corner of the height of two stories, presenting the appearance of having had arched roofs instead of ordinary ceilings. (Chambers's Picture of Scotland, vol. i. p. 67. Edinb. 1827, 2 vols. 8vo.)

phecy respecting the death of Alexander the Third; and in the year 1299 his son and heir conveyed the estate of Erceldoune to the convent of Soltra.[1] It is therefore obvious that the father must have died during the interval. Patrick Gordon refers his death to the year 1307,[2] but this cannot be considered as any competent authority. An individual who enjoyed the reputation of a prophet, may very naturally be supposed to have attained a venerable age; nor does there appear to be any degree of inconsistency in referring his birth to the beginning of that century. Whether he himself aspired at the character of a prophet, it may now be fruitless to inquire; but it is at least certain that such a character was long attached to his name. Dempster assures us that Eliza, an inspired nun of Haddington, flourished at the same period; and that from her writings, as well as from personal conferences, he derived much of his celestial intelligence: he further states that she was likewise distinguished by her poetical performances; and her poetry may doubtless be placed on the same shelf with her prophecies.[3] In his prophetic capacity, Thomas is mentioned by many of our early writers. Barbour, who wrote about the year 1370, introduces Bishop Lamberton expressing himself in the following terms:—

I hop, Thomas prophecy
Off Hersildoune sall weryfyd be
In him; for, swa our Lord help me,
I haiff gret hop he sall be king,
And haiff this land in leding.[4]

Bower, the continuator of the Scotichronicon, who flourished about the year 1430, has furnished us with a circumstantial detail respecting Thomas's prediction of the king's premature death. On the night preceding that event, Thomas of Erceldoune visiting the castle of Dunbar, was interrogated by the Earl of March, in the jocular manner which he was wont to assume with this reputed prophet, what another day was to

[1] The charter occurs in the Chartulary of the Trinity House of Soltra, in the Advocates' Library. It has been printed in Sir Walter Scott's Introduction, p. xcvii., and in the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. iii. p. 169.

[2] Gordon's Bruce, sig. H. ij. Dort, 1615, 4to.

[3] Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, p. 369. Bononiæ, 1627, 4to. This tale is repeated by Dr. Mackenzie, Lives of Scots Writers, vol. i. p. 394.

[4] Barbour's Bruce, p. 25, Jamieson's edit.

bring forth. Thomas, fetching a heavy sigh from the bottom of his heart, is said to have expressed himself to this effect: "Alas for to-morrow, a day of calamity and misery! Before the twelfth hour, shall be heard a blast so vehement that it shall exceed all those which have yet been heard in Scotland: a blast which shall strike the nations with amazement, shall confound those who hear it, shall humble what is lofty, and what is unbending shall level with the ground." In consequence of this alarming prediction, the Earl and his attendants were induced to observe the state of the atmosphere next day; but having watched till the ninth hour without being able to discover any unusual appearance, they began to deride Thomas as a driveller. The Earl however had scarcely sat down to dinner, and the hand of the dial pointed towards the hour of noon, when a messenger arrived at the gate, and importunately demanded admission: they now found that the prediction was fatally verified; for this messenger came to announce the intelligence of the king's death.[1]

Winton and Henry have likewise represented Thomas as endowed with the spirit of divination; and they are equally dubious as to the origin of the power which they acknowledge him to have possessed.[2] Mair and Boyce[3] have inserted in

[1] Bower Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 131, edit. Goodall.

[2] Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 202. Henry's Wallace, p. 23, Jamieson's edit.—In the character of a prophet, Thomas of Erceldoune makes a conspicuous figure in three more recent poems on the exploits of Wallace.

Hic senior Lermon, cui pristina cuique futura
Cognita, et ambigui non nescia pectora fati,
Solari satagens, dura incrementa gravesque
Commemorare ortus gentisque haud mollia fata
Cœpit, et indomitos referebat in ordine casus.
PANTERI Valliados, lib. i.

From Ercildoun's lone walls the prophet came,
A milk-white deer stood lovely by his side:—
Oh! long shall Scotland sound with Rymour's name,
For in an unknown cave the seer shall bide,
Till through the realm gaunt kings and chiefs shall ride,
Wading through floods of carnage, bridle-deep:
The cries of terror and the wailing wide
Shall rouse the prophet from his tranced sleep;
His harp shall ring with wo, and all the land shall weep.
FINLAY'S Wallace, p. 48.

Such Wallace was; and many a year
Ere he had spirit, form, or limb,
They say that voice of gifted seer,
'Mid tales of wonder, death, and fear,
Had prophecied of him—
Old Learmont, who, by Leader's stream,
Beneath the wan moon's sickly gleam,
Dar'd to lift up his mortal eye
To the glimmering forms that glided by,
The unborn people of futurity.
HOLFORD'S Wallace, p. 17.

He is likewise mentioned, though not very poetically, in an anonymous poem, supposed to have been written during the earlier part of the last century. See Cheviot, a poetical Fragment, by R. W. p. 41. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1817, 8vo.

[3] Boethii Scotorum Historia, f. cccii. a. Paris [1527], fol.

their respective histories the tale so circumstantially related by Bower; but, with his usual good sense, the former subjoins: "To this Thomas our countrymen have ascribed many predictions, and the common people of Britain yield no slight degree of credit to stories of this nature; which I for the most part am accustomed to treat with ridicule."[1] Lesley commemorates Michael Scot and Thomas Learmont as personages of an extraordinary character; and he also hints at the famous prediction of the king's death.[2] But the period of the union seems to have been the crisis of his reputation as a prophet; for, as we learn from an honest burgess of Edinburgh, "at this tyme all the

[1] Major de Gestis Scotorum, f. lxviii. a. Paris, 1521, 4to.

[2] Leslæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 232. Romæ, 1578, 4to.—It is almost universally allowed, except by a few English writers, that Michael Scot was a native of Scotland. His country is unequivocally mentioned by Boccaccio: "Egli non ha anchora guari, que in questa città fu un gran maestro in nigromantia, il quale hebbe nome Michale Scotto, percio che di Scotia era." (Decamerone, giorn. viii. nov. ix. f. 221, ed. Firenze, 1527, 4to.) Leland professes to have learned "a fide dignis" from some nameless vouchers, that he was born in the county of Durham (De Scriptoribus Britannicis, tom. i. p. 254); and this very loose and unsatisfactory account has been adopted by Bale, Pitts, and various other writers. He is said to have studied at Oxford and Paris, and to have made great progress in mathematics and philosophy. He appears to have resided some time in Spain, where he might attain to proficiency in the Arabic language, though some literary historians have represented him as frequenting the most famous schools of the East. His Latin version of Alpetragius or Alpetraugi's treatise on astronomy, as we learn from the colophon of one of the manuscripts, was compiled at Toledo in the year 1217. It was probably after this period that he became a favourite at the court of the Emperor Frederic the Second, to whom he has dedicated his work on physiognomy, *Liber Phisionomiæ*. In the colophon of various editions of the same book, it is described as "De Procreatione et Hominis Phisionomia opus." An Italian translation appeared under the following title: "Physonomia, la qual compilò Maestro Michael Scotto, a preghi de Federico, Romano Imperatore, huomo de gran scientia: et è cosa molto notabile, e da tenir secreta," etc. Vinegia, 1537, 8vo. Another of his works is entitled *Mensa Philosophica*, and it has likewise been repeatedly printed. In the Advocates' Library there are early editions of both these works, in quarto, without dates. Scot translated, apparently from the Arabic, the history of animals, and some other works of Aristotle. (Fabricii Bibliotheca Latina Mediæ et Infimæ Ætatis, tom. v. p. 77. Jourdain, Recherches critiques sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote, p. 130: Paris, 1819, 8vo. Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, tom. vi. p. 387. Reliqua Librorum Friderici II. Imperatoris de Arte venandi cum Avibus, edidit Jo. Gotti. Schneider, tom. i. p. xii. tom. ii. p. 80. Lipsiæ, 1788-9, 2 tom. 4to.) His knowledge of what is termed natural magic procured him the character of an enchanter; and in this light he is represented by Teofilo Folengo, and by a more celebrated poet.

Quell' altro, che ne' fianchi è così poco,
Michele Scotto fu, che veramente
Delle magiche frode seppe il giuoco.
DANTE, Inferno, canto xx. 115.

From the charge of magic he was vindicated, when such a vindication might still be necessary, by the learning of Gabriel Naudé. (Apologie pour tous les grands Personnages qu' ont esté fausement soupçonnez de Magie, p. 495.) A very moderate estimate of his talents has been formed by Picus of Mirandula. Alluding to Alphonzo, king of Spain, who encouraged the study of astrology, he remarks, "In ejus gratiam, Arabum et Græcorum multa ejus artis monumenta ad nos pervenerunt, per Joannem præsertim Hispalensem et Michaelem Scotum, scriptorem nullius ponderis, multæ vero superstitionis." (Disputationes in Astrologiam, lib. xii. cap. vii.)

haill comons of Scotland that had red or understanding, wer daylie speiking and exponeing of Thomas Rymer hes prophesie, and of uther prophesies quhilk wer prophesied in auld tymes."[1] Nor was it among the vulgar alone that such expositions took place: John Colville, in an oration composed at this period, expresses his surprise at the fulfilment of the prophecies ascribed to Thomas the Rhymer;[2] and the Earl of Stirling, in the dedication of his Monarchicke Tragedies to King James, introduces the following allusion to the same subject:—

> Ere thou wast borne, and since, heaven thee endeeres,
> Held back as best to grace these last worst times;
> The world long'd for thy birth three hundreth yeeres,
> Since first fore-told wrapt in propheticke rimes.

Nor was this topic neglected by Drummond:—

> This is that king who should make right each wrong,
> Of whom the bards and mysticke Sibilles song,
> The man long promis'd, by whose glorious raigne
> This isle should yet her ancient name regaine,
> And more of Fortunate deserve the stile
> Than those where heauens with double summers smile.[3]

Archbishop Spotswood has remarked that "the prophesies yet extant in Scotish rhymes, may justly be admired; having foretold, so many ages before, the union of England and Scotland in the ninth degree of the Bruce's blood, with the succession of Bruce himself to the crown, being yet a child, and other divers particulars which the event hath ratified and made good."[4] Lord Hailes considers it as amazing that Spotswood, "a man of sense and a scholar, should imagine that this prophecy was ancient, or that it did so much as bear the name of Thomas the Rhymer. The language throughout is scarcely more ancient than the times of the archbishop himself."[5] But the texture of this poem seems to belong to a period considerably removed

[1] Birrel's Diarey: Fragments of Scotish History, p. 59. Edinb. 1798, 4to.

[2] "Nonne hæc Saturnii seculi argumenta indubitata? Quæ mihi in memoriam exulceratam revocant, quod cum puer essem audiveram balathrones ceraulas nomine Thomæ Rythmici fatidici numerare quædam carmina trivialia, quæ tunc ludicra, nunc vero seria atque efficacia esse agnosco: verum si Delphice an divinitus inspirata sint, definire non audeo cum teste Augustino." (Colvilli Oratio Funebris Exequiis Elizabethæ nuperæ Angliæ Reginæ destinata, p. 24. Paris, 1604, 8vo.)

[3] Drummond's Forth Feasting, sig. B. 3. Edinb. 1617, 4to.

[4] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 47.

[5] Hailes's Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 312. See likewise his Remarks on the History of Scotland, p 89. Edinb. 1773, 12mo.

from the age of Archbishop Spotswood; and it is at least certain that such a production was known to Sir David Lindsay when he composed the epistle prefixed to his Dreme.[1] The progress of knowledge and of reason has gradually impaired the veneration with which his name was once regarded; though it cannot be affirmed that even now his reputation as a prophet is completely extinct: it still lingers among the rustic readers of his native land; and "The whole Prophecies of Scotland, England, Ireland, France, and Denmark, prophecied by Thomas Rymer, marvellous Merling, Beid, Berlington, Waldhave, Eltrain, Bannester, and Sybilla," continue to be printed for the worshipful company of flying stationers. Of this curious collection, the earliest edition that has hitherto been traced was printed by Waldegrave in the year 1603. The prophecies ascribed to Berlington and Waldhave, Bishop Percy supposes to be of higher antiquity than the rest.[2] The collection chiefly consists of poems written in the alliterative blank verse, of which the author of Piers Plowman has exhibited so conspicuous a specimen; but the Rhymer's prophecies are written in a more common measure: they are not produced as the composition of the prophet himself, who is thus introduced at the beginning of the poem:

Still on my 'wayis' as I went
Out through a land beside a lea,
I met a bairn upon the bent,[3]
Methought him seemly for to see.
I ask'd him wholly his intent:—
Good Sir, if your will be,
Since that ye bide upon the bent,
Some uncouth tidings tell you me.
When shall these wars be gone,
That leil men may live in lee;

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 180.

[2] Percy's Essay on the Alliterative Metre in Pierce Plowman's Visions, p. 315. The prophecies of Beda, etc., says Mr. Pinkerton, "are the best remains of the English poetry of the fifteenth century; and there is an excellent MS. in the Marquis of Lansdowne's library." (Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 418.)

[3] To mony gracious grome he maid his record
How the busteous beirne met him on the bent.
Taill of Rauf Coilzear.

Than spake a berne upon the bent,
Of comforte that was not cold.
Battle of Otterbourne, 17,
Percy, vol. i. p. 22.

We saw a bousteous berne cum ovir the bent.
LINDSAY'S Works, vol. i. p. 237.

Quhat bairnis ar yon upon the bent?
Vol. i. p. 407.

Or when shall Falschude go from home,
And Lawtie blow his horn on hie?

The poet concludes his prolusion by revealing the name and abode of this prophet:—

When all these ferlies were away,
Then saw I none but I and he:
Then to the beirn could I say,
Where dwellest thou? in what country?
Or who shall rule the isle Britain,
From the north to the south sea?
The French wife shall bear the son
Shall rule all Britain to the sea,
That of the Bruce's blood shall come
As near as the ninth degree.
I frained fast what was his name?
Whence that he came? in what country?—
In Erslingtown I dwell at hame;
Thomas Rymer men call me.

The claims of Thomas of Erceldoune to the character of a prophet, do not seem to require any further investigation; but his claims to the character of a poet may perhaps be considered as more legitimate. That he was admired for his poetical talents, is evident from the testimony of a writer who approached very near his own age: Robert of Brunne, who flourished about the year 1303, commemorates him as the author of an incomparable romance of the story of Sir Tristrem:—

I see in song in sedgeyng tale
Of Erceldoun and of Kendale,
Non tham says as thai tham wroght,
And in ther sayng it semes noght.
That may thou here in Sir Tristrem;
Ouer gestes it hes the steem,
Ouer all that is or was,
If men it sayd as made Thomas,
Bot I here it no man so say,
That of som copple som is away.
So thare fayre saying here beforne,
Is thare trauayle nere forlorne.
Thai sayd it for pride and nobleye,
That non were suylk as thei
And alle that thai wild ouerwhere,
Alle that ilk wille now forfare.

Thai sayd in so quainte Inglis,
That manyone wate not what it is:
Therfore heuyed wele the more
In strange ryme to trauayle sore,
And my witte was oure thynne,
So strange speche to trauayle in,
And forsoth I couth noght
So strange Inglis as thai wroght;
And men besoght me many a tyme,
To turne it bot in light ryme.[1]

From this passage it is evident that some poet of Erceldoune was classed among the most distinguished writers of *gestes* or romances. Here we have the Christian name Thomas, which may indeed belong to either of the two poets who are thus mentioned, but which we may without much hesitation suppose to belong to the rhymer of Erceldoune. The history of Kendale is altogether unknown, and his baptismal name cannot be ascertained.[2] A romance on the story of Sir Tristrem, and doubtless of a very early date, was discovered in the Advocates' Library by the late Mr. Ritson; a man of restless and indefatigable research, to whom the lovers of black letter would have been more willing to acknowledge their obligations, if he had not mingled so large a portion of acid in all his compositions.[3] Of this very curious relique of British literature, an elaborate and valuable edition, including all the necessary illustrations, was published by Sir Walter Scott in the year 1804. The manuscript which contains Sir Tristrem was presented to the library in 1744 by Alexander Boswell, called by courtesy Lord Auchinleck, a judge of the Court of Session: it is an ample quarto, written on vellum, and including upwards of forty poems and fragments of poems, the great body of which are manifestly English.[4] It is supposed to have been transcribed about the middle of the fourteenth century. This valuable manuscript, like many others, has been exposed to various

[1] Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, vol. i. p. xcix.

[2] Kendal is the name of a considerable town in Westmoreland; and from this town it is highly probable that the poet mentioned by Robert of Brunne may have derived his appellation. The industrious Ritson could not discover any other vestige of his history. (Bibliographia Poetica, p. 13.)

[3] Tam censorius haud fuit vel ille
Quem risisse semel ferunt in ævo.
SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, Carm. xxiv. 12.

[4] Of the contents of the Auchinleck MS. Sir Walter Scott has given a satisfactory account, in an appendix to his Introduction.

injuries from the miserable practice of cutting out the illuminations: Sir Tristrem has unfortunately been curtailed in this manner; a few stanzas at the conclusion are entirely lost, and in other places the poem is considerably mutilated. The deficiency at the close has been supplied by the editor, who has with much felicity adopted the language and versification of the ancient poet.

Here we have at least discovered a romance of Sir Tristrem which apparently belongs to the age of Thomas of Erceldoune; but the very first stanza of this romance mentions Thomas in the third person:—

I was at Erceldoune.[1]
With Tomas spak Y thare;
Ther herd Y rede in roune,
Who Tristrem gat and bare;
Who was king with croun;
And who him forsterd yare;
And who was bold baroun,
As thair elders ware,
Bi yere.
Tomas telles in toun
This auentours as thai ware.

If Thomas of Erceldoune was the author of the poem, why should he introduce himself in this unusual manner? why should he adopt a mode of expression so remote from that of a writer who might have been expected to appear in his own character? We cannot but entertain a strong suspicion that this is the language of another poet, who borrowed his materials; but it may not perhaps be considered as altogether absurd to suppose that he was nevertheless the real author, and that he had recourse to this method of recording his own claims. At that period, there was no reading public, no numerous class of society who perused books for pleasure or instruction; reading and writing were branches of education into which even knights and barons seem to have been but rarely initiated; they were very generally disposed to leave every vestige of learning to two

[1] "There is a blank where the word Erceldoune is inserted, occasioned by cutting out the illumination; but fortunately the whole line is written at the bottom of the preceding page by way of catch-word, and runs thus:—

Y was at Ertheldoune.

The faint vestiges of the text, as well as probability, dictated the spelling, which however ought not to be adopted without acknowledgment."—Scott.

different orders of men, the clergy and the minstrels.[1] Thomas, although he was certainly a poet, does not appear to have been a professional reciter of poetry; we have already seen that he possessed landed property of some value; and it is therefore probable that he committed to others the task of reciting his compositions. It was chiefly by means of recitation that any literary work could then be extensively communicated to the public; to transcribe an ample number of copies was attended with no small labour or expense; and many individuals unable to read might still be anxious to hear a story of arms or a lay of love. The halls of barons, and even the courts of princes, were accordingly frequented by the minstrels, who by their music and recitations beguiled the tedious hours of knights and ladies, unacquainted with most of the intellectual pursuits which a more refined state of society must necessarily introduce. Of these servants of the muses, some were poets as well as musicians, while others only aspired at the humbler task of reciting the strains of others. If Thomas of Erceldoune composed this romance, he probably wished to solicit the notice of his countrymen in the usual manner; nor is it unreasonable to imagine that he was anxious to prevent the audience from transferring to the reciter the honour due to the poet. On this hypothesis, the introduction of the author's name may not appear so unnatural: the first stanza recommends him to the notice of the hearers, and his name is repeatedly mentioned in the progress of the narrative, where the story is professedly continued "as Tomas hath ous taught."

The language of this romance unquestionably belongs to a very early period of British literature; but, as it presents itself in the only copy known to exist, we cannot suppose it to be the

[1] "The knights in romance are seldom represented as deficient in this respect, still it is spoken of as an accomplishment. When Gawain wins the *espee aux estranges renges* which had belonged to Judas Maccabeus and Joseph of Arimathea, he finds an inscription upon it, and the writer tells us that he could read well:—'Et Gauvain, qui bien sçavoit lire, tendit la main,' etc. Perceval, f. 68. It appears that Perceval himself could not read, 'Perceval ne sçavoit pas lyre, mais bien en avoit ouy parler,' etc, f. 177. In the Partidas there are reasons given why it is proper that the sons of a king should be taught to read and write." (Southey's Preface to the Lyf of Kyng Arthur, p. xxxiii.) Bishop Percy, speaking of an Earl of Northumberland who died in the year 1527, observes that he lived "at a time when many of the first nobility could hardly read or write their names." (Preface to the Northumberland Household-Book, p. xxii.)

unmixed and genuine language of any Scotish poet. It is however necessary to recollect that the transcript appears to have been executed, not in Scotland, but in England; and that it was the common practice of transcribers to take considerable liberties in varying the orthography or forms of words, according to the standard of their respective age and district. This was evidently the practice of English transcribers at a very early period, and it may indeed be traced to a more remote æra in the history of literature; such a process, for example, must have taken place in some particular copies of the treatise of Ocellus Lucanus "De Universi Natura:" this very ancient philosopher was a Dorian by birth, and that he wrote in his native dialect, is sufficiently clear from the extracts to be found in Stobæus; and yet his entire treatise has descended to us in an Attic dress. Sir Tristrem contains many idioms which are still Scotish, but which have ceased to be English. But the same remark is likewise applicable to all the English poets of an early date; for, after a certain period, the languages of the two countries seem gradually to have receded from each other. Barbour and Chaucer approach much nearer than Douglas and Surrey to the same standard of phraseology and composition. Robert of Brunne, as we have already seen, characterizes the two poets of Erceldoune and of Kendale as writers of quaint English, not easily understood by a vulgar audience; and he particularly mentions, that the verses of Sir Tristrem were commonly marred in the recitation. This description seems not inapplicable to the work now under our review: it exhibits a pregnant brevity of style which distinguishes it from most of the ancient romances that have reached our times, and the structure of the stanza is artificial and complicated, consisting of eleven verses, in nine of which there are only two rhymes. It appears that the reciters were apt to mar the poet's verses; "that of some copple som is away." By the word *copple* the editor of Sir Tristrem understands a stanza, but according to a more recent writer, it is clearly equivalent to the modern term couplet;[1] and, in his opinion, it would be difficult to specify

[1] According to Mr. Guest, "the term *copple* does not (as Sir Walter Scott conjectured) mean a rhiming couplet, nor (as Price conjectured) an alliterative couplet, but merely the

any period in the history of the language, when the expression implied more than the simple connexion of two distinct bodies. But, admitting the truth of this latter remark, it is obvious that the term may naturally enough be understood as denoting the connexion of two lines in the same stanza which rhyme with each other; and the ancient chronicler's allusion will thus be found sufficiently applicable to this romance, which is written, not in couplets, but in stanzas. But another passage in the same chronicler seems likewise to require a commentary :—

> And men besoght me many a tyme
> To turn it bot in light ryme.
> Thai sayd, if I in strange it turne,
> To here it manyon suld skurne :
> For [in] it ere names fulle selcouthe,
> That ere not vsed now in mouthe.
> And therfore for the comonalte,
> That blythely wild listen to me,
> On light lange I it began,
> For luf of the lewed man,
> To telle tham the chaunces bolde,
> That here before was don and told.

From this passage, Mr. Price, the able and accomplished editor of Warton, has endeavoured to prove that the writer could not allude to the romance of Sir Tristrem with which we are acquainted. "Of these 'selcouthe names,' what traces do we find in the romance of Sir Tristram, that are not to be met with in equal abundance in the poems of De Brunne? If the former be a specimen of that 'quaint Inglis,' which could justify De Brunne in saying it contained 'names not used now in mouthe,' upon what principle can we allow this cloistered versifier to have avoided the same peculiarity in his own compositions? His own poems are equally quaint and equally prolific of that

correspondence which exists between two rhiming lines, whether immediately connected or widely separated from each other." (History of English Rhythms, vol. ii. p. 288. Lond. 1838, 2 vols. 8vo.) The Spanish word *copla* denotes a stanza. Whatever may be the meaning of the word *copill* in the following stanza of King James, it certainly cannot be understood as signifying a couplet :—

> And on the small grene twistis sat
> The lytil suete nyghtingale, and song
> So loud and clere the ympnis consecrat
> Of luvis use, now soft, now lowd among,
> That all the gardynis and the wallis rong
> Rycht of thaire song, and on the *copill* next
> Of thaire suete armony, and to the text.

King's Quair, p. 75, Tytler's edit.

same obsolete phraseology which limited the popularity of his admired predecessors."[1] But what was the task which this worthy canon of Brunne was frequently urged to undertake? Certainly not to translate the poems of Erceldoune and Kendale, but the chronicle of England, as he found it written by Peter Langtoft and other authors. He was requested to turn it, that is, the chronicle, into light or easy rhyme, and was advised not to turn it into strange, that is, complicated or difficult rhyme. The "selcouthe" or uncommon names to which he alludes, are therefore to be sought, not in the romance, but in the original chronicle.

Having duly considered all these doubts and probabilities, some readers may possibly be disposed to conclude, that there is not much more difficulty in supposing this to be the modified work of Thomas of Erceldoune, than in supposing two very conspicuous romances on the same story to have been produced by two British poets at nearly the same period. But it must on the other hand be admitted that the subject was uncommonly popular. Tristrem or Tristram, whom the French and Germans commonly call Tristan,[2] is one of the most celebrated heroes of romance;[3] his exploits have likewise been commemorated by the writers of France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and even of Greece[4] and Island. He is commonly represented as one of the knights of the round table, and some of the later romancers assign the honour of his birth to Bretagne; but the poem ascribed to Thomas of Erceldoune makes no allusion to the history of King Arthur, and it refers the hero's origin to the kingdom of Cornwall. In what language his story was first exhibited, it is not so easy to ascertain; but we learn from com-

[1] Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 184, edit. Lond. 1824, 4 vols. 8vo.

[2] The French writers occasionally give him the name by which he is most generally known in England.

Coment Paris ravi Helayne,
Les max qu'il en ot et la paine
De Tristram qui a chievre fist.
Roman du Renart, tom. i. p. 1.

[3] Vidi Paris, Tristano; e più di mille
Ombre mostrommi, e nominolle a dito,
Ch' amor di nostra vita dipartille.
DANTE, Inferno, Canto v. 67.

Ecco quei che le carte empion di sogni,
Lancilotto, Tristano, e gli altri erranti;
Onde conven che 'l volgo errante agogni.
Vedi Ginevra, Isotta, e l' altre amanti.
PETRARCA, Trionfo d'Amore, cap. iii.

[4] As a specimen of his *Monumenta Medii Ævi*, Professor von der Hagen has lately published a Greek poem "De Rebus gestis Regis Arturi, Tristani, Lanceloti, Galbani, Palamedis, aliorumque Equitum Tabulæ Rotundæ." Vratislaviæ, 1821, 8vo. The verses are πολιτικοὶ στίχοι, and the work may be considered as a literary curiosity.

petent authority that a romance of Tristrem and Yseult must once have existed in the language of the troubadours.[1] In the opinion of Raynouard, this subject was one of the most popular among the writers of the middle ages, both in the north and south of France, and likewise in other countries. Rambaud, Count of Orange, a notable troubadour who died about the year 1173, makes the following allusion to the adventures of Tristrem and his paramour :—

Car ieu begui de l'amor,
Que ja us deia amar celada,
Ab Tristan, quan la il det Yseus gen . . .
Sobre totz aurai gran valor,
S' aital camisa m' es dada
Cum Yseus det a l'amador,
Que mais non era portata :
Tristan mout presetz gent presen . . .
Qu' Yseutz estet en gran paor,
Puois fon breumens conseillada,
Qu'ilh fetz a son marit crezen
C'anc hom que nasques de maire
Non toques en lieis manteuen.[2]

Many other allusions to the same hero and heroine occur in those works of the troubadours which are still preserved; and the subject was indeed so popular and common that a troubadour, reproaching a jongleur with his ignorance, avers that he is not even acquainted with the adventures of Tristrem :—

Ni no sabetz las novas de Tristan.[3]

Chrestien de Troyes, a French poet, is said to have composed a metrical romance of Sir Tristrem before the close of the twelfth century;[4] and about the same period Heinrich von Veldig, a German minnesinger, refers to the tale of Tristrem and the queen as familiarly known.[5] At the beginning of the ensuing century the brave King of Navarre makes a similar allusion.[6] Marie de France, an Anglo-Norman poetess, who

[1] Raynouard, Poésies des Troubadours, tom. ii. p. 316.

[2] *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 312.

[3] *Ibid.* tom. ii. p. 316.

[4] Histoire Littéraire de la France, tom. xv. p. 193-4.

[5] Lays of the Minnesingers, p. 109. Lond. 1825, 8vo.

[6] Poësies du Roy de Navarre, tom. ii. p. 7. 145. Paris, 1742, 2 tom. 8vo.

likewise flourished about this period, and who appears to have drawn the subjects of most of her lays from the poets of Bretagne, takes occasion to quote a written account of Tristrem and Yseult :—

Plusurs le m' unt cunté è dit,
E jeo l' ai trové en escrit ;
De Tristam è de la reïne,
De lur amur qui tant fu fine.[1]

It is therefore evident that the exploits of Tristrem were celebrated by the continental poets long before the birth of Thomas of Erceldoune. If we may rely on the authority of the Welsh annals, they were recorded at a much earlier period, and his character belongs to authentic history.[2] It has been remarked that the scene of Tristrem's life and adventures is laid in countries inhabited by the Celtic tribes, and that the names of all the principal personages are of genuine British origin.[3] Some of these names however do not seem to be exclusively British. Mark is evidently derived from the Latin Marcus,

[1] Poésies de Marie de France, publiées par B. de Roquefort, tom. i. p. 388. Paris, 1820, 2 tom. 8vo. Marie is supposed to be the author of "Le Couronnemens Renart," which forms a branch of the series of metrical fables, written by different individuals, and known by the general title of "Le Roman du Renart." The earlier portion of this work obtained such popularity, that, with certain changes and modifications, it was transfused, either in prose or verse, into various languages, into German, Flemish, English, Danish, and Latin. On the Low German version of *Reynike Voss*, a curious specimen of language and verse, many observations may be found in Sir Herbert Croft's "Letter on the English and German Languages." Hamburgh, 1797, 4to. See likewise Kinderling's "Geschichte der Nieder-Sächsischen, oder sogenannten Plattdeutschen Sprache," S. 350. Notwithstanding the celebrity of the French original, it has very recently been printed for the first time. (Le Roman du Renart, publié par M. D. M. Méon. Paris, 1826, 4 tom. 8vo.) The branch ascribed to Marie de France is inserted in the fourth volume. With respect to her claim to be considered as the author, the reader may consult the preface of M. Méon, p. vii. and M. Robert's "Essai sur les Auteurs dont les Fables ont précédé celles de La Fontaine" (p. cxxix. cliv.), prefixed to "Fables inédites des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe Siècles, et Fables de La Fontaine rapprochées de celles de tous les Auteurs qui avoient, avant lui, traité les mêmes Sujets." Paris, 1825, 2 tom. 8vo.

[2] Trystan the son of Tallwch is mentioned in the Dream of Rhonabwy: "This personage is better known as the Sir Tristrem of metrical romance, than in his proper character as a chieftain of the sixth century. In the Triads, he is mentioned as one of the three compeers of Arthur's court, as one of the diademed princes, as one of the three heralds, and as one of the three stubborn ones, whom no one could deter from their purpose. His chief celebrity however is derived from his unfortunate attachment to Essyllt, the wife of his uncle, March ab Meirchion, which gained him the appellation of one of the three ardent lovers of Britain. It was owing to the circumstance of his having tended his uncle's swine, whilst he despatched their usual keeper with a message to this lady, that he became classed as one of the three swineherds of the island. There is a further Triad concerning Trystan, in which he is represented as able to transform himself into any shape he pleased." (The Mabinogion, from the *Llyfr Coch o Hergest*, and other ancient Welsh manuscripts, with an English translation and notes, by Lady Charlotte Guest, p. 441.)

[3] Scott's Introduction, p. xxv.

which under certain varieties of termination has found its way into most countries of Europe, Rouland Rise, the appellation of the hero's father, is perhaps of a mixed character: Roland has for many centuries been a French name; and Rise, whatever it may signify in the Celtic dialects, is conspicuous in the Gothic as denoting a giant or hero.[1] In the ancient Danish ballads we meet with Langben Rise and Berner Rise;[2] and Roland Rise is apparently a name of a similar formation, denoting the giant or hero Roland.

On the story of Tristrem, several metrical romances in the German language are still preserved; the most conspicuous of which is that of Gottfried von Strassburg. A passage in the introduction of his poem has been supposed to contain an allusion to the Scotish poet:—

Aber, als ich gesprochen han,
Daz si niht rehte haben gelesen,
Daz ist als ich iv sage gewesen,
Sine sprachen in der rihte niht
Als Thomas von Britanie giht,
Der aventure meister was,
Vnde an Britvnschen buchen las
Aller der landherren leben,
Vnde ez vns zu kvnde hat gegeben.[3]

Here Gottfried appeals to the authority of Thomas von Britanie, or Thomas of Britain; but Von der Hagen and Büsching, the learned historians of German poetry, have suggested a doubt whether the chronology will authorize us to conclude that this precursor was Thomas of Erceldoune.[4] The precise period at which Gottfried wrote his romance it seems very difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain; but some manuscripts of it are described as belonging to the middle of the thirteenth century;[5] and Thomas appears to have been still alive in the year 1286. As the intercourse between Scotland and Germany was not

[1] "*Rese*, gigas, homo insolitæ magnitudinis. Isl. *hrese*, *risur*. V. Verelii Index, p. 124. Al. *riso*. Belg. *reus*. Germ. *riese*. L. B. *risius*. Terram quam incolebant hi Gigantes, veteres historiæ *Risaland* nuncupant." (Ihre Glossarium Suiogothicum, tom. ii. col. 424.)

[2] Danske Viser, 1 Bind, S. 25, 55.

[3] Tristan von Meister Gotfrit von Strassburg, mit der Fortsetzung des Meisters Ulrich von Turheim, herausgegeben von E. von Groote, S. 5. Berlin, 1821, 4to.

[4] Von der Hagen und Büsching's literarischer Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie, S. 133. Berlin, 1812, 8vo.

[5] E. von Groote's Einleitung, S. xlix.

then very frequent or familiar, it may therefore be suspected that the Scotish romance could not so expeditiously have been translated into French, and circulated on the Continent. In the outline of the story, as told by the British and the German poet, there is indeed a general coincidence; but Von Groote, the late editor of the German romance, has pointed out many variations in the detail. Gottfried von Strassburg's work, although it extends to nearly twenty thousand verses, was left incomplete; and it has been continued by other two poets, Heinrich von Friberg and Ulrich von Turheim. The first of these continuators likewise alleges the authority of Thomas of Britain :—

Als Thomas von Britania sprach
Von den zwein süzen jungen,
In Lampartischer zungen
Also han ich iu die warheit
In Diutsche von in zwein geseit.[1]

As he supposes this Thomas to have written in the language of Lombardy, we can scarcely understand him as referring to Thomas of Erceldoune; and he is very far from adhering to the narrative of the romance with which we are acquainted. True indeed it is that such writers are often abundantly licentious in devising authorities: they sometimes make serious protestations of deriving their materials from British or Armorican, and even from Latin or Greek sources; and their protestations are entitled to the same degree of credit that is due to Cervantes when he gravely reveals the discovery of the Arabic manuscript. But another early poet, Wolfram von Eschenbach, in his romance of Titurel, quotes as one of his sources of information the Chronicle of Cornwall by Thomas von Brittanien.[2] The very able editor of Warton has already remarked that this is evidently the same Thomas quoted by the other German romancers; and that many of the inferences respecting the

[1] Gottfrieds von Strassburg Werke, herausgegeben durch Friedr. Heinr. von der Hagen, ii. Band, S. 97. Breslau, 1823, 2 Bde. 8vo.—Besides the continuations of Ulrich von Turheim and Heinrich von Friberg, the learned and industrious editor has added various poems on the same subject, written in various languages; and, among others, the romance ascribed to Thomas of Erceldoune, and some fragments of the romance of Tristan by Eilhart von Hobergen.

[2] See the preface (p. v.) to Lohengrin, ein Altteutsches Gedicht, herausgegeben von J. Görres. Heidelberg, 1813, 8vo.

extended fame of the Scotish poet, must consequently be regarded as erroneous. It is highly probable that this chronicle was written in Norman French: that it was written at a very early period, is sufficiently obvious; for Wolfram, by whom it is quoted, flourished about the year 1207. At a period so remote as the year 1226, a romance of Tristrem and Ysonde was, at the command of Hakon king of Norway, translated into the Islandic language by a monk named Robert.[1] This version has never been printed; but the manuscript preserved at Copenhagen has been inspected by Dr. Müller, who supplies us with some important information. An incident related in Grettirssaga he states to be unquestionably borrowed from the romance of Tristrem: the mistress of Dromund has recourse to the same casuistical expedient as the royal mistress of Tristrem, in order to prepare her for taking an oath of purgation. Such an incident might possibly have been derived from some other source, or might have been devised by the writer of the saga; but it is of more consequence to learn that the Islandic and the British romance of Tristrem closely adhere to the same order.[2] The chronology of Thomas of Erceldoune's life will not permit us to imagine that his romance preceded that which was translated into Islandic at this very early period; and we must therefore conclude that both authors borrowed the story from one common original.

The tale of Tristrem, after having been very widely circulated by the minstrels, was at length extended and modified into a prose romance, written originally in French, and afterwards translated into Spanish and Italian.[3] It has never been exhibited in an English dress; but Syr Trystram is a conspicuous character in the book compiled from the French romances by

[1] Einari Scagraphia Historiæ Literariæ Islandicæ, p. 105. Havniæ, 1777, 8vo.

[2] Müller's Sagabibliothek, 1 Bind, S. 261.—The same romance is likewise mentioned in Professor Nyerup's Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igiennem Aarhundrider, S. 119. Kiöbenhavn, 1816, 8vo.

[3] See Scott's Introduction, p. lxxi.—An abridgment of the prose romance of Tristan de Léonois occurs in the Comte de Tressan's "Corps d'Extraits de Romans de Chevalerie," tom. i. p. 1. Paris, 1782, 4 tom. 12mo. See likewise the *Bibliothèque universelle des Romans*, Avr. 1776, tom. i. p. 53. Of most of the French romances in prose, connected with the story of King Arthur and the round table, an account may be found in Dr. Southey's preface to "The Birth, Lyf, and Actes of King Arthur," Lond. 1817, 2 vols. 4to. This is a republication of the work compiled by Sir Thomas Malory, and first printed by Caxton in the year 1485.

Sir Thomas Malory, and commonly known by the title of *Morte d'Arthur*.

The romance ascribed to Thomas of Erceldoune is deservedly regarded as a precious relique of early British poetry; it is highly curious as a specimen of language, and not less curious as a specimen of composition. The verses are short, and the stanzas somewhat artificial in their structure; and amid the quaint simplicity of the author's style, we often distinguish a forcible brevity of expression. But his narrative, which has a certain air of originality, is sometimes so abrupt as to seem obscure, and even enigmatical.

After the exordium of the poem, we are presented with a rapid glance at a war between Duke Morgan and Rouland Rise of Ermonie. Victory having inclined to the side of Rouland, the two chiefs conclude a truce for seven years, and both repair to England, where they visit the court of Mark King of Cornwall. Here they are courteously entertained, and are entreated to dwell with him in peace. The "child of Ermonie" appears with the first lustre at a tournament, and gains the affections of Blaunche Flour, sister to the king. Having afterwards been wounded in battle, he is favoured with a visit from this princess, who may be supposed to have attended him in a medical capacity; for during the ages of chivalry, ladies of high rank and conspicuous beauty were often distinguished for their skill in physic and surgery.[1] But the practice of these useful arts occasionally exposed their tenderness to dangerous trials; and the early romances, which in this case may easily be imagined to exhibit a picture of real life, sometimes trace the origin of a hero to such an interview. The fruit of the princess's visit is a "knave" child, named Tristrem. Morgan having broken the truce, Rouland takes his departure for Ermonie, and is accompanied by Blaunche, to whom he is married on his arrival. In a bloody battle which soon afterwards ensues, he is treacherously slain. The tidings reach Blaunche Flour during the

[1] "Il étoit d'un usage commun, du temps de l'ancienne chevalerie, que les dames et demoiselles du plus haut parage apprissent la chirurgie, pour se rendre utiles à leurs pères, maris ou parens, qui couroient, à tous momens, le danger d'être blessés dans les combats, tournois ou joûtes." (Tressan, Corps d'Extraits de Romans de Chevalerie, tom. i. p. 32.) See likewise Mr. Mill's History of Chivalry, vol. i. p. 187...Lond. 1825, 2 vols. 8vo.

pains of childbirth; and having consigned to their faithful vassal Rohant a ring well known to King Mark, she expires immediately after the birth of her son. Morgan now seizes the territories of the deceased chief: Tristrem, under the disguised name of Tramtrist, is educated by Rohant as his own child, and is carefully instructed in all the knightly accomplishments of the time. After he has attained the age of fifteen, a ship arrives from Norway, freighted with treasure, and with "haukes white and grey;" and Tristrem being informed that the shipmaster had challenged any person to play at chess, goes on board accompanied by his preceptor, together with Rohant and his sons. Tristrem wins six hawks and one hundred pounds, which the treacherous mariner has no inclination to pay. Rohant and his sons having quitted the ship, the Norwegians suddenly put to sea, and provide the tutor with a boat and an oar to retrace his course to the land. They continue at sea for nine weeks, and are overtaken by a dangerous tempest, which has the effect of rousing them to a sense of their own violence and injustice: they accordingly land Tristrem in an unknown country, and not only pay him his winnings, but likewise make him a rich present. Notwithstanding the character of his late associates, his heart becomes cold when they leave him:

Winde thai hadde as thai wolde,
A lond bilaft he;
His hert bigan to cold,
Tho he no might hem nought se.[1]

After meeting with some inconsiderable adventures, he ascertains that he is in Cornwall, and is presented to the king, who retains him at his court. In the meantime, Rohant is inconsolable for the loss of his foster-son, and having undertaken a general quest, travels through more than seven kingdoms, and

[1] This simple and touching sentiment may likewise be traced in the classical as well as in the modern poets. The editor of Sir Tristrem has quoted a similar passage from Thomson's Agamemnon, and another is to be found in Sophocles:—

Σὺ δὴ, τέκνον, ποίαν μ' ἀναστάσιν δοκεῖς,
Αὐτῶν βεβωτῶν, ἐξ ὕπνου στῆναι τότε;
Ποῖ' ἐκδακρῦσαι; ποῖ' ἀποιμῶξαι, κακά;
Ὁρῶντα μὲν ναῦς, ἃς ἔχων ἐναυστόλουν,
Πάσας βεβώσας, ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' ἔντοπον,
Οὐχ ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν, οὐδ' ὅστις νόσου
Κάμνοντι συλλάβοιτο. πάντα δὲ σκοπῶν,
Εὕρισκον οὐδὲν πλὴν ἀνιᾶσθαι παρόν·
Τούτου δὲ πολλὴν εὐμάρειαν, ὦ τέκνον.

SOPHOCLIS Philoctetes, 276, edit. Brunck.

at length traces him to the court of Cornwall. Soon after his arrival, he communicates to King Mark the story of Tristrem's birth, and produces Blaunche's ring as a voucher for its truth. Tristrem, who is now acknowledged as the king's nephew, also learns the secret of his own parentage, and is eager to revenge the wrongs of his family: having received the honour of knighthood, and being furnished with a thousand chosen men, he sails for Ermonie, and fixes his residence in the castle of Rohant. Having for some time remained inactive, he at length presents himself at the court of Morgan, with fifteen of his knights, and begins a taunting conversation with the duke, which leads to a speedy termination of their differences.

Tristrem speke bigan;
"Sir King, God loke the,
As I the love and an,
And thou hast served to me."
The Douke answerd than;
"Y pray, mi lord so fre,
Whether thou bless or ban,
Thine owhen mot it be,
Thou bold:
Thi nedes telle thou me,
Thine erand what thou wold."

"Amendes! mi fader is slain,
Mine hirritage Hermonie."
The Doulk answered ogain,
"Certes thi fader than slough Y.
Seththen thou so hast 'sayn,'
Amendes ther ought to ly,
Therefore, prout swayn,
So schal Y the for thi:
Right than
Artow comen titly
Fram Marke thi kinsman.

"Yongling, thou schalt abide,
Foles thou wendest to fand;
Thi fader thi moder gan hide,
In horedom he hir band:
How comestow with pride?
Out, traitour, of mi land!

Tristrem spac that tide ;
'Thou lext ich understand;
And wot."
Morgan with his hand
With a lof Tristrem smot.

On his brest adoun
Of his nose ran the blod :
Tristrem swerd was boun,
And ner the Douke he stode.[1]
With that was comen to toun
Rohant with help ful gode
And gayn :
Al that oyain him stode,
Wightly were thai slayn.

To prisoun thai gun take
Erl, baroun, and knight ;
For Douke Morgan sake,
Mani on dyd doun right.
Schaftes they gun schake,
And riven scheldes bright ;
Crounes thai gun crake,
Mani, ich wene, aplight,
Saunfayl :
Bituene the none and the night
Last the batayle.

The forces of Morgan being routed, and himself slain, Tristrem recovers his paternal dominions, which he conveys to Rohant to be held of him in vassalage. On his return to Cornwall, he finds the king and people in great dismay on account of a grievous tribute exacted by the king of Ireland : it consists of a certain annual payment in gold, silver, and tin, and, every fourth year, of three hundred free-born children. After conferring with Mark and his council, Tristrem determines to resist this unjust exaction ; and having sought Morant, a gigantic knight who is sent to demand the children, he formally declares that no tribute is due. Morant gives him the lie direct, and they exchange gages of battle ; a long and terrible combat ensues, and the Irish knight is at length slain. Tristrem having

[1] "Two lines are here wanting, as is evident from the difference in the stanza, though there is no blank in the ms."—Scott.

thus delivered the kingdom from such an ignominious subjection, is declared his uncle's successor; but to countervail these advantages, he is grievously afflicted by a wound received in battle.

Thei Tristrem light thenke,
He is wounded ful sare;
Leches with salve and drink
Him cometh wide whare:
Thai lorn al her swink,
His paines was ay the mare,
No man no might for stink
Com ther Tristrem ware
Als than:
Ich man forsok him thare,
Bot Gouernayl his man.

Being thus shunned and forsaken, he obtains a ship from the king, and having embarked at Carlioun with his faithful squire, he is tossed on the ocean for upwards of nine weeks, and is finally driven towards the port of Dublin. As the queen of Ireland is sister to the knight whom he has lately slain, he resumes the name of Tramtris, and pretends that his companions had been murdered, and himself wounded by pirates. His skill in music and other accomplishments, particularly his proficiency as a chess-player, excite the admiration of the Irish.

An heye man he was like,
Thei he wer wounded sare;
His gles weren so sellike,
That wonder thought him thare;
His harp, his croude was rike;
His tables, his ches he bare;
Thai swore bi Seyn Patricke,
Swiche seighe thai never are,
Er than:
Gif he in hele were,
He were a miri man.

The queen, who is very skilful in medicine, undertakes and in due time completes his cure; and in return he undertakes to instruct the beautiful princess Ysonde, whose delight it is to hear music, "and romance to rede aright." After sojourning a year in Ireland, he is loaded with presents, and reluctantly dis-

missed by the queen. On returning to the court of Cornwall, where he is very graciously received, he bestows such high commendation on the charms of Ysonde, that his uncle falls in love with her from his description; and the barons, who are jealous of Sir Tristrem's superiority, urge the King to conclude a match with her. His nephew is accordingly despatched to Ireland with costly gifts; but on his arrival at Dublin, he finds the people in great consternation at the ravages of a dragon—for without the agency of a dragon or a giant, no romance can be complete. Such is the national alarm, that the hand of the fair Ysonde is promised to the bold man who shall either slay this monster or take it alive. Tristrem exposes himself to a very perilous encounter with the dragon, which vomits flames of fire that consume shield and stone: after breaking his spear and losing his steed, he at length achieves its death; and having cut out the tongue, he bears it away "in his hose next the hide," but before he proceeds more than ten paces, he is deprived of his sense and motion by the powerful operation of the dragon's poison. The king's steward, who had beheld the princess with a longing eye, now makes his appearance, and having cut off the monster's head,[1] presents it to Ysonde as a trophy of the victory which he professes to have obtained; but she receives his report with distrust, and proceeds with her mother to the scene of action, where they find the real champion. Having opened his mouth, they pour "treacle in that man;" and when he is thus revived, he avers that he is the slayer of the dragon, and confirms his assertion by producing

[1] A similar stratagem is recorded in the *Heldenbuch*, f. 158. After the valiant Wolffdietrich has nearly extirpated a whole family of dragons, a certain duke named Gerwart makes his appearance, and, with a design similar to that entertained by the Irish steward, takes possession of one of their heads; but a combat ensues between the two champions, and after his antagonist is defeated, Wolffdietrich convicts him of imposture by producing the dragon's tongues.

Er lugt ihn zu den Munde,
Da er sie all besach.
Der Hertzog zu der Stunde
Gar züchtiglichen sprach,
O edler Fürste werde,
Ich weiss auch das gar eben,
Vnd dass kein Thier auff Erde
Ohn Zungen nicht mag leben.

As this book is of very rare occurrence, I shall copy the title at length: "Heldenbuch; darinn viel seltzamer Geschichten vnd Kurtzweilige Historien, von den grossen Helden vnd Rysen, wie sie so ritterlichen vmb eines Königs Tochter gestritten haben, vnd wies inen zu Wormbs im grossen vnd kleinen Rosengarten ergangen ist. Jetzundt durchauss mit newen Figuren gezieret, vnd in vier vndershiedliche Bücher abgetheilet, dessgleichen zuvor nie getruckt ist. Franckfort am Mayn, 1590, 4to.

the tongue, offering at the same time to maintain his words against the false steward in single combat. He again pretends to be a merchant, and Ysonde expresses her lively regret that he is not a knight. The queen conducts him to a bath, and the princess begins to recognise the features of her old preceptor Tramtris: she has the curiosity to examine his sword, and on observing that it has been somewhat mutilated, she compares with the breach the fragment found in her uncle Morant's skull.

Ysonde to Tristrem yode,
With his sword al drain:
"Moraunt min em, the gode,
Traitour, thou hast slayn;
Forthi thine hert blode
Sen ich wold ful fain."
The Quen wend sche wer wode,
Sche com with a drink of main,
And lough.
"Nay, moder, nought to layn,
This thef thi brother slough.

Tristrem this thef is he,
That may he nought for lain:
The pece thou might her se,
That fro min em was drain;
Loke that it so be,
Sett it even ogain."
As quik thai wald him sle;
Ther Tristrem ful fain,
Soth thing,
In bath thai hadden him slain,
No wer it for the King.

Let us here remark in passing, that the Irish ladies of that period must have been somewhat violent in their animosities. The queen and her daughter are however appeased, and the preliminaries of the marriage-treaty are regularly adjusted. When Ysonde embarks for Cornwall, her mother delivers to Brengwain, a female attendant of the princess, a powerful philter to be administered to Mark and his bride on the night of their marriage. This love-potion, "this drink of might," is a principal ingredient in the residue of the tale; it is represented

as the origin of many adventures which ensue, and is no doubt devised as an apology for their gross immorality. The ancient romances may be supposed to display the manners of the ages to which they refer, or at least in which they were composed; and it is an obvious remark that they are not to be studied for lessons of moral purity. The ship having encountered adverse winds, the princess asks for some refreshing draught, and her attendant inadvertently produces the philter, of which both Ysonde and Tristrem partake; the potent drug produces a fatal passion, which they do not hesitate to indulge in its utmost extent. After having lingered two weeks in the strand without hoisting sail, they at length arrive in Cornwall. The royal nuptials are immediately solemnized, but, to prevent any dangerous discoveries, Brengwain is at night substituted for her mistress. Ysonde, conscious of guilt, and apprehensive of being betrayed, has recourse to the cruel expedient of preserving the secret by assassinating her attendant: in pursuance of this plan, she suborns two labourers, who conduct Brengwain to a lonely glen, but are however induced to spare her life on hearing her declare, that her only offence consisted in having accommodated her mistress with a clean smock on her wedding-night. On returning to the queen, they repeat this as her dying declaration; and being now deeply impressed with the fidelity of her servant, she swears by the holy cross that her supposed murderers shall be hanged and drawn—for this princess seems to have been alike violent in all propensities, whether of love or hatred. She now hires them to restore the person whom she had so recently hired them to murder; and Brengwain is again admitted to her favour and confidence.

An Irish earl, who had formerly been one of Ysonde's lovers, makes his appearance at the court, disguised as a minstrel, and constantly bearing a remarkable harp, on which however he refuses to play unless the king will previously grant him a boon. Mark rashly gives his assent, and the cunning harper does not scruple to demand the queen. As this promise cannot be retracted without the loss of honour, the king resigns his fair consort, and she embarks with her countryman. At this crisis Tristrem returns from the chase; and taking the liberty of up-

braiding Mark for his folly, he asks him a sensible enough question :—

Yifstow glewemen thy Quen ?
Hastow no nother thing ?

He immediately seizes his ivory rote,[1] and approaching the ship, begins to sing a song which nearly overpowers the queen : she persuades the earl to set her on shore to be revived by the music of this minstrel, and Tristrem suddenly disappears with her in a neighbouring forest.

To th' Erl he seyd in that nede,
"Thou hest y-tent thi pride,
Thou dote :
With thine harp thou wonne her that tide,
Thou tint hir with mi rote."

Having lingered in the forest for seven nights, they return to the court of this worthy king, who is not described as betraying any jealousy on the occasion ; but of her infidelity he is afterwards informed by Tristrem's companion Meriadok ; who had one night traced him to the queen's bed-chamber. Here the poet details various devices and stratagems of the two lovers, which need not now be enumerated. The king, who is represented as uxorious and good-natured, is still convinced of his spouse's innocence : her gallant is appointed high-constable, and for three years more they continue their close intimacy. Meriadok however renews his insinuations, and devises a somewhat curious method of detecting their guilt : at his suggestion, the king, the queen, and the constable are all phlebotomized on the same day ; and after the floor is carefully swept, Meriadok strews it with flour. When the lover comes to pay his nightly visit, he takes a leap of thirty feet to prevent his footsteps from being observed ; but the violence of the shock causes the blood to burst from his newly-opened vein, and he is thus traced in the royal bed. And here it may reasonably be asked, what became of the husband when his place was so frequently occu-

[1] "Chaucer mentions the Rote as an instrument on which his *frere* excelled. This, it is conjectured, was the same with the more modern *violle*, the *lyra mendicorum*, or hurdy-gurdy, so frequent at this day in the streets of London, though not in the hands of the natives, the strings of which are agitated by the friction of a wheel." (Ritson's Dissertation on Ancient Songs and Music (p. xlii.) prefixed to his Ancient Songs, from the time of Henry the Third to the Revolution. Lond. 1792, 8vo.)

pied by the amorous knight? Was it customary, even at that early period, for people of condition to sleep in separate apartments? Sir Tristrem now finds it expedient to abscond, and his paramour is under the necessity of submitting to the ordeal by fire.[1] She proceeds towards Westminster to undergo this mode of purgation, and on the banks of the Thames she recognises her gallant in a very mean disguise. She desires this person to carry her to the vessel that is to convey her across the river :—

Tristrem her bar that tide,
And on the Quen fel he,
Next her naked side
That mani man might y-se.

In the consistory she swears that, with the exception of her lord the king, no man ever approached so near her as he who attempted to carry her to the vessel. The hot iron is prepared; but her indulgent spouse considers this trial as superfluous, and she is reinstated in his favour and affection.

Tristrem in the meantime retires into Wales, where he becomes the knight of a king named Triamour. This king has a daughter named Blaunche Flour, who is roughly wooed by the giant Urgan, brother to Morant and Morgan: in order to win "that sweet thing," he besieges the father in his tower; and Triamour offers to resign his dominions to Tristrem provided he can recover them from this intruder. The two warriors meet in single combat; and, after a dreadful encounter, which is very circumstantially described,[2] the giant being mortally

[1] This mode of trial, this ignorant and superstitious appeal to the justice of God, seems very generally to have obtained among the ancient people of Europe. (Stiernhöök de Jure Sueonum et Gothorum vetusto, p. 83. Holmiæ, 1672, 4to. Ant. Fernandez Prieto y Sotelo, Historia del Derecho Real de España, p. 140. Madrid, 1738, 4to.) But the most ancient record of the fiery ordeal is perhaps to be found in the subsequent passage of a Greek poet :—

Ἦμεν δ' ἕτοιμοι καὶ μύδρους αἴρειν χεροῖν,
Καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεοὺς ὀρκωμοτεῖν,
Τὸ μήτε δρᾶσαι, μήτε τῳ ξυνειδέναι
Τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλεύσαντι, μήτ' εἰργασμένῳ.—Sophoclis Antigone, 264.

In reference to this passage, Brunck has remarked: "Nescio an antiquius aliud extet superstitionis illius testimonium, qua diu captæ fuerunt septentrionalium omnium populorum mentes." Two different modes of probation are here specified; namely, by handling a bar of hot iron, and by passing through a fire.

[2] In this description the following verses occur :—

Bot up he stirt bidene,
And heried Godes sand.—P. 147.

The latter verse apparently signifies, "And

wounded, throws his huge carcass over a bridge. Sir Tristrem generously resigns to the daughter his claim to the father's dominions; but, as a reward of his services, he accepts of a red, green, and blue dog called Peticrewe, which he sends as a present to the Queen of Cornwall. His uncle, hearing of this brilliant achievement, begins to relax from his severity, and invites him back to the court, where he is speedily advanced to the office of high-steward. In return for this generosity, Tristrem renews his intrigues with the queen; and Mark, being at last convinced of their guilt, banishes them from his presence. They take refuge in a forest, where they spend their days and nights very much to their mutual satisfaction, sheltering themselves in a cavern which in ancient times had been formed by the hands of giants. The chase having one day conducted Mark into this forest, some of his attendants observe the queen and her lover asleep in the cavern, with a naked sword placed between them: the king himself visits the spot, and perceiving a sunbeam shine through a crevice on her lovely countenance, he fills the opening with his glove, and begins to feel his tender heart relent, being persuaded that this separation by the drawn sword is a clear indication of the purity of their intercourse. This worthy king accordingly recals them from their state of banishment, and they still continue their amorous dalliance. A dwarf having apprised the king of one of their private meetings, they are beset by Mark and his knights; but Tristrem is so dexterous as to evade their notice, and the queen being found alone, is not yet considered as manifestly guilty. Her paramour does not however venture to make any further experiment of the king's forbearance. He is reduced to a state of desperation by being thus removed from Ysonde's presence; and wandering in quest of adventures, he traverses Spain; and there encounters and puts to death no fewer than three giants. Arriving in Bretagne, he becomes the Duke's knight, and renders him very important services. The duke has a daughter, named

blessed what God had sent." This explanation seems to be sufficiently confirmed by the subsequent quotations from Chaucer's Canterbury Tales:

And other necessaries that shuld nede
She had ynow, *heried* be Goddes grace.—5291.

Welcome the *sonde* of Crist for evermore
To me, that am now lerned in his lore.—5180.

"Ysonde with the White Hand;" and Tristrem having composed a song in praise of his mistress, this beautiful damsel, from the identity of the name, is betrayed into an error with regard to the object of his passion. When she communicates to her father this supposed attachment, he offers her in marriage to the valiant knight, who, after some inward reluctance, agrees to the proposal. While they are conducting him to his nuptial chamber, the ring which he had received from the queen at their abrupt separation, suddenly drops from his finger: this incident leads him to reflect on her long and constant attachment, and to determine upon being guilty of no further violation of his fidelity; nor does he experience much difficulty in reconciling his young and simple bride to this resolution. The duke bestows upon them an extensive tract of land, where Tristrem finds a formidable neighbour in the giant Beliagog, brother to Morant, Morgan, and Urgan. It was scarcely to be expected that such neighbours should continue on good terms: in due season they engage in a fierce contest; the giant is vanquished, and the knight consents to spare his life on condition of his erecting a hall in honour of Ysonde and Brengwain. Ganhardin, the brother of Tristrem's wife, having learned from a certain lively expression of his sister, that the marriage had never been consummated, hastens to demand an account of this neglect; but in answer to his expostulation, the knight informs him, that as she has chosen to disclose their family secrets, he is determined to abandon her, and to devote himself to a lady thrice as fair. Instead of receiving this declaration as might have been anticipated, he "longeth to se that leuedi," and becomes more strongly attached to his brother-in-law. After visiting the castle of Beliagog in order to view the exquisite statues of Ysonde, and other characters connected with the previous story, they take their departure for England, and in due time reach a forest, where they are so fortunate as to find the queen and her faithful attendant. Here Ysonde determines to pass the night in a pavilion: she is reconciled to Tristrem, and Brengwain is betrothed to Ganhardin, who had fallen in love with her from having seen her statue. The motions of this party are narrowly watched by Sir Canados, who had suc-

ceeded Tristrem in his office of constable, and in his capacity of a lover, though an unsuccessful-lover, of the queen. After sojourning two nights in the forest, they are beset by an armed multitude, and with some difficulty make their escape: Ganhardin returns to his own country, and Tristrem, disguising himself as a beggar with "cup and clapper," still lingers near the object of his affections, to whom he once more contrives to pay a secret visit. A tournament is soon afterwards proclaimed, and Ganhardin again makes his appearance; he breaks a lance with Sir Canados, but is so hardly pressed, that he is succeeded in the contest by his friend. Tristrem having slain the constable, and inflicted a desperate wound on Meriadok, avails himself of this opportunity of taking vengeance on others of his enemies, many of whom are put to death by him and his adherents. After his return to Bretagne, he is accosted by a young knight, who bears his own name: he throws himself at Tristrem's feet, to entreat his aid against a certain uncourteous knight who has bereft him of his fair and sweet mistress, and who, supported by other fourteen knights, is then escorting her at a short distance. Undismayed by the disparity of numbers, he immediately undertakes the enterprise: the two warriors arm themselves for battle, and commence their attack near the edge of a forest; the younger Tristrem is speedily slain, but his namesake avenges his fall by putting to death the whole of his antagonists. In this perilous adventure, he has the misfortune to be pierced with an arrow in the seat of the former wound, from which he had endured so much pain and misery. And here the manuscript abruptly ends, leaving a small portion of this singular tale untold.

Another metrical romance has been hypothetically ascribed to Thomas of Erceldoune. This is Horn Child, or, as it is otherwise called, the Geste of Kyng Horn; which is evidently the production of a very early age, and which, in the opinion of Bishop Percy, cannot be referred to a later period than within a century after the Conquest.[1] He considers it of genuine English origin, and infers its antiquity from the circumstance of its abounding with Anglo-Saxon idioms: but Mr. Ritson assigns

[1] Percy's Essay on the Ancient Minstrels in England, p. lxxxi.

it a more recent date, the close of the twelfth century; and contends that it does not exhibit a single vestige of a more intimate connexion with the Saxon, than is common to every English composition of that period.[1] Mr. Tyrwhitt is inclined to believe that we have no English romance prior to the age of Chaucer, which is not derived from some French original.[2] But the bishop's opinion respecting its English origin has been maintained by a more recent writer, intimately acquainted with the history of northern poetry.[3] In the British Museum there is a manuscript of the French romance of Kyng Horn, which begins with the following lines:—

Seignurs, oi avez le vers del parchemin,
Cum le Bers Aaluf est venuz a la fin:
Mestre Thomas ne volt qu'il seit mis a declin,
K'il ne die de Horn le vaillant orphalin.

Sir Walter Scott supposes that this romance may be a version from the English; and he further remarks, that "a poet named Thomas being thus referred to as the author of a tale, the scene of which is laid in Northumberland, and in which every name, whether of place or person, attests an origin purely Saxon, there seems no reason why he may not be identified with Thomas of Erceldoune, a celebrated border poet, to whom every tradition respecting Deira and Bernicia must have been intimately familiar."[4] It is however evident that this hypothesis rests on a very insecure foundation; nor does the author maintain it with any degree of confidence. Kyng Horn seems to evince less energy and originality than Sir Tristrem. It certainly contains a very considerable number of Saxon or other northern idioms; and the author or translator, if not a Scotishman, may at least be supposed to have belonged to the north country. As a short specimen of the language and versification of this poem, which Ritson considers as the most ancient romance in the English language, with the exception perhaps of

[1] Ritson's Dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy, p. xcix.

[2] Tyrwhitt's Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, p. 68.

[3] "Bishop Percy's assertion, indeed, that it appears of genuine English growth, though denied with equal confidence and ignorance by Ritson, is supported by internal evidence which no one capable of understanding it can reject." (Conybeare's Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, p. 237, note by the editor.)

[4] Scott's Introduction, p. lix.

Sir Tristrem, I shall transcribe a passage which relates the young hero's interview with the amorous damsel Rymenild :—

Rymenild up gon stonde,
And tok him by the honde,
Heo made feyre chere,
And tok him bi the suere ;
Ofte heo him custe,
So wel hyre luste :
Welcome, Horn, thus sayde
Rymenild that mayde,
An even and a morewe
For the ich habbe sorewe,
That Y have no reste,
No slepe me ne lyste.
Horn, thou shalt wel swythe
Mi longe serewe lythe,
Thou shalt, wythoute strive,
Habbe me to wyve :
Horn, have of me reuthe
And plyht me thi treuthe.
Horn tho him bythohte
Whet he speken ohte.
Crist, quoth Horn, the wisse,
And yeve the hevene blisse,
Of thine hosebonde,
Who he be a londe.
Ich am ybore thral,
Thy fader fundlyng withal ;
Of kunde me ne selde,
The to spouse welde ;
Hit nere no fair weddyng
Bituene a thral and the kyng.
Tho gon Rymenild mislyken,
And sore bigon to syken,
Armes bigon unbowe,
And doun heo fel yswowe.
Horn hire up hente,
And in is armes trente,
He gon hire to cusse,
And feyre forté wisse.
Rymenild, quoth he, dïere,
Help me that ych were
Ydobbed to be knyhte,
Suete, to mi louerd the kyng,
That he me yeve dobbyng.[1]

1 Ritson's Ancient Engleish Metrical Romancees, vol. ii. p. 107.

There is yet another production connected with the history of this venerable poet: it exhibits his own name, being entitled *Thomas off Ersseldoune*, and bears ample testimony to his mystical lore. Of this poem, three different manuscripts have been preserved, in the British Museum, the library of the University of Cambridge, and the library of Lincoln Cathedral, but all of these are more or less defective. This singular production chiefly consists of a series of prophecies, which are partly obscure or unintelligible, and which seem to have been partly written after the events to which they relate; but these prophetic revelations are introduced by a fairy tale, sufficiently wild and picturesque. On a morning of May, Thomas is represented as reclining at Huntly Bank, near Eildoun hills; where he suddenly descries a lady of exquisite beauty, mounted on a dapple-grey palfrey, and most gorgeously attired:—

Scho led seuen grew houndis in a leeshe,
And seuen raches by hir thay rone;
Scho bare a horne abowte hir halse,
And vndir hir belte full many a flone.

Thomas laye and sawe that syghte
Vnder nithe ane semly tree;
He sayd, yone is Marye most of myghte,
That bare that child that dyede for mee.

This does not appear to be exactly the equipment with which the Virgin Mary might have been expected to descend to our nether earth. Having ascertained that she is not the queen of heaven, but belongs to a different region, he makes love to her without delay, and certainly without much ceremony; but she declares that if she were to listen to his solicitations, this sin would destroy all her beauty. His ardour however is not to be repressed, and she is at length induced to alight from her palfrey:—

Thomas stode wpe in that stede,
And he by helde that lady gaye;
Hir hare it hange all ouer hir hede,
Hir eghne semede owte, that are were graye.

And all the riche clothynge was a waye,
That he by fore sawe in that stede:
Hir a schanke blake, hir other graye,
And all hir body lyke the lede. . . .

Than sayd Thomas, allas ! allas !
In faythe this es a dullfull syghte :
How arte thu fadyde thus in the face,
That schane by fore als the sonne so bryght !

Scho sayd, Thomas, take leve at sone and mone,
And als at lefe that grewes on tree ;
This twelmoneth sall thu with me gone,
And medill erthe thu sall non see.

Being thus compelled to leave the middle earth, he descends with his conductress by a secret passage at Eildoun hills, and for three dark and dreary days hears nothing but the "swoghyne of the flode." They at length approach a fair herbary, plentifully furnished with flowers and fruits, and enlivened by a great variety of birds : Thomas, nearly exhausted with hunger, stretches forth his hand to pluck some of the tempting fruit, but she admonishes him to desist, under the pain of being attainted by the fiend. She directs her companion to recline his head in her lap, and successively points out to him the way to heaven, to paradise, and to the palace of her own Fairy Land. Thomas perceives that she has now recovered her beauty, and resumed her rich attire. When they reach the palace, they hear it resounding with music and revelry.

Harpe and fethill bothe thay fande,
Getterne and als so the sawtrye ;
Lutte and rybybe bothe gangande,
And all manere of minstralsye.

The most meruelle that Thomas thoghte,
When that he stode appon the flore ;
Ffor feftty hertes in were broghte,
That were both largely grete and store.

Raches laye lapande in the blode,
Cokes come with dryssynge knyfe ;
They brittened tham als thay were wode ;
Reuelle amanges thame was full ryfe.

Knyghtis dawnsede by thrée and three,
Thare was revelle, gamen, and playe,
Lufly ladyes faire and free,
That satte and sange one riche araye.[1]

[1] Laing's Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland, No. 4. Edinb. 1822, 4to.

After he has dwelt in solace for a considerable time, the queen of the Fairies informs him that she must conduct him back to Eildoun-tree: he feels much reluctance to leave this beautiful lady, after having sojourned with her, as he supposes, for the space of only three days; but she assures him that his stay has already exceeded three years, and kindly expresses her apprehension lest the fiend of hell, who is to-morrow to claim his dues, should select so stately and courteous a person. When they return to Eildoun hills, he entreats his fair companion to bestow upon him some token of their intimacy; and in compliance with this request, she proceeds to exhibit a prophetic view of the wars between Scotland and England. The language in which she conveys much of this intelligence, is sufficiently dim and mystical; but, in other instances, events are so unequivocally described, that the information is manifestly historical, and not prophetic or conjectural. Of such intercourse between a mortal man and a beautiful fairy, this is by no means a solitary example: similar stories are to be traced in the early poetry of other nations; and an amorous relation of this nature forms the basis of the ancient German poem entitled the Knight of Stauffenberg.[1]

The author of the tale, whoever he may have been, occasionally introduces some degree of confusion into his narrative; he sometimes speaks in the first, and sometimes in the third person.

Thomas duellide in that solace,
More than I yowe saye perde,
Till one a daye, so hafe I grace,
My lufly lady sayde to mee.

"Would it not be pardonable, from such instances as these," says Mr. Jamieson, "to suppose it at least probable, that Thomas Rymour was really the original author of this romance; and that, in order to give a sanction to his predictions, which seem all to have been calculated, in one way or other, for the service of his country, he pretended to an intercourse with the queen of Elfland, as Numa Pompilius did with the nymph

[1] Der Ritter von Stauffenberg, ein Altdeutsches Gedicht, herausgegeben von Christian Moritz Engelhardt. Strassburg, 1823, 8vo.

Egeria? Such an intercourse, in the days of True Thomas, was accounted neither unnatural nor uncommon."[1] The poem seems at least to exhibit evident marks of a Scotish origin; but if we could suppose the outline to have been sketched by Thomas of Ercildoune, we must at the same time admit that many changes and interpolations have been introduced at a more recent period. It is only to be found in English manuscripts; and, besides the ordinary contingencies of transcription, it has apparently been subjected to other alterations. The prologue, which is decidedly English, would seem to have been composed by some minstrel of the south, as a suitable prelude before an audience of his countrymen.

[1] Jamieson's Popular Ballads and Songs, vol. ii. p. 6.

CHAPTER III.

THE age which produced so conspicuous a work as the genuine romance by Thomas of Erceldoune, may naturally be supposed to have produced many other specimens of Scotish poetry; but these, if ever they existed, seem all to have perished except a very few inconsiderable fragments. One of the most ancient specimens of the language is a poem of eight lines, composed on the death of Alexander the Third, who perished by an accidental death in the year 1286. That these verses were written soon after the event to which they refer, is affirmed by Winton, in whose Chronicle they are fortunately preserved.

Quhen Alysandyr oure kyng wes dede,
That Scotland led in luwe and le,
Away wes sons of ale and brede,
Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle:
Our gold wes changyd in-to lede,
Cryst, borne in-to virgynyte,
Succour Scotland and remede,
That stad is in perplexyte.[1]

In the year 1296, when Edward the First laid siege to Berwick, the defenders are said to have derided him by the following stanza:—

Wend Kyng Edewarde, with his lange shankes,
To have gete Berwyke, al our unthankes?
Gas pikes hym,
And after gas dikes hym.[2]

After the memorable battle of Bannockburn, fought in the

[1] Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. i. p. 401.

[2] See Ritson's Hist. Essay on Scotish Song, p. xxv.

year 1314, some Scotish poet commemorated the national triumph in such verses as these :—

Maydens of Englande, sore may ye morne
For your lemmans ye haue loste at Bannockysborne,
With heue a lowe.
What, weneth the kynge of Englande
So soone to haue wonne Scotlande ?
With rumbylow.[1]

This song, says Fabyan, was long afterwards sung by the maidens and minstrels of Scotland; and, according to another English writer, it was composed by the maidens.[2] What the historian has preserved, seems to be merely the first stanza of a song. The unmeaning phrase *rumbylow* appears to have been used as the burden of a song by the poets of both kingdoms. It is thus introduced in a passage of Skelton's Bowge of Court :—

I wolde be mery what wynde that euer blowe :
Heue and how, rombelow, row the bote, Norman, rowe.[3]

During the reign of David the Second, our countrymen ridiculed the dress of their southern neighbours in these unpolished rhymes :—

Longe beerdys hartles,
Paynted hoodes wytles,
Gay cotes graceles,
Maketh Englande thryfteles.[4]

All these fragments are too unimportant to afford any adequate specimen of the taste or genius of the age to which they belong; but there are two entire poems of considerable length, which, in the opinion of Sir Walter Scott, must be referred to a

[1] Fabyan's Cronycle, vol. ii. f. lxxvi. a.—Dr. Jamieson, in his Notes on Barbour, p. 457, has quoted these lines, with some variations in the reading, from the St. Alban's Chronicle, pars vii. sig. r. ii., and from Rastell's Pastime of People, p. 204. "This songe," Fabyan remarks, "was after many dayes songe in daunces in the carolles of the maydens and mynstrels of Scotlande, to the reprofe and dysdayne of Englyshemen, with dyuers other, whiche I ouerpasse."

[2] St. Alban's Chronicle, *ut supra*.

[3] Here begynneth a lytell treatyse named the Bowge of Courte. 4to. The book is without a date, but it appears from the colophon to have been "Emprynted at Westmynster by me Wynkyn the Worde."—The title of one of the songs enumerated by Wedderburn is, "Sal I go vitht you to *Rumbelo* fayr?" (Complaynt of Scotland, p. 101.) The same expression occurs in the poem of Peblis to the Play, written by James the First :

Hop, Calye, and Cardronow
Gaderit out thik-fald,
With hey and how, *rohumbelow*,
The young folk were full bald.

[4] Fabyan's Cronycle, vol. ii. f. lxxxvii. b.

very remote period. "Besides Sir Tristrem," he remarks, "there still exist at least two Scottish romances, which, in all probability, were composed long before the conclusion of the thirteenth century. These are entitled *Gawen and Gologras*, and *Galoran of Galoway*. This opinion is not founded merely upon their extreme rudeness and unintelligibility; for that may be in some degree owing to the superabundant use of alliteration, which required many words to be used in a remote and oblique sense, if indeed they were not invented 'for the nonce.' But the comparative absence of French words, and French phraseology, so fashionable in Scotland after the time of Robert Bruce, when the intercourse of the countries became more intimate, and, above all, evident allusions to the possession of part of Scotland by the British tribes, seem to indicate sufficiently their remote antiquity."[1] That these romances are productions of a very early period, cannot reasonably be doubted; they bear many unequivocal marks of antiquity, and in many passages are scarcely intelligible to those who have devoted most attention to the study of the Scotish language. But, as this writer was sufficiently aware, a very considerable portion of their obscurity must apparently be ascribed to the excessive use of alliteration, for which both poems are so remarkable; and the complicated structure of the stanza may likewise have contributed to render the meaning more involved and dubious. It is probable that these romances belong, not to the thirteenth, but to the fourteenth century. In language and diction, as well as in the structure of the stanza, they bear a very close resemblance to the Pystyl of Swete Susan; a poem for which there is some degree of evidence for referring to this latter period. Winton commemorates Huchowne of the "awle ryale," or royal palace, as a poet.

That cunnand wes in literature,
He made the gret Gest of Arthure,
And the Awntyre of Gawane,
The Pystyl als of Swete Susane.
He wes curyws in hys style,
Fayre of facund, and subtile,

[1] Scott's Introduction to Sir Tristrem, p. lvi.

And ay to plesans and delyte
Mad in metyre mete his dyte,
Lytil or nowcht nevyr-the-les
Waverand fra the suthfastnes.[1]

Huchèon, as we are informed by Nisbet, is the old Scotish name for Hugh; and the poet here mentioned by Winton is supposed to be "the gude Schir Hew of Eglintoun" mentioned by Dunbar. Hutcheon however is still a Scotish surname, though of rare occurrence, and is probably a contraction of Hutcheson, as Ritson is a contraction of Richardson. When the author of Gawan and Gologras, one of these romances, introduces the name of Hugh, he certainly does not exhibit it in the form of Huchowne: both he and Winton exhibit it in the form of Hew.[2] Nor is it superfluous to state that another of our early poets is mentioned by Dunbar as the author of a poem on the adventures of Sir Gawan:—

Clerk of Tranent eik he hes tane,
That made the awenteris of Gawane.

It is therefore sufficiently obvious that Huchowne, if a Christian name, might have belonged to Clerk of Tranent; and thus we are only left with a choice of probabilities. But when we ascertain that Sir Hugh Eglintoun was connected with the Scotish court in the successive reigns of David the Second and Robert the Second, we seem to have obtained some additional evidence. He belonged to the distinguished family of Eglintoun of Eglintoun; and as it appears probable that he was knighted, when a young man, in the year 1342, we may perhaps venture to place his birth about the year 1320. During the summer of 1342, King David led a numerous army into Northumberland, and in the course of this expedition, he liberally distributed the honour of knighthood: but the army was commanded by a monarch who possessed no share of his father's talents; and some of the newly-created knights, who endeavoured to approve their chivalry, having fallen into an ambush laid by Robert

[1] Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. i. p. 122.

[2] And his confessour Schyr Hew,
A famows man of gud wertu.
WINTON, vol. i. p. 331.

Than stertis out ane sterne knyght; stalwart and stabill,
Ane berne that hight Schir Hew, hardy and hait.
Gawan and Gologras.

Ogle, five of their number, Stewart, Eglintoun, Boyd, Craigie, and Fullarton, were taken prisoners.[1] The Christian name of Eglintoun is not indeed mentioned; but from the time and the occasion it appears sufficiently probable that this individual was the good Sir Hugh. We find him described as justiciary of Lothian in the year 1361; and in 1367 he was one of the commissioners for negotiating a treaty with England. He married Egidia the half-sister of Robert the Second: she was the widow of Sir James Lindsay of Crawford, who died about the year 1357;[2] after the death of her second husband, she married James Lord Dalkeith, and had issue by all her three marriages. Sir Hugh Eglintoun is supposed to have died soon after the year 1376. His daughter Elizabeth, who inherited his numerous and extensive estates, became the wife of John Montgomery of Eglisham, ancestor of the noble family of Eglintoun.[3]

These two poems, by whatever author they may have been composed, belong to a very numerous class of romances on the exploits of King Arthur and his knights of the round table. This subject was not only highly popular among the British poets, but likewise among those of France and other continental nations;[4] and it has been truly remarked that the histories of Arthur and Charlemagne were to the poets and

[1] Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 253. Bower, Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 334. "Et de tyronibus suis, quos ibi militari cinxit gladio, quinque numero," etc.

[2] In the chamberlain's accounts for 1365, we observe for the first time an entry of £22, 4s. 5d. paid to Sir Hugh Eglintoun, from the customs of Dundee, being the *tierce* due to his wife as the widow of Sir James Lindsay. (Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, vol. i. p. 439.) But this document does not authorize us to conclude that this was the year after his marriage.

[3] Nisbet's System of Heraldry, vol. i. p. 225. Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 126. Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 493. From 1348 to 1375, the name of Sir Hugh Eglintoun frequently occurs in the Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland. On three different occasions he appears among the auditors of exchequer. (Vol. ii. pp. 19, 46, 75.) Beside the entries relating to the payment of the annual sum due to his lady from the customs of Dundee, we find various others relating both to his public and private transactions. (Vol. i. pp. 289, 360, 374, vol. ii. pp. 57, 58, 62, 80, 84.) These Accounts, consisting of three quarto volumes, and extending from the year 1326 to the year 1435, have not yet been given to the public; but the politeness of the editor, Thomas Thomson, Esq., has enabled me to avail myself of the many curious notices which they contain. From 1358 to 1369, Eglintoun paid frequent visits to England, as appears from the safe-conducts recorded in the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i. pp. 823, 833, 872, 876, 893, 917, 932. Under the date of 1367, he is one of the parties in an indenture for preserving the peace of the Scotish and English marches. His name very frequently occurs in the *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, printed in 1814.

[4] Several German romances of this class have been modernized, and published under the following title: "Altdeutsche Gedichte aus den Zeiten der Tafelrunde: aus Handschriften der K. K. Hofbibliothek in die heutige Sprache übertragen von Felix Franz Hofstätter." Wien, 1811, 2 Bde. 8vo.

romancers of the middle ages, what the histories of the Trojan and the Theban wars were to the poets of antiquity. One of these personages, who is represented as the powerful monarch of Britain, has made so conspicuous a figure in the regions of romance, that several modern writers have expressed a strong doubt whether his name belongs to the records of authentic history. Milton, whose imagination was so deeply impressed with the romantic tales of the round table,[1] has remarked that "who Arthur was, and whether ever any such reign'd in Britain, hath bin doubted heretofore, and may again with good reason."[2] That the extent of his power and the glory of his exploits have been grossly exaggerated, can indeed admit of no controversy; but, if we may rely on the authority of Welsh antiquaries, there are in that language sufficient documents to ascertain that such a person existed, and that he was a character of considerable importance.[3] Geoffrey of Monmouth, who has exhibited him in so glaring a light, professes to have derived his materials from an ancient British manuscript, which Walter Calenius, Archdeacon of Oxford, had brought from Armorica; but this account has been received with the utmost distrust, and he has frequently been suspected of inventing what he pretends to translate. It has however been shown by an ingenious and pleasing writer, that there is no sufficient reason to infer that either the historian or his friend the archdeacon was guilty of imposture; and that there is in reality much more improbability in supposing a series of fables, intended to convey an exaggerated opinion of the national grandeur, to

[1] Bishop Hurd has remarked of Milton that "we see thro' all his poetry, when his enthusiasm flames out most, a certain predilection for the legends of chivalry before the fables of Greece." (Letters on Chivalry and Romance, p. 57. Lond. 1762, 8vo.)

[2] Milton's Hist. of England, p. 122. Lond. 1670, 4to.

[3] Roberts's Sketch of the early History of the Cymry, or Ancient Britons, p. 142. Lond. 1803, 8vo. "Many writers," says Mr. Turner, "have denied that he ever lived; but this is an extreme, as wild as the romances which occasioned it. The tales that all human perfection was collected in Arthur; that giants and kings who never existed, and nations which he never saw, were subdued by him; that he went to Jerusalem for the sacred cross; or that he not only excelled the experienced past, but also the possible future, we may, if we please, recollect only to despise; but when all such fictions are removed, and those incidents only are retained, which the sober criticism of history sanctions with its approbation; a fame ample enough to interest the judicious, and to perpetuate his honourable memory, will still continue to bloom." (Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 101.) See likewise Mr. Ritson's Life of King Arthur, from ancient Historians and authentic Documents. Lond. 1825, 8vo.

have been rather devised in the twelfth century, than during the ignorance and credulity of a much earlier period.[1]

Sir Gawane, the gentle and courteous nephew of King Arthur, was one of the most celebrated knights of the round table; and his story has supplied the subject of many English romances and ballads. The romance of Ywaine and Gawin has been published by Mr. Ritson. The Weddynge of Sir Gawain, beginning, "Be ye blythe, and listeneth to the lyf of a lord riche," occurs among Bishop Tanner's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford;[2] and a fragment of the Marriage of Sir Gawaine, beginning "Kinge Arthur liues in merry Carleile," has been published by Bishop Percy, who supposes it to have furnished Chaucer with his Wif of Bath. He enumerates other three romances which celebrate the exploits of the same hero.[3]

The poet mentioned by Winton is described as curious in his style, and likewise as subtle and eloquent. How far the commendation of eloquence may be due to the author of the two Scotish romances, it is not perhaps so easy to determine; but many readers may be disposed to allow him the praise of subtlety, nor can it be denied that he is sufficiently curious in his style. The alliterative versification is not an ordinary accompaniment of rhyme, for which indeed it is in many cases to be considered as a substitute; but this poet, who seems to have been delighted with the difficulty of the enterprise, has not only adopted a very complicated stanza, but in addition to the burden of his intricate rhymes, has thought proper to impose upon himself the task of supporting a perpetual alliteration. Notwithstanding the obscurity of his style, which is partly to be ascribed to his adherence to such a plan, he is certainly not deficient in vivacity of conception, or destitute of talents for description; and I am much inclined to regard these poems as efforts of no mean ingenuity. The more finished of the two is the knightly tale of Gawan and Gologras; it has more unity of design, and exhibits one story in a consistent and spirited

[1] Ellis's Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances, vol. i. p. 89, 2d edit. See likewise his notes on Way's Fabliaux, vol. i. p. 237. Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 113; and Southey's preface to the Lyf of Kyng Arthur, p. vii.

[2] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 41.

[3] Percy's Essay on the Ancient Metrical Romances, p. 29.

detail. The other romance, which was first printed under the title of "Sir Gawan and Sir Galoran of Galloway," but of which the earlier title is the "Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn,"[1] seems rather to consist of two detached stories than to present a well-adjusted whole. King Arthur having established his court at Carlisle, which is often represented as one of his favourite haunts, they engage in their usual pastime of hunting, and Sir Gawan escorts Queen Gaynour, who is otherwise called Guenever; when, being involved in darkness, they are accosted by the ghost of the Queen's mother, who recounts the miseries of her condition, and admonishes them how to avoid a similar destiny. Here the author certainly displays some degree of fancy and pathos; but his description of the ghost is grotesque and hideous, rather than striking and sublime. It is on such an occasion as this that the genius and taste of a poet may be brought to a severe test. The fallen spirit is necessarily represented by Milton as supreme in wickedness; but in his personal attributes he is never described as less than a ruined archangel; for the author of Paradise Lost had too much judgment to render an object disgusting in attempting to render it horrific. But the same commendation cannot be justly bestowed on another great poet: when Tasso portrays the grand enemy of the human race, he produces an effect that is only impressive because it is disgusting:—

Orrida maestà nel fero aspetto
Terrore accresce, e più superbo il rende:
Rosseggian gli occhi, e di veneno infetto,
Come infausta cometa, il guardo splende:
Gli involve il mento, e sull' irsuto petto,
Ispida e folta la gran barba scende;
E in guisa di voragine profonda
S' apre la bocca d' atro sangue immonda.

Qual' i fumi sulfurei ed infiammati
Escon di Mongibello, e' l puzzo e' l tuono,
Tal della fera bocca i negri fiati,
Tale il fetore, e le faville sono.[2]

[1] "Tearne-Wadling is the name of a small lake near Hesketh in Cumberland, on the road from Penrith to Carlisle. There is a tradition that an old castle once stood near the lake, the remains of which were not long since visible. *Tearn*, in the dialect of that country, signifies a small lake, and is still in use." (Percy's Reliques, vol. iii. p. 51.)

[2] Tasso, Gerusalemme Liberata, canto iv. st. 7.

The ghost of the unfortunate lady vanishes, after taking a somewhat ceremonious leave, and in due time all the court proceeds to dinner. And here we seem to have the conclusion of a tale complete in itself; but a new character is afterwards introduced, and a very hardly-contested combat ensues between Sir Gawan and Sir Galoran.

As a specimen of the style and manner, I might quote, from the romance of Gawan and Gologras, the description of a fatal encounter between two valiant knights, which begins thus:—

> The king crovnit with gold this cumpas wele knew,
> And callit schir Raunald, cruell and kene:
> "Gif ony pressis to this place, for proves to persew
> Schaip thé evin to the schalk, in thi schroud schene." [1]

That these two romances are productions of the same author, may with some degree of confidence be inferred from the internal evidence of the language, diction, and versification, in all of which the similarity is so obvious and striking that it can scarcely be ascribed to any other origin. The Pystyl of Swete Susan likewise presents many strong features of resemblance: here we encounter the same laborious combination of intricate rhymes with unceasing alliteration; the structure of the stanza exhibits only a very slight deviation from a model which never appears to have been common; and if there is any apparent discrepancy in the phraseology or diction, it is chiefly to be traced in the orthography, and must be imputed to the circumstance of this poem being preserved in an older manuscript. Dr. Whitaker supposes the Pystyl to be nearly as ancient as the Vision of Pierce Plowman, which appears to have been written about the year 1362; and both these poems occur in a manuscript which, in the opinion of this able antiquary, may be assigned to the reign of Richard the Second.[2] The Scotish poem is founded on the apocryphal story of Susanna, and it cannot but be regarded as a curious relique of our early literature. The following stanzas will furnish a tolerable specimen:—

[1] [See SYR GAWANE; a collection of Ancient Romance Poems, edited by Sir F. Madden for the Bannatyne Club. Lond. 1839, p. 154.]

[2] Whitaker's Introductory Discourse on Peirs Ploughman, pp. xvii. xxxii.

Now is this domes-man withdrawen withouten eni drede,
And put into prison ayen into place:
Thei broughten the tother forth whom the barn bede,
To-fore the folk and the faunt, freli of face.
Cum forth, thou corsed caytif, thou Canaan, he sede,
Bi cause of thi covetise thou art in this case;
Thou hast disceyvet thi self with thi oune dede.
Of thi wit for a wyf biwiled thou wase,
In wede.
Thou sey now, so mote thou the,
Under what kind of tre
Semeli Susan thou se
Do that derne dede.

Thou gome of gret elde, thin hed is grei hored,
Tel hit me treweli, ar thou thi lif tyne.
Tho that rothly cherl ruydely rored,
And seid bifor the prophet, thei pleied bi a prine.—
Now thou liest loude, so helpe me ur lorde;
For fulthe of thi falshed thou schalt ha evel pine;
Thou and thi cursed cumpere, ye mon not acorde;
Ye schul be drawen to the deth this dai ar we dine,
So rathe.
An angel is neih honde,
Takis the domes of yor honde,
With a brennynge bronde
To byte you bathe.

Then the folk of Israel felle upon knees
And lowed that loveli lord, that hir the lyf lent:
All the gomes, that hir God wolde gladen and glees,
This prophete so pertli proves his entent,
Thei trompe bifore this traitours, and traylen hem on trees
Thorw-out the cité by comuyn assent.
Hosé leeveth on the lord, thar him not lees,
That thus his servant saved that schold ha be schent,
In sete.
This ferlys bifel
In the days of Danyel,
The Pistel witnesseth wel
Of that Profete.

There is another poem which apparently belongs to the same age, and which bears a striking similarity to the three productions which I have now enumerated: it is entitled "The Taill of Rauf Coilzear, how he harbreit King Charles," and is in fact

a romance of chivalry with an intermixture of comic humour. It is written in the same stanza as the two romances ascribed to Sir Hugh Eglintoun, and exhibits the same alliterative verse, and other points of coincidence. The tale of Rauf Coilzear and the Awyntyrs of Arthure begin very nearly in the same manner; nor does there seem to be any improbability in attributing all these compositions to the same author. Such conjectures however are often fallacious, nor do I venture to urge them with much confidence. This tale of Ralph the collier seems to have obtained no small degree of popularity. It is enumerated by Wedderburn among other tales and pleasant stories; and the hero of it is very familiarly mentioned by two distinguished poets who flourished at an earlier period. The first of these is Dunbar, whose address "To the King" contains the following passage :—

> Quhen servit is all udir man,
> Gentill and semple off every clan,
> Kyne of Rauf Colyard and Johne the Reif,
> Nathing I get, na conqueis can:
> Excess of thought dois me mischeif.

The other poet is Bishop Douglas, who thus mentions him in the Palice of Honour :—

> I saw Raf Coilyear with his thrawin brow,
> Craibit Johne the Reif, and auld Cowkellpis sow.

These various allusions had excited no small curiosity in the lovers of old poetry; and on consulting the history of Scotish typography, it further appeared that this tale had been printed at St. Andrews in 1572; but every trace of it seemed entirely to have vanished for about seventy years, and it was not till 1821 that a copy of this edition, the only copy yet known to exist, was discovered in the Advocates' Library. The poem relates to an adventure of Charlemagne, or, as he is here described, Charlis the Mane; who having been separated from his attendants, and overtaken by a violent tempest, has recourse to the hospitality of Ralph the collier, whom he meets on a lonely moor. This bold rustic, not discerning his rank under the plainness of his hunting-garb, very readily agrees to afford him shelter and such fare as he can command; but he treats his majesty

with the utmost familiarity, and indeed oversteps all the ordinary bounds of familiarity. When they arrive at the collier's dwelling, the king ceremoniously insists on the master of the house taking precedence: this courtesy he returns by telling the king that if ever he has learned good manners, he must have forgotten them; and, suiting the action to the words, he seizes his royal guest by the collar:—

He tyt the King be the nek twa part in tene:
Gif thow at bidding suld be boun or obeysand,
And gif thow of Courtasie couth, thow hes forzet it clene.
Now is anis, said the Coilzear, kynd aucht to creip;
Sen ellis thow art vnknawin,
To mak me Lord of my awin:
Sa mote I thriue, I am thrawin,
Begin we to thraip.

This hint, though sufficiently broad, does not induce the king to disengage himself from his habitual civility, and he immediately commits another offence of the same nature:—

Sone was the Supper dicht and the fyre bet,
And thay had weschin, I wis, the worthiest was thair:
Tak my wyfe be the hand in feir withoutin let,
And gang begin the buird, said the Coilzear.
That war vnsemand, forsuith; and thy self vnset.
The King profferit him to gang, and made ane strange fair.
Now is twyse, said the Carll, me think thow hes forzet.
He leit gyrd to the King withoutin ony mair,
And hit him vnder the eir with his richt hand,
Quhill he stakkerit thair with all
Half the breid of the hall;
He faind neuer of ane fall
Quhill he the eird fand.

The king finds no small difficulty in submitting to this treatment, but at length concludes that there is no maxim so good as "laif of, and mak na mair stryfe." Ralph gives him a plentiful supper with a hearty welcome. Among other dishes, he regales him with venison, and declares that although the foresters every year threaten to carry him to Paris before the king, he is still determined to have enough for himself and a guest. After supper he expresses his curiosity to know the stranger's "maist

wynning," or usual place of residence; and is informed that he belongs to the queen's chamber, and that his name is Wymond of the Wardrobe. When the king next morning takes his leave, the collier refuses to accept of any remuneration; and his unknown guest urges him to bring a supply of coal to the palace on the following day. He then returns to Paris, and gladdens the hearts of Sir Roland, Sir Oliver, Archbishop Turpin, and other faithful subjects who had been anxious for his safety. At the appointed time, Ralph begins his journey, and on approaching the capital is encountered by Roland, whom the king had ordered to conduct him to his presence. Their interview is related in a very characteristic manner, the high spirit of the knight is not inadequately matched by the dogged humour of the collier; and they finally adjust their dispute by agreeing to meet next morning in single combat. Ralph now proceeds with his cargo of coal, and after experiencing considerable difficulty, finds his way into the royal palace, where he descries his former guest in greater splendour than he had anticipated :—

He thristit in throw thame, and thraly can thring,
Fast to the formest he foundit in feir;
Sone besyde him he gat ane sicht of the Nobill King :—
Zone is Wymond, I wait, it worthis na weir;
I ken him weill, thocht he be cled in vther clething,
In clais of clene gold kythand zone cleir,
Quhen he harbreit with me be half as he is heir:
In faith he is of mair stait than euer he me tald.
Allace that I was hidder wylit!
I dreid me sair I be begylet,
The King preuilie smylit,
Quhen he saw that bald.

The collier's alarm is much increased when he hears his guest relate the whole of his recent adventure: the courtiers loudly declare that such an outrage ought to be punished with death; but the king speedily removes his apprehensions by speaking of rewards instead of punishment :—

God forbot, he said, my thank war sic thing
To him that succourit my lyfe in sa euill ane nicht:
Him semis ane stalwart man, and stout in stryking;
That Carll for his Courtasie salbe maid Knicht.

He is accordingly knighted, and receives a liberal provision, with a promise of its being augmented from the next free ward or forfeiture that may fall to the crown. Sir Ralph, solicitous to prove himself a worthy knight, equips himself in complete armour, and sallies forth to decide his affair of honour with Sir Roland: on reaching the place appointed for the combat, he marks the approach of a huge knight, mounted on a camel, and supposing this warrior to be his antagonist, he immediately couches his lance; but at length it appears that the unknown knight is no other than the valiant Magog, a Saracen, and consequently a votary of Mahoun and Termagant, and that he has been commissioned by the cham of Tartary to denounce war and vengeance against the King of France. The combat is bravely maintained on both sides. When Roland makes his appearance, the Saracen is induced, partly by other arguments, and partly by the promise of a very advantageous match with a gentle duchess, to renounce his false creed and embrace the Christian faith. These redoubted knights become sworn friends: Magog, afterwards distinguished as Sir Gawteir, marries the duchess, and Sir Ralph is soon appointed marshal of France.

Such is the general outline of Rauf Coilzear, a poem which certainly rises far above the ordinary standard of ancient tales. It only exhibits one character whose features are strongly marked, but there is considerable variety in the incidents, and the whole story is detailed in a striking manner. The poem is distinguished by a vein of rich and apparently original humour; but whether the author derived the principal ingredients of his tale from some other writer, has not yet been ascertained. He indeed makes a formal reference to the work of some predecessor;[1] but we have already had occasion to observe that poets of this class are often very licentious in alleging authorities. The French idioms which occur in his poem are very few in number; and such as do occur are all colloquial phrases, *pardie*, in *fay*, and *bone fay*. The introduction of a collier might have been considered as an argument of its Scotish rather than French origin; but it appears that Ralph was a dealer, not in coal, but in charcoal. Bishop Percy has remarked that it was a favourite

[1] With mony proud prelat, as the buik sayis.

plan with the English ballad-makers to represent kings as conversing, either by accident or design, with the meanest of their subjects. Of the former description, he specifies the King and the Miller of Mansfield, King Henry and the Soldier, King James the First and the Tinker, and King William the Third and the Forester; and of the latter description, King Alfred and the Shepherd, King Edward the Fourth and the Tanner, and King Henry the Eighth and the Cobler. The same writer subjoins that the author of the first of these ballads, "and others who have written on the same plan, seem to have copied a very ancient poem, entitled *John the Reeve*, which is built on an adventure of the same kind, that happened between King Edward Longshanks and one of his reeves or bailiffs. This is a piece of great antiquity, being written before the time of Edward IV., and for its genuine humour, diverting incidents, and faithful picture of rustic manners, is infinitely superior to all that have been since written in imitation of it."[1] John the Reeve, a poem consisting of more than nine hundred verses, has not yet been printed, but is preserved in the bishop's manuscript. Another ancient poem of the same description contains a tale of King Edward and the Shepherd.[2]

The tale of Orfeo and Heurodis, which seems to have been written during the earlier part of the fourteenth century, has been claimed as a Scotish composition; but the language appears to me the current English of that period. This tale may certainly be regarded as a literary curiosity: here we have a classical transformed into a fairy tale, and the son of Apollo and Calliope is translated from Thrace to Winchester; nor is the author's mythology less remarkable than his history and geography:[3]—

[1] Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 230.

[2] Hartshorne's Ancient Metrical Tales, printed chiefly from original sources, p. 35. Lond. 1829, 8vo.

[3] Of this tendency to confound all history and chronology, we meet with innumerable instances in the poetry and romance of the middle ages. A curious example occurs in the second part of *Grimhild's Hevn*, or Grimhild's Vengeance, an early Danish ballad, in which the hero Hogen, identifying himself with the heroes of a remote age and country, speaks of losing his good cuirass and his grey horse when he lay during the cold winter before Troy:—

> Da misted' jeg inen Brynie god,
> Dertil min Ganger graa,
> Udi de colde Vintra
> Der vi for Trojen laae.
>
> Danske Viser, 1 Bind, S. 120.

Orfeo was a king,
In Ingland an heighe lording,
A stalworth man and hardi bo,
Large and curteys he was al so.
His fader was comen of King Pluto,
And his moder of 'quene' Juno,
That sum time were as godes yhold,
For auentours that thai dede and told.
This king soiurnd in Traciens,
That was a cité of noble defens;
For Winchester was cleped tho
Traciens, with outen no.
The king hadde a quen of priis,
That was ycleped dame Herodis,
The fairest leuedi for the nones
That might gon on bodi and bones.[1]

It is not a little curious to trace the progress of this tale from the pages of Virgil and Ovid to those of the English minstrel; who has indeed retained some faint vestiges of the original story, but has disguised it in an eminent degree by substituting the manners and superstitions of his own age for those of classical antiquity. He professes to have borrowed his tale from a favourite lay of Bretagne:—

Harpours in Bretaine after than
Herd hou this meruaile bigan,
And made her of a lay of gode likeing,
And nempned it after the king:
That lay Orfeo is yhote,
Gode is the lay, swete is the note.

[1] Laing's Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland. Edinb. 1822.

CHAPTER IV.

JOHN BARBOUR, the contemporary and in some respects the rival of Chaucer, is the author of a poem which may justly be described as a national work: it relates the exploits of a very heroic monarch, whose memory is still cherished by his countrymen, and it displays so conspicuous a union of talent and patriotism, that, after the lapse of nearly five centuries, it has not ceased to attract an uncommon degree of attention. The orthography of this poet's name is very unsettled; it is to be found under the different forms of Barber, Barbere, Barbar, Barbare, and Barbour. It evidently belongs to that very numerous class of names originally derived from trades or occupations; but as *barbour* appears to have been the ancient orthography of the word denoting this particular trade,[1] there is sufficient propriety in adhering to the form that is now so generally adopted, and writing the name Barbour instead of Barber. Those authors who aver that he was born at Aberdeen, and educated in the abbey of Aberbrothock, seem to have substituted conjecture for evidence; for no document which can enable us to ascertain the place of his birth or education has yet been discovered. His birth has been referred to the year 1316. When he describes the person of Randolph, says Lord Hailes, he seems to speak from personal observation; and as Randolph died in 1331, and Barbour in 1396, the poet, if we suppose him to have reached the age of eighty, would be fifteen years old at the period of that illustrious warrior's death.[2] This however is but

[1] A bath thai brought Rohant inne,
A *barbour* was redi thare.
Sir Tristrem, p. 42.
Sen I off laitt now come owt off the west,
In this cuntre, a *barbour* off the best
To cutt and schaiff, and that a wondyr gude;
Now thow sall feyll how I oyss to lat blude.
HENRY'S Wallace, p. 89.

[2] Hailes's Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 3.

a vague calculation, resting on no solid basis; for he neither professes to describe the person of Randolph from actual observation, nor is his description so minute and graphic as to justify the inference that he must have acquired his knowledge in this manner. It has been suggested by Dr. Jamieson that the strongest presumption of his having been born at so early a period, is to be found in the circumstance of his being a dignitary of the church in the year 1357. If we suppose him to have been born in 1316, he may have obtained this preferment about the age of forty; and the same learned writer remarks that it must have required very powerful interest to obtain it at a much earlier age. We are not however sufficiently acquainted with the details of his personal history to be enabled to estimate the probability of his rapid promotion; but, according to the canon law, he could be regularly appointed an archdeacon at the age of twenty-five.[1] We must therefore be content to leave conjectural dates as we found them, without attempting to decide whether he was born in 1316, 1326, or 1330; but more authentic notices of this venerable archdeacon have fortunately been preserved. On the 13th of August 1357, Edward the Third, on the application of the Scotish king, granted Barbour a safe-conduct to visit the university of Oxford, accompanied by three students.[2] This instrument expressly mentions that they are to repair thither for the purpose of study, and of performing scholastic exercises; and it has been stated by a distinguished ornament of the university that Barbour studied there during the years 1357 and 1365.[3] But as the safe-conduct describes him as archdeacon of Aberdeen, we cannot so easily admit that he comes under the common denomination of an academical student, if by this term we understand a person subjected to college discipline, and following a prescribed course of study; nor is it unreasonable to conclude that the scholastic exercises were solely to be performed by the three scholars who accompanied him. That he completed his studies in this celebrated university, is however sufficiently probable, though it

[1] Decretales Gregorii ix. lib. i. tit. vi. cap. vii. § 2.

[2] Rymer, Fœdera, tom. vi. p. 81. Rotuli Scotiæ, tom. i. p. 808.

[3] Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, v. ii. p. 154.

must apparently have been at an earlier period of life. We may venture to infer that on the present occasion he repaired to Oxford, as many individuals still repair to it, for the purpose of conferring with learned clerks, and of consulting books which he had no opportunity of consulting at home; and such a document may therefore be regarded as an honourable testimony of his love of learning. Nor is it the only document of this kind. There is another safe-conduct, dated on the 6th of November 1364, and authorizing the archdeacon of Aberdeen to visit England with four horsemen, in order to study at Oxford or elsewhere, as he may judge expedient;[1] and a third, dated on the 30th of November 1368, authorizes him to travel through England with two servants and two horses; on his way towards France for the same purpose of study.[2] On the 13th of September 1357, the bishop of his diocese had nominated him one of the commissioners who were to meet at Edinburgh to deliberate concerning the ransom of the captive king;[3] but as he must then have received his passport for Oxford, it is conjectured that this nomination was only intended as a compliment, and that the actual duty was to devolve on a coadjutor, who is named in the same instrument. On the 16th of October 1365, Edward had granted him permission to travel through England, with six companions on horseback, towards St. Denis and other sacred places;[4] an expression which seems to indicate that the object of his expedition was of a religious nature. After an interval of several years, his name occurs in another authentic record; namely, in the list of the early auditors of exchequer, appointed on the 18th of February 1373, or, according to our present computation, 1374. Here he is described as archdeacon of Aberdeen, and "clericus probacionis domus domini nostri Regis;" and in the same commission we find the name of Sir Hugh Eglintoun.[5]

About this period he was engaged in the composition of the work which has transmitted his fame to posterity; for it appears from his own statement that in the year 1375 his work was more

[1] Rotuli Scotiæ, tom. i. p. 886.

[2] Rotuli Scotiæ, tom. i. p. 926.

[3] Rymer, Fœdera, tom. vi. p. 39.

[4] Rymer, Fœdera, tom. vi. p. 478. Rotuli Scotiæ, tom. i. p. 897.

[5] Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 19.

than half finished.[1] Dr. Henry has stated, but apparently without any competent authority, that it was undertaken at the request of David the Second, the son and successor of the heroic monarch whose actions the author commemorates, and that a considerable pension was granted to him as an encouragement to prosecute this design.[2] It is to be recollected that David died in 1371, several years before Barbour had written one half of his poem. The history of his pension was involved in much obscurity, which has at length been removed by the researches of Dr. Jamieson. Hume of Godscroft had affirmed, that his merit as the author of this poem was rewarded by a pension from the exchequer during his life, that he transferred this pension to the hospital of Aberdeen, and it still continued to be paid in his own lifetime.[3] The terms of this statement are evidently at variance with each other; but the fact of his having received a pension, or rather two different pensions from the crown, rests on unquestionable authority; and this fact cannot but be regarded as creditable to the government of his country, nor must the extent of such liberality be estimated by so fallacious a standard as the present value of money. At a much later period, Hector Boyce enjoyed a revenue of forty marks as principal of King's College, Aberdeen.[4] Barbour's pensions consisted of ten pounds, payable from the customs of Aberdeen, and twenty shillings, payable from the rent of the lands and fisheries which that city held of the crown.[5] The first was merely an annuity for his life, but the other was granted to him

[1] And in the tyme of the compiling
Off this buk, this Robert was king.
And off hys kynrik passit was
Fyve yer; and wes the yer off grace
A thousand, thre hundyr, sevynty
And fyve; and off his eld sixty.
BARBOUR'S Bruce, p. 274, Jamieson's edit.

[2] Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 472.

[3] Hume's Hist. of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, p. 31. Edinb. 1644, fol.

[4] "Boethius, as president of the university, enjoyed a revenue of forty Scottish marks, about two pounds four shillings and sixpence of sterling money. In the present age of trade and taxes, it is difficult even for the imagination so to raise the value of money, or so to diminish the demands on life, as to suppose four-and-forty shillings a year an honourable stipend; yet it was probably equal, not only to the needs, but to the rank of Boethius. The wealth of England was undoubtedly to that of Scotland more than five to one, and it is known that Henry the Eighth, among whose faults avarice was never reckoned, granted to Roger Ascham, as a reward of his learning, a pension of ten pounds a year." (Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, p. 29. Lond. 1775, 8vo.) But on referring to chap. xv., the reader will find that this was only an inconsiderable part of Boyce's emoluments.

[5] Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 128, 153. With respect to these pensions, many subsequent entries occur.

and his assignees, with an express permission to dispose of it in mortmain; and it appears from the records to have been granted by Robert the Second as a reward for the composition of his historical poem.[1] This sum he did not bequeath to the hospital, but to the dean and chapter of Aberdeen, under the condition that they should say a yearly mass for the repose of his soul.[2] His larger pension seems likewise to have been conferred by the same king; and although this circumstance has not been traced in any record, it was probably conferred for the same reason.

Although this is the only work of Barbour that is known to be extant, it is not the only work of which he was the author. He appears to have written another book, doubtless in rhyme, comprising a genealogical history of the kings of Scotland, and deducing their origin from the Trojan colony of Brutus.[3] We may venture to conclude that his principal materials were drawn from very dubious sources; but although the historical value of this production may not have been very conspicuous, it would undoubtedly have been regarded as a curious relique of the literature of the middle ages. The existence of such a work is fully established by various passages in Winton's chronicle.

This Nynus had a sone alsua,
Sere Dardane lord of Frygya.
Fra quham Barbere sutely
Has made a propyr Genealogy
Tyl Robert oure secownd kyng
That Scotland had in governyng.[4]

Of Bruttus lyneage quha wyll here
He luk the tretis of Barbere,
Mad in-tyl a Genealogy
Rycht wele, and mare perfytly
Than I can on ony wys
Wytht all my wyt to yowe dewys.[5]

[1] Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 269. Jamieson's Memoir of the Life of Barbour, p. viii.

[2] Accounts, vol. ii. p. 402.

[3] With respect to the story of the Trojan origin of another nation, "Ueber die Sage von der Trojanischen Abkunft der Franken," some curious notices may be found in W. C. Grimm's *Altdaenische Heldenlieder*, S. 431.

[4] Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. i. p. 26.

[5] Wmton, vol. i. p. 54.—Another early poet mentions Barbour as the author of different works:—

Master Barbour, quhilk was a worthi clerk,
He said the Bruce amang his othir werk.

HENRY'S Wallace, p. 353.

It is apparently the same book which the Prior of Lochleven repeatedly quotes under the title of the Brute; and I agree with Dr. Jamieson in thinking it highly probable that this book is quoted by Barbour himself in the subsequent passage:—

Als Arthur, that throw chevalry
Maid Bretane maistres and lady
Off twelf kinrykis that he wan;
And alsua, as a noble man,
He wan throw bataill Fraunce al fre;
And Lucius Yber wencusyt he,
That then of Rome was emperour;
Bot yeit, for all his gret valour,
Modreyt his systir son him slew,
And gud men als ma then inew,
Throw tresoune and throw wikkitnes;
The Broite beris thairoff wytnes.[1]

The Archdeacon, as has already been hinted, died in 1396;[2] and as he had enjoyed his preferment for at least thirty-nine years, he must evidently have reached an advanced period of life. His character, if we may be allowed to form a conjecture from the general strain of his work, was of an amiable kind, and his name has long been respected by his countrymen. The earliest edition of the Bruce which has hitherto been traced was published at Edinburgh in 1616; but, as Patrick Gordon, whose poem was licensed in 1613, describes it as "the old printed book," there is reason to believe that the first impression was of a much earlier date. Several other editions appeared in the course of the seventeenth century; "and there are many later editions of no value, published by different booksellers, to answer the demand of the common people for this book; which, to the credit of their good sense, is very great."[3] At length, in 1790, a more correct and elaborate edition was published by Mr. Pinkerton from a manuscript in the Advocates' Library;[4] and after an interval of thirty years, another edition, the best that has yet appeared, was published by Dr. Jamieson from a more

[1] Barbour's Bruce, p. 20.

[2] Chartularium Aberdonense, f. 115.

[3] Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. lxxxiii.

[4] Lond. 1790, 3 vols. 8vo.

careful collation of the same manuscript.[1] This appears from the colophon to have been transcribed in 1489, by John Ramsay, who is supposed to be the same person that was afterwards prior of the Carthusian monastery at Perth; the transcript was executed at the request of Simon Lochmalony, the worthy vicar of Moonsie; and thus every individual more immediately concerned, the poet, the copyist, and his employer, belonged to the church.

When we endeavour to appreciate the literary merit of Barbour, we must at the same time endeavour to transport ourselves to the remote and unrefined age in which he lived; we must recollect the general barbarism of many preceding centuries, the difficulty of acquiring extensive liberal knowledge, the rude and grotesque taste of almost all his contemporaries. When all these circumstances are duly considered, his poem will be found entitled to an ample share of our approbation. Fortunate in the choice of a subject, he has unfolded a series of remarkable events, and has diffused over a very long narrative that lively interest which an ordinary writer is incapable of exciting. Here we are not to expect the blandishments of modern poetry: the author stands conspicuous amid the ruins of time, and, like an undecayed Gothic tower, presents an aspect of majestic simplicity. The lively strain of his narrative, the air of sincerity which he always exhibits, his earnest participation in the success or sufferings of his favourite characters, as well as the splendid attributes of the characters themselves, cannot fail of arresting the attention of every reader familiarly acquainted with the language in which he writes. The age of the great King Robert was the age of Scotish chivalry, and the monarch himself presented the most perfect model of a valiant knight. Whatever inconsistencies may have appeared in his early conduct, the best portion of his life was undoubtedly spent in the exercise of heroic valour, or of political wisdom. Such a hero and such a crisis were a most fortunate selection; and although the intrinsic merit of the poet is very conspicuous, yet the attraction of the poem is partly to be ascribed to his judicious choice of a subject.

[1] Edin. 1820, 4to.

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Barbour was evidently skilled in such branches of knowledge as were then cultivated, and his learning was so well regulated as to conduce to the real improvement of his mind: the liberality of his views and the humanity of his sentiments appear occasionally to have been unconfined by the narrow boundaries of his own age. He has drawn various illustrations from ancient history, and from the stories of romance, but has rarely displayed his erudition by decking his verses with the names of ancient authors: the distichs of Cato,[1] and the spurious productions of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis are the only profane books to which he formally refers. He has borrowed more than one illustration from Statius, who was the favourite classic of those times, and who likewise appears to have been the favourite of Barbour. The more chaste and elegant style of Virgil and Horace was not so well adapted to the prevalent taste, as the strained thoughts and gorgeous diction of Statius and Claudian.[2] The manner in which he has incidentally discussed the subject of astrology and necromancy, may, I think, be specified as not a little creditable to his good

[1] And Catone sayis ws, in his wryt,
That to fenyhe foly quhile is wyt.
BARBOUR'S Bruce, p. 13.
This passage evidently refers to the collection of distichs which bears the name of Dionysius Cato, whom Chaucer likewise calls Caton or Cathon; a circumstance which, as Mr. Warton remarks, shows that he was more familiarly known from the French translation than from the Latin original.
Insipiens esto quum tempus postulat aut res:
Stultitiam simulare loco, prudentia summa est.
CATONIS Disticha, lib. ii. 18.
This work of Cato was held in the highest estimation during the middle ages, and it has been translated into Greek, Anglo-Saxon, German, French, and English. It comprehends a series of moral lessons, which are often conveyed with a considerable degree of terseness and compression. The author possesses so much purity of diction, that Joseph Scaliger supposes he cannot have flourished subsequently to the reign of Commodus or Severus; and Hen. Cannegieter, who was alike conversant with philology and the civil law, has employed several arguments, drawn from the history of the Roman jurisprudence, to prove that this poet must at least have preceded the reign of Constantine. (Rescripta Boxhornio de Catone, cap. xviii. *seq.*) Cato, for example, speaks of divorcing a wife, if she should become troublesome—"si cœperit esse molesta." (Lib. iii. 13.) But after the law of divorce had been modified by that emperor, it was not competent for a husband to dismiss his wife, merely because he did not find her agreeable. (Codex Theodosianus, lib. iii. tit. xvi.) The most complete edition of "Dionysii Catonis Disticha de Moribus ad Filium," is the second published by Otto Arntzenius. Amst. 1754, 8vo. It contains the notes of many learned commentators, the Greek versions of Planudes and Scaliger, with the dissertation of Boxhornius and the very copious reply of Cannegieter.

[2] An English writer, who flourished in the seventeenth century, speaks of Statius in the following terms: "Statius is a smooth and sweet poet, comming neerest of any other to the state and majesty of Virgil's verse, and Virgill onely excepted, is the prince of poets aswell Greekes as Latine: for he is more flowery in figures, and writteth better lines than Homer." (Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, p. 90. edit. Lond. 1634, 4to.)

sense. It is well known that these branches of divination were assiduously cultivated during the ages of intellectual darkness. The absurdity of astrology and necromancy he has not openly attempted to expose; for as the opinion of the many, however unfounded in reason, must not be too rashly stigmatized, this might have been too bold and decided a step. Of the possibility of predicting events he speaks with the caution of a philosopher; but the following passage may be considered as a sufficient indication of his deliberate sentiments:—

> And sen thai ar in sic wenyng,
> For owtyne certante off witing;
> Me think, quha sayis he knawis thingis
> To cum, he makys gret gabingis.[1]

To form such an estimate, required a mind capable of resisting a strong torrent of prejudice; nor is it superfluous to remark that in an age of much higher refinement, Dryden suffered himself to be deluded by the prognostications of judicial astrology.[2] It was not however to be expected that Barbour should on every occasion evince a decided superiority to the general spirit of the age to which he belonged. His terrible imprecation on the person who betrayed Sir Christopher Seton, "In hell condampnyt mot he be!" ought not to have been uttered by a Christian priest. His detestation of the treacherous and cruel King Edward induced him to lend a credulous ear to the report of his consulting an infernal spirit. The misfortunes which attended Bruce at almost every step of his early progress, he attributes to his sacrilegious act of slaying Comyn at the high altar. He supposes that the women and children who assisted in supplying the brave defenders of Berwick with arrows and stones, were protected from injury by a miraculous interposition. Such instances of superstition or uncharitable zeal are not to be viewed as marking the individual: gross superstition, with its usual concomitants, was the general spirit of the age; and the deviations from the ordinary track are to be traced in examples of liberal feeling or enlightened judgment.

[1] Barbour, p. 88.

[2] Johnson's Lives of English Poets, vol. ii. p. 190.

His encomium on political freedom is distinguished by a manly and dignified strain of sentiment :—

A ! fredome is a noble thing !
Fredome mayss man to haiff liking ;
Fredome all solace to man giffis :
He levys at ess that frely levys !
A noble hart may haiff nane ess,
Na ellys nocht that may him pless,
Gyff fredome failyhe ; for fre liking
Is yharnyt our all othir thing.
Na he, that ay hass levyt fre,
May nocht knaw weill the propyrte,
The angyr, na the wrechyt dome,
That is cowplyt to foule thyrldome.
Bot gyff he had assayit it,
Than all perquer he suld it wyt,
And suld think fredome mar to pryss,
Than all the gold in warld that is.[1]

This noble passage is followed by the statement of a curious question, which had been proposed by learned casuists, but of which he does not venture to give the solution :—

Than mayss clerkis questioun,
Quhen thai fall in disputacioun,
That gyff man bad his thryll owcht do,
And in the samyn tym come him to
His wyff, and askyt hym hyr det,
Quhethir he his lordis neid suld bet,
And pay fryst that he awcht, and syne
Do furth his lordis commandyne;
Or leve onpayit his wyff, and do
Thai thingis that commandyt is him to?
I leve all the solucioun
Till thaim that ar off mar renoun :
Bot sen thai mak sic comperyng
Betwix the dettis off wedding,
And lordis bidding till his threll,
Ye may weile se, thoucht nane yow tell,
How hard a thing that threldome is :
For men may weile se, that ar wyss,
That wedding is the hardest band
That ony man may tak on hand ;

[1] Barbour, p. 10.

And thryldome is weill wer than deid ;
For quhill a thryll his lyff may leid,
It merrys him, body and banys,
And dede anoyis him bot anys :
Schortly to say, is nane can tell
The halle conditioun off a threll.

From the satisfaction with which the poet seems to contemplate any example of the gentler virtues, we may venture to draw a favourable inference respecting the native benevolence of his disposition. The subsequent passage cannot be passed without particular notice : the annals of heroes furnish but few instances of so pleasing a nature ; whether it be that heroes seldom stoop to actions of mere benevolence,[1] or that their historians do not think it of much importance to transmit such actions to posterity :—

The king has hard a woman cry ;
He askyt quhat that wes in hy.
" It is the layndar, Schyr," said ane,
" That her child-ill rycht now has tane,
And mon leve now behind ws her ;
Tharfor scho makys yone iwill cher."
The king said, " Certis it war pite
That scho in that poynt left suld be ;
For certis I trow thar is na man
That he ne will rew a woman than."
Hiss ost all thar arestyt he,
And gert a tent sone stentit be,
Ane gert hyr gang in hastily,
And othyr wemen to be hyr by,
Quhill scho wes deliuer, he bad ;
And syne furth on his wayis raid :
And how scho furth suld caryit be,
Or euir he furth fur, ordanyt he.
This wes a full gret curtasy,
That swilk a king, and sa mychty,
Gert his men duell on this maner,
Bot for a pouir lauender.[2]

Barbour seems to have been acquainted with those nicer springs of human action which elude vulgar observation ; he

[1] Οἱ γὰρ Ἥρωες
Κακοῦν ἕτοιμοι μᾶλλον ἢ εὐεργετεῖν.
MENANDRI Fragmenta, p. 158, edit. Meineke.

[2] Barbour, p. 320.

catches the shades of character with a delicate eye, and sometimes presents us with instances of nice discrimination. His work is not a mere narrative of events; it contains specimens of that minute and distinct delineation which marks the hand of a skilful artist. An illustration of this remark may perhaps be found in the following incident. When Bruce has with his single arm defended a narrow pass against a party of two hundred Gallovidians, his soldiers are represented as flocking around him with the same eager curiosity as if they had never had another opportunity of seeing their general :—

Syk wordis spak thai of the king,
And for his hey wndretaking
Farlyit, and yarnyt hym for to se,
That with hym ay wes wont to be.[1]

In the subsequent lines, which relate to the meeting of the king and his faithful adherents after a temporary separation, the poet illustrates the sensations produced by the recital of past dangers and pain :—

The king then at thaim speryt yarne,
How thai, sen he thaim seyne, had farne ;
And thai full petwysly gan tell
Auenturis that thaim befell,
And gret anoyis and powerte.
The king thar-at had gret pite :
And tauld thaim petwisly agayne
The noy, the trawaill, and the payne,
That he had tholyt sen he thaim saw.
Wes nane amang thaim, hey na law,
That he ne had pite and plesaunce,
Quhen that he herd mak remembrance
Off the perellys that passyt war.
Bot quhen men oucht at liking ar,
To tell off paynys passyt by,
Plesys to heryng petuisly ;
And to reherss thar auld disese,
Dois thaim oft syss confort and esc,
With thi thar-to folow na blame,
Dishonour, wikytnes, na schame.[2]

In the opinion of an exquisite critic, Barbour has adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression,

[1] Barbour, p. 118. [2] *Ibid.* p. 58.

and poetical imagery, far superior to his age.[1] And Dr. Nott remarks that he "had given his countrymen a fine example of the simple energetic style, which resembled Chaucer's best manner, and wanted little to make it the genuine language of poetry."[2] The best method of estimating the merit of his versification, will be to compare it with that of some English poet who flourished about the same period; and if placed in competition with the versification of Chaucer, Gower, or Lydgate, the most celebrated English poets of that era, it must certainly be admitted to appear with sufficient advantage. Although a general conclusion cannot be drawn from a particular instance, it may yet be worth while to compare the following quotations from Chaucer and Barbour :—

The byrdes that han lefft her songe,
Whyle they han suffred colde full stronge
In wethers grylle, and derke to syght,
Ben in May, for the sunne bryght,
So glad that they shewe in syngyng,
That in her herde is suche lykyng,
That they mote syngen and ben lyght:
Than doth the nyghtyngale her myght
To maken noyse and syngen blythe;
Than is blysfull many a sythe
The chelaundre and the popyngay;
Than yonge folke entenden aye
For to ben gay and amarous,
The tyme is than so sauorious.[3]

This wes in ver, quhen wynter tid,
With his blastis hidwyss to bid,
Was our drywyn: and byrdis smale,
As turturis and the nychtyngale,
Begouth rycht sariely to syng;
And for to mak in thair singyng
Swete notis, and sownys ser,
And melodys plesand to her.
And the treis begouth to ma
Burgeans, and brycht blomys alsua,
To wyn the helyng off thair hewid,
That wykkyt wynter had thaim rewid.[4]

[1] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 154.

[2] Nott's Dissertation on the State of English Poetry before the Sixteenth Century (p. cxc.), prefixed to the Works of Surrey and Wyatt. Lond. 1815, 2 vols. 4to.

[3] Chaucer's Romaunte of the Rose: Workes, f. cxxviii. edit. Lond. 1542, fol.

[4] Barbour's Bruce, p. 8ff.

Here the versification of Barbour is certainly not inferior to that of Chaucer; but I have no intention to aver that the general merit of the two poets is equal. Chaucer has attempted a great variety of subjects, and for the most part with eminent success; his measures are also varied, and if we compare his versification with that of preceding poets, or indeed with that of his immediate successors, it will be found entitled to high commendation: he reformed the taste, and improved the language of his native country. The merit of Barbour is more circumscribed; but it cannot reasonably be expected that he should have performed what he never attempted.

The style of this poet is distinguished by its terseness, and he often exhibits a happy brevity of expression. His work contains a greater proportion of French idioms than any of those which we have hitherto reviewed, though their positive number is far from being considerable. Fiction is not inseparably connected with verse. The historical merit of Barbour's work has been admitted by very competent judges; and among others, Lord Hailes has repeatedly acknowledged the general fidelity of his narrative. King Robert died in 1329; and as Barbour was employed in writing his poem within forty-six years from that period, he must have enjoyed many opportunities of collecting information. He might himself have conversed with warriors who fought at Bannockburn; and on one occasion he quotes the authority of a valiant knight, Sir Allan Cathcart, who was personally engaged in a particular exploit which he is about to relate:—

> A knycht, that then wes in his rowt,
> Worthi and wycht, stalwart and stout,
> Curtaiss and fayr, and off gud fame,
> Schyr Alane off Catkert by name,
> Tauld me this taile, as I sall tell.[1]

Of the general merit of Barbour's work so favourable an estimate has been formed by Mr. Pinkerton, that it may not here be improper to produce his testimony: "Perhaps the editor may be accused of nationality, when he says that, taking the total merits of this work together, he prefers it to the early

[1] Barbour, p. 183.

exertions of even the Italian muse, to the melancholy sublimity of Dante, and the amorous quaintness of Petrarca, as much as M. Le Grand does a *fabliau* to a Provençal ditty. Here indeed the reader will find few of the graces of fine poetry, little of the Attic dress of the muse: but here are life, and spirit, and ease, and plain sense, and pictures of real manners, and perpetual incident, and entertainment. The language is remarkably good for the time, and far superior, in neatness and elegance, even to that of Gawin Douglas, who wrote more than a century after. But when we consider that our author is not only the first poet, but the earliest historian of Scotland, who has entered into any detail, and from whom any view of the real state and manners of the country can be had; and that the hero, whose life he paints so minutely, was a monarch equal to the greatest of modern times; let the historical and poetical merits of his work be weighed together, and then opposed to those of any other early poet of the present nations in Europe."[1]

The exploits of this heroic monarch have been celebrated by several other Scotish poets, and one of these is said to have preceded the archdeacon of Aberdeen. This is Peter Fentou, a monk of the abbey of Melrose, of whom the only account which I have been able to discover, is to be found in the preface to Gordon's poem on the same subject. "My loveing freind, Donald Farchersone (a worthie gentilman whous name I am not asham'd to expres, for that he was a restless suter to me to taik this work in hand), broght me a book of virgine parchment which he hade found amongst the rest of his books: it was an old tome almost inlegeable in manie places; vanting leaves, yet hade it the beginning, and hade beine sett doune by a monk in the abey of Melros, called Peter Fenton, in the year of God one thousand thrie hundreth sixtie nyne, which was a year before the death of King Dauid Bruce: it was in old ryme like to Chaucer, but vanting in many parts; and in special, from the field of Bannochburne fourth it wanted all the rest almost, so that it could not be gotten to the press; yet such as I could reid thereof hade manie remarkable taillis worthie to be noted." This poem of Fenton, it is to be feared, is irretrievably lost.

[1] Pinkerton's Preface to Barbour, p. x.

Gordon's Historie of the valiant Bruce is a poem of considerable length, divided into seventeen chapters, and written in the octave stanza, a measure which the practice of Lord Stirling had perhaps induced the author to adopt. The work is copiously replenished with Scoticisms, and with expressions which violate every rule of grammar: it neither possesses the dignity of an epic poem, nor the authenticity of a historical narrative; and so completely are the rules of propriety disregarded, that he has recourse to the united agency of Christ and Jupiter.[1] The same gross violation of decorum is indeed exhibited by some other poets of much higher reputation, and by none more conspicuously than by Camoens; nor will the zealous vindication of his ingenious translator Mickle, and of his accomplished editor Dom J. M. de Souza-Botelho, easily reconcile us to the exertions of Venus in the cause of Christianity.

In Harvey's Life of Robert Bruce the reader will find more poetry than its prosaic title[2] would lead him to expect. His

[1] The only slight memorial of Gordon with which I am acquainted, occurs in the following passage of Dempster: "Patricius Gordonus 'regiis' agens in rebus apud Polonos, scripsit Lachrymas in Funere Henrici, lib. i. Vivit adhuc, ut existimo." (Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum, p. 320.) Mr. Pinkerton supposes him to have been a man of property, but if this conclusion is drawn from the mere circumstance of his being described as Patrick Gordon, *Gentleman*, it seems to be a little too hasty; for, as Edward Waterhouse observes, "all men learnedly bred, and members of universities and houses of law, are, by consent of Christendome, as well as our own nation, accounted gentlemen, and warranted to write themselves so, be their extract how meane and ignote soever." (Humble Apologie for Learning and Learned Men, p. 25. Lond. 1653, 8vo.) "As for gentlemen," says Sir Thomas Smith, "they bee made good cheape in England. For whosoeuer studieth the lawes of the realme, who studieth in the universities, who professeth liberal sciences, and, to be short, who can liue idlely and without manuall labour, and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, hee shall be called Master, for that is the title which men giue to esquires and other gentlemen, and shall be taken for a gentleman." (Commonwealth of England, p. 57, edit. Lond. 1633, 12mo.) Gordon is the author of the following publications:—Neptunus Britannicus Corydonis. De Luctuoso Henrici Principis Obitu, et felicibus Caroli Auspiciis: queis immixtus Frederici et Elizabethæ Hymenæus. Lond. 1613, 4to. The famous Historie of Penardo and Laissa, otherwise called the Warre of Love and Ambition, doone in heroik verse. Dort, 1615, 12mo. The famovs Historie of the renovned and valiant Prince Robert surnamed the Brvse, King of Scotlande, and sundrie other valiant Knights, both Scots and English: enlarged with an addition of the Scottishe Kinges lineallie discended from him to Charles now Prince; together with a note of the beginninges of the most parte of the antient and famous Nobilitie of Scotland: a Historye both pleasant and profitable, set forthe and done in heroik verse, by Patrick Gordon, Gentleman. Dort, 1615, 4to. Edinb. 1718, 12mo. Glasg. 1753, 12mo. These English poems are both incomplete, a first book of each having only been published. The Historie of Penardo and Laissa, which I have never seen, is extremely rare.

[2] The Life of Robert Bruce, King of Scots: a Poem, by John Harvey, M.A. Edinb. 1729, 4to.—The author appears to have been educated in the university of Aberdeen. (P. 84.) At the time of his death he is said to have been a schoolmaster in Edinburgh. His Life of Bruce was afterwards remodelled, and pub-

descriptions, though sometimes a little grotesque, are often distinguished by a considerable degree of animation. Both these poets are greatly indebted to Barbour, as he possibly might be to Fenton; but neither of them has, in proper terms, acknowledged the obligation; they have coldly referred to his work without mentioning the name of the author. Harvey's description of the battle of Falkirk is partly borrowed from Henry the Minstrel. An opinion that epic poetry cannot be supported without the aid of machinery, seems almost universally to have prevailed.[1] The shadowy beings which Harvey employs, do not produce any remarkable effect. Discord intermeddles in the affairs of King Robert with the same degree of impertinence as in those of Voltaire's hero, Henry the Great. When the action of an epic poem is referred to a pagan age and country, a Christian poet may be permitted to avail himself of pagan mythology; but in every other case, the employment of such decayed machinery must certainly be regarded as a hazardous attempt.

lished under the more classical title of "The Brucind." Edinb. 1769, 8vo. Harvey's name is studiously concealed, and the whole of this transforming process seems injudicious and reprehensible. He is likewise the author of a "Collection of miscellany Poems and Letters, *comical and serious*." Edinb. 1726, 8vo.

[1] "Narrative poetry without fiction," says Mr. Mickle, "can never please. Without fiction it must want the marvellous, which is the very soul of poesy; and hence a machinery is indispensable in the epic poem." See his Dissertation on the Lusiad, and Observations upon Epic Poetry, prefixed to his translation, p. cevi. 2d. edit. Oxford, 1778, 4to.

CHAPTER V.

CONTEMPORARY with the venerable Archdeacon of Aberdeen was another dignified ecclesiastic, who distinguished himself by recording in verse the history of his native country. This poet, Andrew Winton, was apparently born during the reign of David the Second, which extended from 1329 to 1371. For the few scattered notices of him that have been preserved, we are chiefly indebted to the valuable work which has transmitted his name to posterity. Of his parentage and education no record has hitherto been discovered; but we learn from his prologue that he was a canon regular of St. Andrews, and prior of the monastery of St. Serf:—

> And for I wyll nane bere the blame
> Of my defawte, this is my name
> Be baptysyne, Androwe of Wyntowne,
> Of Sanct Androwys a chanowne
> Regulare, bot noucht-for-thi
> Of thaim all the lest worthy:
> Bot of thare grace and thaire fawoure
> I wes, but meryt, made priowre
> Of the ynche wyth-in Loch-lewyne,
> Hawand tharof my lytil ewyne
> Of Sanct Androwys dyocesy,
> Be-twene the Lomownde and Benarty.

The priory of St. Andrews was endowed with very ample revenues; and the prior, in consideration of his connexion with the metropolitan cathedral, was entitled to take precedence in Parliament of all priors, and even of all abbots. There were five subordinate priories belonging to St. Andrews: namely, those of St. Serf in the *inch* or isle of Lochleven; Portmoak on the northern bank of the same lake, both in the county of Kinross;

Pittenweem in the neighbouring county of Fife, the Isle of May near the termination of the Firth of Forth, and Monymusk in the county of Aberdeen. In the isle of Lochleven there was a very ancient religious house belonging to the Culdees,[1] for whom the canons regular of St. Augustin were afterwards substituted by the Bishop of St. Andrews.[2] The beautiful and romantic situation of this priory furnished a very suitable abode for a poet; and here Winton must chiefly have resided for a considerable part of his life. In the chartulary of the Priory of St. Andrews there are several documents bearing the name of Andrew Winton as prior of Lochleven between the years 1395 and 1413;[3] but his life must have been prolonged for several years after this last date, for he mentions the death of Robert, Duke of Albany, an event which happened in 1419. In the prologue to the last book of his chronicle, he expresses his anticipation of a speedy dissolution:—

For, as I stabil myne intent,
Oft I fynd impediment,
Wyth sudane and fers maladis,
That me cumbris on mony wis;
And elde me masteris wyth hir brevis,
Ilke day me sare aggrevis.
Scho has me mad monitioune
To se for a conclusioune,
The quhilk behovis to be of det:
Quhat term or tyme of that be set,
I can wyt it be na way;
Bot, weil I wate, on schort delay
At a court I mon appeir,
Fell accusationis thare til here,

[1] Jamieson's Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees, p. 131. Edinb. 1811, 4to.

[2] Michael Bruce, a poet of great promise, who was born at a sequestered village, on the margin of the lake, and died at the premature age of twenty-one, has in his poem entitled *Lochleven* introduced the following allusion to this monastic establishment:—

Here Superstition for her cloister'd sons
A dwelling rear'd, with many an arched vault;
Where her pale vot'ries at the midnight hour,
In many a mournful strain of melancholy,
Chanted their orisons to the cold moon.
It now resounds with the wild-shrieking gull,
The crested lapwing, and the clam'rous mew,
The patient heron, and the bittern dull,
Deep sounding in the base, with all the tribe
That by the water seek th' appointed meal.
BRUCE'S Poems, p. 97, edit. Edinb. 1796, 8vo.

[3] Innes's Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 622.

Quhare na help thare is bot grace.
The maikles madyn mon purchase
That help; and to sauf my state
I haif maid hir my advocate,
That bare Hym that hir maid of nocht;
And scho, bath in dede and thocht,
Efter that birth, as be-for syne,
Remanit ful and clene virgyne.
Now, Modyr of the Makare, for thi madynhede,
To fair formale fyne my labouris thow lede!

His Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland was undertaken at the suggestion of Sir John Wemyss, ancestor of the noble family of of that name.

This tretys sympylly
I made at the instans of a larde
That hade my serwys in his warde,
Schyr Jhone of the Wemys be rycht name,
An honest knycht and of gude fame.

Winton's chronicle, while it yet remained in manuscript, was not entirely neglected by more curious inquirers: it was quoted by Selden, a writer of prodigious research, who was not however acquainted with the author's name; it afforded some useful information to Ruddiman for his edition of Buchanan,[1] and to Innes for his Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland; nor was it completely overlooked by Lord Hailes and Mr. Pinkerton. A splendid edition of that part of it which relates more immediately to Scotish affairs, was at length published by the late David Macpherson, who has added a copious glossary, a series of valuable annotations, and other useful appendages.[2] It may, I think, be safely affirmed that none of our ancient writers has yet been edited in a more faithful and judicious manner. The basis of his text is the Royal MS. in the British Museum: this appears to have been transcribed for George Barclay of Achrody, and its date is supposed to be at least as early as the year 1430; but he likewise had recourse to several other manuscripts, belonging to the same repository and to the Advocates' Library.[3]

[1] Mr. Ruddiman, in the preface to his excellent edition of Buchanan, speaks of Winton in the following terms: "Scriptor neutiquam spernendus, quippe qui res sua ætate et paulo superius gestas multo aliis fusius et accuratius pertractet."

[2] Lond. 1795, 2 vols. 4to and 8vo.

[3] Of Winton's chronicle a considerable

The chronicle of Winton is valuable as a specimen of the literary taste and attainments of our ancestors at a very remote period, but it is still more valuable as a repository of historical information, and as a delineation of ancient manners. His simple pages present to our view many curious prospects of society; and with a perseverance of industry which had numerous difficulties to encounter, he has collected and preserved many anecdotes that tend to illustrate the history of his native country. Rude and unadorned as his composition may appear, it is not altogether incapable of interesting a reader of the present age of refinement. Here we discover the rudiments of good sense and of literary excellence; but his good sense is often enveloped in the mist of ignorance and superstition; and those talents which in another age might have ranked their possessor with Robertson, Hume, or Ferguson, appear without that lustre which arises from a participation of the general refinement incident to more happy times. Many of those who may now think themselves entitled to despise the attainments of the worthy prior of Lochleven, would, if placed in similar circumstances, have been utterly incapable of arriving at such proficiency; and so abundant are our present facilities of study, and so ample the general stock of information, that it is even difficult to conceive the obstacles and discouragements to be encountered by a Scotish student of the fourteenth century. "Perhaps," says Mr. Ellis, "the ablest modern versifier, who should undertake to enumerate in metre the years of our Lord in only one century, would feel some respect for the ingenuity with which Wyntown has contrived to vary his rhymes throughout such a formidable chronological series as he has ventured to encounter. His genius is certainly inferiour to that of his predecessor Barbour; but, at least, his versification is easy, his language pure, and his style often animated. As a historian, he is highly valuable."[1]

number of MSS. is mentioned by Mr. Macpherson, but several others are known to be preserved. There is one in the Lansdowne collection, lately added to the British Museum, another in the library of the university of St. Andrews, and a third in the possession of Captain Wemyss of Wemyss.

[1] Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Poets, vol. i. p. 250. "Though his work in general partakes little or nothing of the nature of poetry, unless ryme can be said to constitute poetry, yet he now and then throws in some touches of true poetic description, and paints the scenery of his battles with so

Winton describes his work as an original chronicle; and although another general history of Scotland was undertaken about the same period, there is no evidence that either author was acquainted with the other's design. Beyond this date we have scarcely any records professedly historical, except the Chronicle of Melrose and a few other fragments, neither considerable for their value nor extent. This contemporary historian is John Fordun, who apparently derived his surname from a village in the county of Kincardine, where he is supposed to have been born. He was not, as he has sometimes been represented, a monk, but a secular priest; and in some manuscripts of his history he is described as a chaplain of the cathedral of Aberdeen; a title which Goodall seems to have considered as equivalent to canon. Bower describes him as a simple man who had never graduated in the schools. He was engaged in the composition of his work towards the close of the fourteenth century. The first five books, and twenty-three chapters of the sixth book of the Scotichronicon, are the sole composition of this "venerable orator:" for the remainder of the work in its present form, we are indebted to Walter Bower, who was born at Haddington in the year 1385, and was unanimously elected Abbot of St. Colm in the year 1418.[1] At the request of Sir David Stewart of Rossyth, he undertook to transcribe the papers of Fordun; but instead of executing a mere transcript, he inserted large interpolations, and continued the narrative to the death of James the First, having thus extended the work to sixteen books. Of this continuation the principal materials had however been collected by his predecessor. Bower professes to have been careful to distinguish what belonged to each of the two authors; but as the negligence of subsequent copyists has omitted all his marks, we must chiefly be guided by the internal evidence in adjusting their respective claims. The Latinity of

exact a pencil, that a person, who is on the spot, may point out the various scenes of each particular action." (Macpherson's Preface to Winton, p. xxix.)

1 The abbot of St. Colm is sometimes called Bowmaker, which is equivalent in signification to Bower. From 1395 to 1399, John Bowmaker appears as the deputy of the bailies or of the *custwmars* of Haddington at the presentation of their accounts. (Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 290, 314, 360, 426.) As the first of these dates is only ten years subsequent to the abbot's birth, and as he was born in Haddington, this person might possibly be his father or other relation.

the Scotichronicon, though certainly far from being classical, is less barbarous than that of many other chronicles of the middle ages. Winton is perhaps a more judicious writer than either Fordun or Bower, but his share of credulity and superstition is by no means inconsiderable.[1]

Although he merely professes to write an original chronicle of Scotland, yet, like other Gothic chroniclers, he presents his readers with an outline of the ancient history of the world. Towards the beginning of his work, he treats of the nature of angels, the creation of the world, the death of Abel, the generations of Cain and Seth, the primæval race of giants, the situation of India, Egypt, Africa, Europe, Britain, Ireland, and divers other countries, the confusion of tongues, and the origin of poetry and idolatry.[2] One chapter he devotes to the story of the Amazons,[3] and another to that of Samson. After commencing in so hopeful a manner, he continues to amass an immense pile of lumber, till having completed five books in this pantographical spirit, he at last confines himself more soberly to his proper subject. The adoption of such a wild plan is not to be considered as peculiar to this author: Winton follows the models which at that period were generally approved; and the chronicle of Fordun is composed of the same heterogeneous materials.

The prior divides his chronicle into nine books; and his reason for preferring this number is analogous to that which influenced Herodotus:—

> In honowre of the ordrys nyne
> Of haly angelys, the quhilk dywyne

[1] Some portions of the Scotichronicon were inserted in the collection of Dr. Gale. (Historiæ Britannicæ Scriptores xv. vol. i. p. 565.) A valuable edition was afterwards published by Hearne, under the title of "Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicon genuinum, una cum ejusdem Supplemento ac Continuatione." Oxon. 1722, 5 tom. 8vo. After an interval of nearly forty years appeared the edition of Goodall: "Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon, cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Boweri." Edinb. 1759, 2 tom. fol. Hearne proceeds upon the plan of separating the interpolations of Bower from the text of Fordun.

[2] A late professor of ecclesiastical history in one of the northern universities was accustomed to begin his course with a lecture "de rebus gestis ante mundum conditum."

[3] The etymology of the word Amazon seems to be properly traced to the Persian language. "*Hemezan* is a compound word, made up of *heme* all, and *zen* woman. This word was to the Greeks foolishness and a stumbling-block, since they looked for it in their own language, where it was not to be found." (Weston's Specimen of the Conformity of the European Languages, particularly the English, with the Oriental Languages, especially the Persian, p. 169. Lond. 1803, 8vo.)

Scrypture lowys, on lyk wys
I wylle departe now this tretis
In nyne bukis.

The following passage will serve to explain the general plan which he prescribed to himself :—

The tytil of this tretis hale
I wyll be caulde Orygynale ;
For that begynning sall mak clere
Be playne proces owre matere ;
As of angelis, and of man
Fyrst to rys the kynde began ;
And how, eftyr thare creatioune,
Men grewe in-tyl successiowne,
Wyde sprede in-to thare greys,
Thare statys, and thare qwalyteis,
Tyl the tyme at Nynws kyng
Ras, and tuk the gowernyng
Of Babylon and Assyry.
Fra hyme syne dystynctly
It is my purpos tyl afferme
This tretis in-tyl certane terme,
Haldand tyme be tym the date
As cronyklerys be-for me wrate,
Reqwyrande the correctioune
Of grettare of perfectyoune.
For few wrytys I redy fande,
That I couth drawe to my warande :
Part of the Bybyl, wyth that that Perys
Comestor ekyde in his yherys,
Orosius and Frere Martyne,[1]
Wytht Ynglis and Scottis storys syne,
And othir incedencys sere,
Accordand lyk tyl oure matere.
To this, my wyt is walowide dry,
But floure or froyte ; bot noucht-for-thi,

[1] Orosius is sufficiently known as a chronicler who flourished about the beginning of the fifth century. His work was translated into the Anglo-Saxon language by King Alfred. Petrus Comestor, a French ecclesiastic, who flourished about the year 1170, is the author of a kind of universal history, written in Latin, and consisting of sixteen books. I have seen an edition which bears the following title :—*Scolastica Historia Magistri Petri Comestoris, sacre Scripture Seriem brevem nimis et expositam exponentis.* Argentine, 1485, fol. Martinus Polonus, whose country is denoted by his name, died in the year 1278, after having been nominated Archbishop of Gresna. His Latin chronicle, which has likewise been repeatedly printed, commences with the birth of Christ, and descends to his own time. In one edition it is associated with the chronicle of Marianus Scotus. Basil, 1559, fol. A more recent edition, containing a few notes, was published separately by Suffridus Petrus. Antw. 1574, 8vo. See Vossius de Historicis Latinis, pp. 216, 438, 484.

To furthyre fayrly this purpos,
I seek the sawoure of that ros
That spanysys spredys and evyre spryngis
In plesans of the Kyng of Kyngis.

Winton lived in an age of sufficient credulity, nor need it excite much surprise that on various occasions he has shown a tolerable appetite for the marvellous. Some of his gleanings of this kind are curiously enough grouped together, as in the following example:—

A gret fyreflawcht and a felle,
Than hapnyd in Rome, as I herd telle,
All a nycht atoure fleyand
Lyk til dragownys fyr schutand.
A mayden als in that cuntre,
But mete or drynk, lyvyd yheris thre
And all that tyme in a full streynth.
Of haylstanys than ane fell of leynth
Of mennys fute met fyftene,
And awcht fute brayd, that wes well sene.[1]

A more important specimen of the work may be quoted from his account of Macbeth, with whose name the powerful genius of Shakspeare has associated so high a degree of mysterious interest. Lord Hailes avers that Buchanan "artfully softened" the improbabilities of the tale of the weird sisters, by connecting with the anticipations of a dream what Boyce had represented as having been delivered by an apparition;[2] but the subsequent quotation will serve to evince that, instead of employing any species of artifice, he faithfully adhered in this particular to the authority of Winton:—

A nycht he thowcht in hys dremyng,
That syttand he wes besyd the kyng
At a sete in hwntyng; swa
In-til his leisch had grewhundys twa:
He thowcht, quhile he wes swa syttand,
He sawe thre wemen by gangand;
And thai wemen than thowcht he
Thre werd systrys mast lyk to be.
The first he hard say, gangand by,
Lo, yhondyr the thane of Crumbawchty.
The tothir woman sayd agayne,
Of Morave yhondyre I se the thane.

[1] Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. i. p. 163. [2] Hailes's Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 3.

The thryd than sayd, I se the kyng.
All this he herd in his dremyng.[1] . . . .
Sone eftyre that, in hys yhowthad,
Of thyr thanydoms he thane wes made ;
Syne neyst he thowcht to be kyng,
Fra Dunkanys dayis had tane endyng.
The fantasy thus of hys dreme
Movyd hym mast to sla hys eme ;
As he dyd all furth in-dede,
As before yhe herd me rede,
And Dame Grwok, his emys wyf,
Tuk, and led wyth hyr hys lyf,
And held hyr bathe hys wyf and qweyne,
As befor than scho had beyne
Til hys eme qwene, lyvand
Quhen he was kyng wyth crowne rygnand :
For lytil in honowre than had he
The greys of affynyte.
All thus quhen his eme wes dede,
He succedyt in his stede ;
And sevyntene wyntyr full rygnand
As kyng he wes than in-til Scotland.
All hys tyme wes gret plente
Abowndand, bath on land and se.
He wes in justice rycht lawchful,
And til hys legis all awful.
Quhen Leo the tend wes pape of Rome,[2]
As pylgryne to the curt he come ;
And in his almus he sew sylver
Til all pure folk that had myster :
And all tyme oysyd he to wyrk
Profitably for haly kyrke.[3]

That scarcity of written memorials of which Winton complains, must have been sensibly felt at many steps of his progress. The domestic records of our early history must have

[1] "Macbethus, qui, consobrini ignavia semper spreta, regni spem occultam in animo alebat, creditur somnio quodam ad eam confirmatus. Quadam enim nocte, cum longiuscule abesset a rege, visus est sibi tres fœminas forma augustiore quam humana vidisse : quarum una Angusiæ thanum, altera Moraviæ, tertia regem eum salutasset. Hoc somnio animus, cupiditate et spe æger, vehementer incitatus, omnes regnum adipiscendi vias secum volvebat." (Buchanani Rerum Scoticarum Hist. lib. vii. p. 112, edit. Ruddiman.)

[2] Here the transcriber has admitted a chronological error of nearly five hundred years ; for Macbeth visited Rome during the pontificate of Leo the Ninth. The circumstance of his scattering money among the populace is recorded by Marianus Scotus, a writer contemporary with himself. "1050. Rex Scotiæ Machetad, Romæ argentum seminando pauperibus distribuit." (Chronica, col. 427, edit. Basil, 1559, fol.)

[3] Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. i. p. 225.

been extremely scanty, though it can scarcely be doubted that he had access to many important documents which are irretrievably lost. With the productions of foreign writers Scotland could not then be very plentifully furnished: the invention of printing had not yet rendered books common and cheap by multiplying copies in an easy and rapid manner; nor could any considerable collection of manuscripts be formed without great expense or great labour.[1] A private scholar with a very slender income may now collect a library, of which an abbot or even an archbishop could not then hope to rival the extent. Winton was acquainted with at least the names of a respectable number of authors who have written in the Greek and Latin languages. Among other ancient writers, he quotes Aristotle, Galen, Palæphatus, and Josephus, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Justin, and Solinus. He likewise mentions Homer, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, with those once-celebrated writers, Statius, Dionysius Cato, Boethius, Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis. Origen, Jerom, and Augustin, are the only fathers of the church whose names occur in his pages. The materials which presented themselves he has often converted to his own use without the labour of transformation: he has inserted in his work various fragments of a Latin chronicle in elegiac verse, and about three hundred lines of Barbour, whom he repeatedly mentions in very respectful terms. A considerable portion of the chronicle, amounting to thirty-six chapters, was not composed by himself: it was written by some person with whose name he professes to be unacquainted; and finding it completely adapted to his purpose, he was willing to escape from the labour of discussing the history of the period to which it relates. The style and versification of the two writers are so similar, that the tenor of the work seems to be unchanged; and it may indeed be inferred that he took some pains to render this borrowed composition his own. Winton often mentions the names of the writers to whose authority he adheres; nor do the restraints of verse deter him from quoting the words of the Vulgate, or from introducing two speeches in plain prose. On one occasion he quotes the canon law in due form:—

[1] See Warton's Dissertation on the Introduction of Learning into England, p. cvi.

Venerabilem[1] twychys nere
The Decretale this matere,
That the thryd Innocent
Pape made in that intent,
Pryncys to ken how thare powste
Thai had, and thare awtoryte.[2]

The language of Winton is not materially different from that of Barbour, and they have both adopted the same species of versification. The common measure of their verse is eight syllables, but they do not very strictly confine themselves to this number. Winton likewise uses but few words of a French origin, and he rather introduces Latin words than employs words of a Latin derivation.

[1] Decretales Gregorii IX. lib. i. tit. vi. cap. xxxiv.—Winton follows the method which then prevailed of quoting the Decretals by the first words of the chapters. His chronicle contains another passage of the same kind, which the editor has also left unexplained, and which to some readers must appear sufficiently obscure. Speaking of the irregular manner in which Walter Danyelstoune took possession of the see of St. Andrews, the prior subjoins :—

Yeit be this electioune
He dyd all ministratioune
In jurisdictioune spirituale,
And in all thingis temporale,
All that quhile, rycht as he
Had had lauchful autorite,
Pretendand ay for his resown
Nichil de electione.

WINTON, vol. ii. p. 398.

This is another reference to the same book of the Decretales ; and Danyelstoune, whose election had not been confirmed by the pope, evidently relied on the authority of the following passage :—"Ita quod interim valde remoti, videlicet ultra Italiam constituti, si electi fuerint in concordia, dispensative propter necessitates ecclesiarum et utilitates, in spiritualibus et temporalibus administrent, sic tamen ut de rebus ecclesiasticis nihil penitus alienent." (*Ibid.* cap. xliv. sect. 2.) *Nihil* is the first word, and *de electione* denotes the subject of the chapter.

The manner in which Winton contrives to introduce academical and other titles is sometimes amusing. In the subsequent passage, he gives the bishop of Orleans all his honours, describing him as a master of arts, bachelor of divinity, and doctor of the civil and canon laws :—

The byschape than Awrelyanens,
A clerk solempne in sere sciens,
Mayster of Art, and in morale
Phylosophi and naturale
He was grwndyt perfytly,
And Bachylere in Theology,
Doctor solempne in-to that quhyle
He wes in Canoun and Cyvyle.

WINTON, vol. ii. p. 26.

[2] Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. i. p. 150.

CHAPTER VI.

In the catalogue of Scotish poets we have already recognised dignitaries of the church, and other persons of consideration; but in this catalogue we now find a royal poet, on whose character royalty itself could scarcely confer any additional splendour, and who must ever be regarded as one of the most remarkable individuals of the age which he adorned.

James, the second son of Robert the Third by his Queen Anabella, the daughter of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall, was born at Dunfermline in the year 1394.[1] The character of the father was rather that of an estimable man, than of a great monarch: his placid and amiable disposition qualified him for discharging the duties of social and domestic life; but he inherited no portion of that decision and energy of mind which is so indispensable in the ruler of a fierce and warlike nation. The latter part of his life was exposed to severe calamities. Unable or unwilling to support the load of public cares, he delegated the regal authority to his brother the Duke of Albany, a man of considerable address and of inordinate ambition. As the Duke was a zealous friend of the church, and as most of our early historians were churchmen, his character has frequently been drawn in flattering colours; but there is too much reason to believe that he conceived the design of placing the crown upon his own head, and that, in pursuance of this flagitious design, he embued his hands in the blood of the king's eldest son, David Duke of Rothsay.[2] At the suggestion of Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, Robert determined to provide for the safety of his surviving son, James Earl of Carrick, by

[1] Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 371.

[2] According to Mr. Pinkerton, the character of this unfortunate prince has been grossly misrepresented. "Endued with a comely person, an honest heart, an able head, a most sweet and affable temper, and even deeply tinctured with learning for that century, his virtues, and not his vices, attracted the regent's enmity." (Hist. of Scot. vol. i. p. 61.)

consigning him to the care and protection of his ally the King of France. His kinsman, Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, conducted the prince to North Berwick, and having there procured a boat, conveyed him to the castle which then stood on the Bass, a small and rocky isle in the Firth of Forth; but on returning towards Edinburgh, his party was beset by Douglas of Balveny, Haliburton of Dirleton, with their armed followers, and after a sharp contest, Fleming himself was slain. In this foul deed perhaps the hand of Albany may again be traced; but he was himself beyond the reach of justice, and had sufficient power to protect those who favoured his designs. A ship, which appears to have been secretly prepared, touched at the Bass, and received on board the young prince, together with his tutor Henry St. Clair, Earl of Orkney, and other suitable attendants.[1] On the 12th of April 1405, they were intercepted near Flamborough Head, and although a truce then subsisted between the two kingdoms, they were, in open violation of the law of nations, flagitiously treated as prisoners of war. According to Bower's account, they were captured at sea;[2] and this account is more probable than that a party ventured on shore to procure refreshments, or to relieve the prince from his sea-sickness. Some of our early historians have affirmed that when the intelligence was conveyed to Scotland, the aged king was so overwhelmed with sorrow that he speedily sunk into the grave. Grief however is a disease which rarely proves mortal: the heart of man, which is exposed to many sorrows, is likewise provided with many remedies; nor is the vivacity of youth more efficacious than the torpor of age in resisting the severest calamities incident to human life. Certain at least it is that Robert survived this event for the space of nearly twelve months;[3] he died at Dundonald on the 4th of April 1406, and was interred in the Abbey of Paisley.

[1] Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 412.

[2] Bower, Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 489. This account is confirmed by the authority of the prince himself:

Upon the wevis weltring to and fro,
So infortunate was we that fremyt day,
That maugre plainly quethir we wold or no,
With strong hand by forse, schortly to say,
Of inymis taken and led away
We weren all, and brocht in thaire contree;
Fortune it schupe non othir wayis to be.
King's Quair, p. 69.

[3] See Ruddiman, Annotationes in Buchanani Historiam, p. 436, and Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 84.

Henry the Fourth, who at that period filled the English throne, resolved to detain the prince in captivity: the Earl of Orkney and most of his principal attendants were suffered to depart; but his squire, William Giffard, and a few other domestics were still retained in his service.[1] This amiable prince was now in the eleventh year of his age. Although he had thus been treated as if he had fallen among pirates or other barbarians, he derived many advantages from his long captivity; and the manifest injustice of his detention was in some measure compensated by the efficient care bestowed upon his education. The superintendence of his studies was committed to Sir John Pelham. In such departments of learning as were then cultivated, he made a conspicuous progress; and a proper degree of attention was likewise paid to the more superficial accomplishments. In the meantime however he appears to have been closely confined. His first place of residence was the tower of London:[2] in 1407 he was removed to the castle of Nottingham;[3] in 1413 we again find him in his former prison,[4] and during the same year he was conducted to the castle of Windsor.[5]

Henry the Fifth, who succeeded his father in 1413, found that his project of subduing France was in some degree retarded by the valour of the Scotish auxiliaries; and these he hoped to withdraw from the enemy's standard by inducing the captive monarch to serve in his army; nor is it surprising that James was willing to avail himself of this opportunity of relieving the languor of his long captivity. We accordingly find him in France in 1420 and the two ensuing years. This accomplished prince, followed by a chosen band of Scotish knights, fought under the English banners with distinguished bravery: he commanded that division of the army which laid siege to Dreux, and by the vigour of his conduct he compelled the town to surrender in the course of six weeks.[6] But his subjects were sufficiently aware

[1] Winton, vol. ii. p. 416. At an earlier period, William Giffard appears to have been marshal of the queen's household. (Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 544.) After James's return to his own dominions, Giffard received, under the title of the king's squire, a pension of twenty pounds a year, payable from the customs of the city of Edinburgh. (*Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 131, 238.)

[2] Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. iii. p. 582.

[3] Rymer, Fœdera, tom. viii. p. 484.

[4] *Ibid.* tom. ix. p. 2.

[5] *Ibid.* tom. ix. p. 44.

[6] Hall's Chronicle, Hen. v. f. xlv. b.

that these acts of military service could not be viewed as any indication of his deliberate sentiments; and they continued to support their former allies with unabated zeal.[1]

During James's captivity, Scotland was first governed by his uncle Robert Duke of Albany; who, after reaching a very advanced age, died at Stirling in the year 1419, and was succeeded as governor of the kingdom, as well as Duke of Albany, and Earl of Fife and Menteith, by his eldest son Murdac, a nobleman of mean capacity, and altogether unqualified for the high office which he had assumed. Under his feeble administration the kingdom presented a deplorable picture of misrule: the scales of justice were held with a very unsteady hand, and power generally usurped the place of right. Wearied at length with unceasing commotions, the nation became impatient for the return of their captive king; whose long detention may perhaps be in some measure imputed to the wicked arts of his kinsmen. His release was now facilitated by the affection which he began to discover for Jane the daughter of the Earl of Somerset, and the granddaughter of the Duke of Lancaster; for it was naturally expected that an alliance with the blood-royal of England would have some effect in attaching him to the political interests of that kingdom. On the 2d of February 1424, he espoused Lady Jane Beaufort in the church of St. Mary Overy.[2] Her dowry amounted to ten thousand marks; but on the other hand it was stipulated that he should pay a large ransom, under the name of a compensation for his mainte-

[1] It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of literature, that the best French poet of that age, who was likewise of royal blood, was a prisoner in England at the same period with King James. This was Charles Duke of Orleans, who was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt in 1415, and continued in captivity till 1440. He was a man of courage and talents, and his poetry is regarded as much superior to the standard of his own age. From a manuscript in the public library of Grenoble, a collection of his French poems has been published by P. V. Chalvet, under the title of "Poésies de Charles d'Orléans, Père de Louis XII. et Oncle de François Ier. Rois de France." Paris, 1809, 12mo. The volume is meanly printed, and the editor's notes very rarely extend beyond the most brief explanation of a single word or phrase. During a captivity of twenty-five years, the duke became sufficiently familiar with English to write in that language, and some of his English verses are still preserved. (Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Poets, vol. i. p. 312.)

[2] "This same yere in the monthe of Fevrer, Sire Jamys Styward, Kyng of Scottes spoused dame Johanne, the duchesses doughter of Clarence, of hir first housbonde, the erle of Somerset, at Seynt Mary Overe." (Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483, p. 112. Lond. 1827, 4to.) "And they kept their marriage feast in the bishoppe of Winchester's place, by the sayde church of S. Mary Oueries." (Stow's Annales, p. 364, edit. Lond. 1615, fol.)

nance.[1] After an absence of nineteen years, he entered his own territories on the 1st of April, and on the 21st of May was crowned at the Abbey of Scone with the usual solemnities.[2]

When James began to direct his attention to the internal state of the kingdom, he was everywhere presented with abundant proofs of disorder and misrule. During the long period which had intervened since his father's death, the powerful and factious barons had found various opportunities of extending their encroachments: by the avarice or policy of the two regents, the revenues of the crown had been in a great measure alienated; the nation had been long unaccustomed to the name and authority of a king, and many individuals of the highest rank had no reason to wish for their revival; the possessions which they had acquired by rapine they were prepared to defend with the sword. Aware of the dangerous spirit of the nobility, but at the same time confiding in his own energy, he determined to apply the necessary remedies with a degree of vigour adequate to the violence of the disorder. During the session of parliament, which commenced at Perth on the twelfth of March 1425, he arrested upwards of twenty men of rank, and among the rest, the late governor of the kingdom, and his two sons Walter and Alexander, together with the earls of Lennox, Douglas, Angus, and Dunbar. Albany's youngest son James having made his escape, raised an insurrection in the west, burnt the town of Dunbarton, and slew Sir John Stewart of Dundonald, a natural son of Robert the Second, together with thirty-two of his followers; but finding himself unable to keep the field, he sought refuge in Ireland, along with Finlay, Bishop of Argyle, and some of his other accomplices. Here the bishop died soon after his arrival, nor did Stewart ever return to his native country. The parliament resumed its sittings at Stirling on the 18th of May;[3] and the king himself presided at the trial of Albany and his two sons,

[1] The stipulated sum was £40,000, or 60,000 marks, in good and legal money of English currency, and this sum was to be paid within six years by six equal instalments. (Rymer, vol. x. p. 300. Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 246.) The queen's dowry merely consisted of a release from the payment of 10,000 marks for one of the parties, a very convenient method of liquidating such a debt. The commissioners who negotiated the king's ransom were Archibald Earl of Douglas, William Hay, constable of the kingdom, Sir Alexander Irving of Drum, Henry Leighton, LL.D., Bishop of Aberdeen, and Dr. Richard Cornel, Archdeacon of Lothian.

[2] Ruddiman, Annotationes in Buchanani Hist. p. 457.

[3] Bower, Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 483.

the jurors, twenty-one in number, being some of the principal persons in the kingdom. On the twenty-fourth of the month Walter, the eldest son, was tried, convicted, and executed; and on the following day, the same fate, awarded by the same jury, awaited the duke and his son Alexander, together with his aged father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox. These were the only persons of distinction who suffered capital punishment. The powerful family of Albany, which had too long maintained its dangerous influence, was thus overwhelmed with sudden ruin, and its extensive domains were forfeited to the crown.

The king, while he restrained the lawless power of the nobility, was not less solicitous to protect the common people, and to promote the useful and elegant arts. He promulgated many wholesome laws; and although his best intentions were sometimes frustrated by the barbarism of the times, his plans and wishes were all manifestly directed to the general improvement of his country. Justice was now dispensed with more vigour and impartiality; the great body of the people began to perceive a salutary change, and were cordially attached to their wise and patriotic king. In order to obtain an accurate knowledge of the manners and sentiments of his humbler subjects, he frequently mingled with them in disguise; and this fact it will be of some importance to recollect when we come to examine the productions which bear his name. The mechanical arts attracted a considerable share of his attention, and some of them he occasionally practised with his own hands,[1] thus exhibiting an illustrious example of a prince anxiously attentive to the higher principles of government, while he did not overlook the minutest details of industry.

In a nation where licentiousness prevails, it is not generally to be expected that the clergy should escape the contagion; inasmuch as it is always easier to follow a bad than to set a good example. At that period the Scotish ecclesiastics were too commonly destitute of literature, and in many cases were chiefly distinguished by the immorality of their lives.[2] James was not less

1 Bower, vol. ii. p. 505.

2 "The offences of the Romish clergy in Scotland were enormous. Their corruption in manners and the profane lewdness of their lives (*morum corruptela, et vitæ profana obscœnitas*) are acknowledged by themselves, in the canons of a provincial council, held 1549. Wilkins' Concil. t. iv. p. 46. Yet they were

solicitous to improve the condition of the church than of the state: in order to produce a better impulse, he is said to have invited several learned foreigners to his kingdom, and to have provided them with ample benefices. But his zeal was in one instance very unfortunately directed; the dark bigotry by which he was environed induced him to pass a law for the secular punishment of heresy,[1] and to suffer this law to be executed on a stranger who visited his kingdom. This pious and unfortunate stranger was Paul Craw, a native of Bohemia, who, having repaired to Scotland with the view of propagating the doctrines of Wickliffe and Huss, was convicted before the ecclesiastical judge, and delivered over to the civil power in order to be committed to the flames.[2] The law of Scotland had not previously treated heresy as a capital offence; but the same barbarous sentence, which no law can justify, had, without the colour of law, been executed on James Resby, an English priest, during the regency of Robert, Duke of Albany.

It was during his reign that the first Scotish university was

indulgent masters, studious of the happiness and perhaps too studious of the ease of their tenants; every favour to the poor husbandman was in a manner confined within the precints of the patrimony of the church." (Lord Hailes's Specimen of Notes on the Statute Law of Scotland, part ii. p. 45.) This account of the oppressive conduct of other landholders, is confirmed by many of our early writers:—

Ye lordis, and barronis, mair and les,
That your pure tennantis dois oppres,
Be greit gersome and dowbyll maill,
Mair than your landis bene availl,
With sore exorbitant cariage,
With merchetis of thair mariage,
Tormentit baith in peace and weir
With burdinnis mair than thay may beir,
Be thay haif payit to yow thair maill,
And to the preist thair teindis haill;
And quhen the land agane is sawin,
Quhat restis behynd, I wald wer knawin;
I traist, thay and thair pure houshald
May tell of hunger and of cald:
Without ye haif of thame pitie,
I dreid ye sall get na mercie
That day quhen Christ omnipotent
Cummis till his generall jugement.

LINDSAY'S Works, vol. iii. p. 146.

"Quhen ane pure man," says Henry Charteris, "with his haill race and ofspring hes laubourit out thair lyfis on ane litil peice of ground, and brocht it to sum point and perfectioun, then must the lairdis brother, kinsman, or surname haue it, and the pure man with his wyfe and bairnis, for all thair trauellis, schot out to beg thair meit. He that tuke lytil labouris on it, man enioy the frutes and commoditeis of it; he man eit vp the sweit and labouris of the pure mans browis. Thus the pure dar mak na policie nor bigging, in cais thay big themselfis out. Bot althocht men wink at this and ouirluik it, zit He sittis abone that seis it, and sall iudge it." (Preface to the Warkis of Sir Dauid Lyndsay. Edinb. 1582, 4to.)

[1] "Item, anentis heretikis and lollardis, that ilk bischop sall ger inquyr be the inquisicione of heresy quhar ony sik beis fundyne, and at thai be punyst as law of halykirk requiris, and, gif it be misteris, that secular power be callyt therto in suppowale and helping of halykirk." (Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 7.) "There can be little doubt," says Lord Hailes, "that James I. procured this 28th statute to be enacted, in imitation of the example afforded by his preceptor Henry IV." (Specimen, part i. p. 11.)

[2] Boweri Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 495. Boethii Scotorum Historia, f. cccixv. a.

founded; and although the king was then detained in captivity, it is particularly stated by the Prior of St. Colm, that the privileges were obtained at his instance, and upon his repeated application to the pope.[1] The public lectures commenced at St. Andrews after Whitsuntide in 1410, but the papal bull did not arrive till nearly three years subsequent to that period. Laurence Lindores expounded the fourth book of the Sentences of Petrus Lombardus.[2] Dr. Richard Cornel, Archdeacon of Lothian, John Litstar, canon of St. Andrews, John Scheves, official of that diocese, and William Stephen, afterwards bishop of Dunblane, were the lecturers on the canon law. Philosophy and logic were taught by John Gill, William Foulis, and William Crosier. On the 3d of February 1413, Henry Ogilby, master of arts, arrived from Rome with the papal bulls, by which this new seminary was endowed with all the privileges of a university; and the arrival of this welcome messenger was announced by all the church-bells of the city. Next day, which was Sunday, the clergy being assembled with due solemnity in the refectory of the monastery, the bulls were formally presented to Bishop Wardlaw as chancellor of the university. After these had been read aloud, the clerks, singing *Te Deum*, proceeded to the high altar. The collect was read by the Bishop of Ross. The remainder of the day was spent with the utmost festivity; bonfires were kindled in the streets; and the learned clerks jovially passed the night, drinking wine in the gladness of their hearts. The ensuing Tuesday was devoted to a grand procession, intended at once to commemorate the arrival of St. Andrew's bones, and the arrival of the privileges of the university.[3]

The example of the king himself, who loved and cultivated letters, must have contributed to advance the respectability of the literary character. During those rude and warlike times,

[1] Bower, vol. ii. p. 507.

[2] Petrus Lombardus, the Master of the Sentences, died in the year 1164, being at that time bishop of Paris. See Labbe de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis quos attigit Bellarminus, tom. ii. p. 207. Paris, 1660, 2 tom. 8vo. His *Liber Sententiarum* was long a standard system of scholastic theology. A writer who flourished at the close of the fifteenth century, mentions him in the following terms: "Vir in divinis scripturis studiosissimus et nobiliter doctus, ingenio subtilis et clarus eloquio, nomen suum scribendo cum tanta gloria transmisit ad posteros, ut usque in hodiernum diem suis opusculis theologorum schola ubique exercitata, singulari veneratione Magistrum eum nominet et habeat." (Trithemius de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, f. lxxxvi. a. edit. Paris, 1512, 4to.)

[3] Bower, vol. ii. p. 445.

the nobility were inclined to regard the pursuits of the scholar as degrading to a man of purer blood:[1] they were apt to imagine that glory is connected with such undertakings only as depend for their success on the union of strength and valour; but the practice of so illustrious a prince must have tended to remove these prejudices, which were fostered by education and cherished by example in every country in Europe.

His noble plans of improvement were suddenly interrupted by treason of the most aggravated nature. After having received repeated provocations from the English, he collected an army in 1436, and laid siege to Roxburgh; but, for some reason which remains doubtful, he speedily disbanded his troops. The vigorous and intrepid manner in which he enforced the observance of the laws, had procured him many enemies among his more powerful subjects;[2] and a fatal conspiracy was now formed against the life of a monarch, who seemed destined to elevate the character and to ameliorate the condition of his people. The chief conspirator was his uncle Walter Stewart, Earl of Athole; an ambitious nobleman, whom our historians represent as pursuing a regular and extended plan for securing the crown to his own descendants. This hoary traitor, the half-brother of the late king, was himself too far advanced in years to undertake so dangerous an enterprise; the actual perpetration of the crime was committed to his grandson, Sir Robert Stewart, Sir Robert Graham, and other accomplices of inferior rank. James was then residing at Perth in the monastery of the Dominican friars; and his high courage, together with his consciousness of upright intentions, rendered him too negligent in guarding his person. The last evening of his life was devoted to some of those recreations which had so long afforded him a solace to his cares.[3] The assassins, nine in number, having first stabbed

1 "Liberos suos principes viri in literis et moribus non educant, in reipublicæ non parvam perniciem." (Major de Gestis Scotorum, f. xv. b.) It is to be recollected that Mair's history was published upwards of eighty years after the death of King James.

2 "Vix ullus Scotorum regum vel aliarum etiam nationum, doctrina, pietate, justitia, cæterisque virtutibus vere regiis, instructior fuit quam Jacobus I. Attamen quia nobilium quorundam scelera et insolentiam acriter compescebat, non defuerunt audaces et mendaces qui ejus famam infami dicto convellere et perstringere conarentur." Barclaius de Regno et Regali Potestate, p. 347. Paris, 1600, 4to.)

3 "Thay wer occupied att the playng of the chesse, att the tables, yn redyng of romans, yn synyng, and pypyng, yn harpyng,

one of his domestics, rushed into the king's chamber: after an unavailing resistance, he sunk under their daggers covered with wounds; and such was their brutal ferocity, that the queen herself did not escape unhurt. This atrocious deed was perpetrated on the 20th of February 1437, when James was in the forty-third year of his age, and thirty-first of his nominal reign, and the thirteenth of his actual authority. His body was interred at Perth, in the Carthusian monastery of which he was himself the founder.[1] So foul a murder did not long remain unpunished; the Earl of Athole and his two emissaries were secured within the space of a few weeks, and were condemned to suffer tortures of which humanity shudders at the mere recital.

Thus perished at a premature age one of the best monarchs that ever filled the Scotish throne. His public merits appear with distinguished lustre in the annals of his reign,[2] and he

and in other honest solaces, of grete pleasance and disport." (Cronycle of the Dethe of the Kynge of Scotys, p. 467.)

[1] The doublet which the king wore on this fatal occasion was preserved in the monastery till the period of its demolition. (Adamson's Muses Threnodie, p. 11. Edinb. 1638, 4to.) In the appendix to the first volume of his History of Scotland, Mr. Pinkerton has published "A full lamentable Cronycle of the Dethe and false Murdure of James Stewarde, last Kynge of Scotys." This chronicle was translated into English from a Latin original; which, as the historian supposes, was "probably published in Scotland by authority." It however appears to me to exhibit internal evidence of an English origin; and in support of this opinion, it will only be necessary to quote a single passage: "The Kyng of Scottes hadde leve enlagissid, and had saufecondit of *his maister* the Kyng of England (for so the Kyng of Scottes clepid hym)" p. 462. No individual, writing under the authority of the Scotish government, would have dreamed of employing such language, or of conveying any such idea. This account of the murder of King James, and the execution of the traitors, differs in many particulars from that of Bower and the other Scotish historians; nor is there any obvious reason why the authority of a nameless stranger should be preferred to theirs.

Baldwyn's legend, "How Kyng James the First, for breaking his othes and bondes, was by God's suffraunce, miserably murdered of hys owne Subiectes," occurs in the *Myrrovr for Magistrates*, edit. Lond. 1563, 4to. It was afterwards omitted in the edition of Niccols. This legend is as unpoetical as it is illiberal. James has also been charged by some of the English historians with violating his oath of fealty; but where is the evidence of his having acknowledged the King of England as his liege lord? Hall has remarked that James never "fauored Englishemen before the Frenche people;" and this remark will assist us in tracing the origin of that enmity which the English writers have discovered towards his memory.

[2] The various merits of this patriotic king are thus enumerated by John Johnston, Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews. (Inscriptiones Historicæ Regum Scotorum, p. 55. Amst. 1602, 4to.)

Dum captum hospitii violatis legibus Anglus
Detinet, ingenii nobilitavit opes;
Quas infert patriæ, patriamque his artibus ornat:
Oppida, sacra, scholas, constituitque forum:
Æbudas, gentesque feras, populosque rebelles
Perdomat: inque Anglos concitus arma movet.
Marte potens, atque arte togæ rex magnus: et illum
Impia sic potuit contemerare manus?

seems to have been equally conspicuous for many of the virtues and accomplishments which adorn a more private station. His bodily activity was not less remarkable than his mental energy. Though his stature fell below the ordinary standard, it was accompanied with more than ordinary strength. Æneas Sylvius, better known by his pontifical name of Pius the Second, has described him as corpulent;[1] but Mair suggests that, as the intenser heat of the Italian climate has a tendency to reduce the body to an arid state, the natives of Italy are apt to represent the Britons as of a gross habit; nor is it easy to reconcile this description of his person with the account of his general mode of life. He is celebrated as a proficient in all the violent exercises which were then regarded as manly or becoming: he was well acquainted with the use of the bow and the spear, and handled his sword with the dexterity of a professed fencer; he equally excelled as a skilful horseman, as an indefatigable walker, and as a fleet runner.[2] His leisure hours were alternately dedicated to such hardy exercises, and to the pursuits of gardening, painting, music, and poetry. So numerous and so

[1] Pii Secundi Asiæ Europæque Descriptio, p. 424. King James is not represented as corpulent in any portrait of him which I have had an opportunity of examining. One engraved portrait is said to be "taken from a painting at Kielberg, near Tübingen in Germany, the seat of the Von Lytrums." (Pinkerton's Iconographia Scotica. Lond. 1797, 4to.) As this statement appeared a little romantic, it was viewed with some degree of suspicion; but the kindness of Dr. Schrader, a very learned and distinguished professor of the civil law in the University of Tübingen, has enabled me to give a more satisfactory account of the original painting. The following extract is from a letter dated on the 25th of July 1823: "Gens Leitrumensis (*Grafen von Leitrum*) in Suevia est, cujus inter possessiones pridem fuit vicus et castellum Kilchberg, nunc sedes familiæ illi genti cognatæ Tessinorum (*Herren von Tessin*). In quo castello cum audirem imagines nonnullas adservari, hodie cum pictore Tubingensi suæ artis nec imperito nec indocto Dœrrio locum adii, ibique in cubiculo sat magno, nunc plane inculto, inter rustica instrumenta—possessor enim hodiernus a colono nihil differt—præter nonnullorum gentis Leitrumensis hominum, novem regum imagines diligenter pictas vidi, scilicet Jacobi I. regis Scotiæ, Alphonsi V. Lusitaniæ, Renati Siciliæ, Friderici III. imperatoris Germanici, Henrici VI. Angliæ, Ladislai Hungariæ, Johannis Cypri, Henrici IV. Castiliæ, Johannis I. Navarræ regis. Quæ singulæ totam monstrant figuram, ita vestitam ut singulis regnis illo ævo convenisse pictori meo videbatur, adjectis cujusvis regni insignibus. Omnes imagines ejusdem pictoris, cujus nomen nusquam apparuit, esse videntur, ejusque suæ artis satis periti diligentissimique, qui bonas imagines in suum linteum transtulisse existimandus est. In linteo enim pictæ sunt, margo ligneus; utrumque, cum tota imaginum indole, indicium annorum 1550-1600. Quod ad Jacobum vestrum attinet, titulus adjectus est

JACOB D. I. VON GOTTES GNADEN
KŒNIG VON SCHOTTLAND.

Similes titulos cæteræ imagines habent. Doerii mei mater meminit, maritum suum, olim apud Tubingenses pictorem, jubente quodam Anglo, Jacobi illius exemplar fecisse, Angliamque transmisisse, quod fortasse idem est, cujus præfamen operum Jacobi memoriam servavit, in collectioni Buchanensi extans."

[2] Boweri Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 504.

various were his employments and his recreations, that not a single hour of his life would appear to have been wasted in mere listlessness. It is this habitual energy, this elasticity of mind, that enables the most busy to command their time more completely than the most idle. The commendations which our early writers have bestowed on the various accomplishments of this favourite prince, derive no small confirmation from the monuments of his genius which yet remain: as we find that their account of his literary talents is free from exaggeration, we may more safely acquiesce in their account of his other endowments.

His literary taste and attainments may be regarded as still more remarkable. He is celebrated for his proficiency, not only in the study of polite literature, but likewise of philosophy and jurisprudence. Whether his judicial inquiries were confined to the municipal laws of England and Scotland, or were enlarged and liberalized by an acquaintance with the ancient civilians, is not particularly stated; but the writers of that period, when they allude to the study of jurisprudence, seldom contemplate it as unconnected with the civil or the canon law. His taste in literature must have received a favourable direction from his education in England, and may perhaps have been further improved by his residence in France. Many of his poems are probably lost, or are no longer recognised as his; but those which still remain are sufficient to secure for the author a high rank among the British poets of that age. The uncommon versatility of his talents enabled him to excel alike in serious and in ludicrous composition; he evinces a warm imagination and a feeling heart, and he has left some exquisite specimens of humour and pleasantry.

The principal work of this royal poet, entitled *The King's Quair*,[1] was written while he was still detained in captivity: its subject is the praise of the lady who soon afterwards became his consort, and whom he seems to have regarded with a high

[1] *Qver* in the Islandic language signifies a little book; and in this sense the word *quair* is employed by Chaucer and other early writers, both English and Scotish.

Go, lytell quayre, vnto my lyues quene,
And my very hertes souerayne.

CHAUCER'S Complaynt of the Blacke Knyght, v. 675.

Go, lytell quayre, quickly,
Shew them that shall you rede,
How that ye are lykely
Ouer all the worlds to sprede.

SKELTON'S Workes, p. 91.

degree of romantic affection.[1] It is preserved in a single manuscript, which formerly belonged to Selden, and is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. After having been in a great measure neglected for several centuries, this poem was at length published by the late William Tytler, Esq. of Woodhouselee;[2] but he seems to have obtained a very indifferent transcript, and his edition has been found to contain not a few errors. What he has left defective has not been remedied by the last edition that has appeared:[3] according to the modern practice of book-making, his notes are here appropriated without the slightest acknowledgment; and the process of modernizing the spelling is in many instances equivalent to a translation. This poem displays an elegant vein of fancy, and the versification possesses no inconsiderable merit; but its principal beauties are to be discovered in particular passages, rather than in the general structure of the whole. Like other productions of the same era, it is disfigured by an incongruous mixture of Christian and Pagan theology: the aid of Calliope is invoked in the name of the Virgin Mary; the agency of Venus is not superseded by that of St. John; Minerva makes a formal quotation from the book of Ecclesiastes; and the poet, when addressing the goddess of Wisdom, swears by Him that died on the cross. If this were a solitary or rare instance of such incongruity, it might appear extravagant or monstrous; but it is the universal practice of the early poets to confound the manners, customs, and mythology of all ages and nations; a practice which may be partly imputed to their want of knowledge, and partly to their want of taste. Of King James therefore it can only be affirmed that he did not introduce a better model: but this common defect is compensated by uncommon merit; and the work exhibits a very interesting and amiable picture of its illustrious author.

1 After the death of the king, says Mair, she espoused Sir James Stewart, a young man not of the highest rank. Among the British, second marriages of queens are not considered as indecent, as indeed they are not in reality; for, according to the apostle, it is better to marry than to burn. But she ought to have selected for her husband some man of the first distinction in the kingdom. (Major de Gestis Scotorum, f. cxxxvii. b.) By her second husband, the Black Knight of Lorn, she left three sons, John Earl of Athole, James Earl of Buchan, and Andrew Bishop of Moray.

2 Poetical Remains of James the First, King of Scotland. Edinb. 1783, 8vo. Mr. Tytler has prefixed a Dissertation on the Life and Writings of King James I. and has subjoined a Dissertation on the Scottish Music.

3 The Poetic Remains of some of the Scotish Kings; now first collected by George Chalmers, Esq. Lond. 1824, 8vo.

The poet, awaking from his sleep, and finding himself indisposed for further rest, begins to solace himself by reading the famous work of Boethius, "De Consolatione Philosophiæ."[1] Having at length shut the book, and again stretched himself on his couch, he is naturally led, after the perusal of such an author, to reflect on the general instability of human affairs, and his private misfortunes likewise recur to his mind. On hearing the bell ring for matins, he rises from his bed, and is induced to form the resolution of undertaking some new composition. His early misfortune in being detained in foreign captivity, still presses upon his recollection; and on this subject he touches in a very interesting manner:—

Not fere passit the state of innocence,
  Bot nere about the nowmer of zeiris thre,[2]
Were it causit throu hevinly influence
  Off Goddis will, or othir casualtee,
  Can I not say, bot out of my contree,
By thair avise that had of me the cure,
By see to pass tuke I my auenture.

Purvait of all that was vs necessarye,
  With wynd at will, vp airely by the morowe,
Streight vnto schip, no longere wold we tarye,
  The way we tuke the tyme I tald toforowe,
  With mony fare wele and Sanct John to borowe[3]
Off falowe and frende; and thus with one assent
We pullit vp saile and furth our wayis went.

[1] Boethius, who flourished during the iron age of Roman literature, has enjoyed a more extensive reputation than most of those who belonged to its age of gold. His book "De Consolatione Philosophiæ" was translated into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred: it was translated into English by Chaucer, and more recently by Lord Preston, Mr. Ridpath, and Mr. Duncan. Another version appears to have been executed by a George Douglas: Hume of Godscroft has addressed a poem "Ad Georgium Duglasium, traducto Boethio de Consolatione." (Lusus Poetici, p. 62. Lond. 1605, 4to.)

[2] Mr. Tytler remarks that "this is a vague manner of expressing his age;" and he somewhat arbitrarily fixes upon nine as the age of innocence. According to the civilians, the period of infancy, with which I suppose "the state of innocence" to be synonymous, extends to the completion of the seventh year. King James mentions that he had exceeded this state by about three years; we learn from history that he was in the eleventh year of his age; and thus he had exceeded the state of innocence, or infancy, by three complete years: so that the two accounts are entirely consistent with each other.

[3] *Borowe* signifies a pledge or security. *Law-borrows* is a term in the Scotish law. The poet's expression is proverbial, and of frequent occurrence in the English as well as the Scotish writers.

As I best might, I hid fro him my sorwe
And toke him by the hond, Seint John to borwe,
And said him thus.
CHAUCER'S Canterbury Tales, v. 10,909.

And thus, Sainct George to borrowe,
Ye shall have schame and sorrowe.
SKELTON'S Workes, p. 91.

Vpon the wawis weltring to and fro,
So infortunate was we that fremyt day,
That maugre playnly quhethir we wold or no,
With strong hand by forse, schortly to say,
Of inymyis takin and led away
We weren all, and broght in thair contree;
Fortune it schupe non othir wayis to be.

Quhare as in strayte ward and in strong prisoun
So fer forth of my lyf the hevy lyne,
Without confort in sorowe abandoun,
The secund sistere lukit hath to twyne,
Nere by the space of zeris twise nyne,
Till Jupiter his merci list aduert,
And send confort in relesche of my smert.

Occupied with recollections of this kind, he approaches the window of his apartment, and listens to the amorous song of the nightingale, "now soft, now lowd among." This leads him to speculate on the nature of love; a passion with which he professes to be hitherto unacquainted.

Eft wold I think, O Lord, quhat may this be
That lufe is of so noble mycht and kynde?
Lufing his folk and suiche prosperitee,
Is it of him as we in bukis fynd?
May he our hertes setten and vnbynd,
Hath he upon our hertis suich maistrye,
Or all this is bot feynyt fantasye?

For gif he be of so grete excellence,
That he of every wyght hath cure and charge,
Quhat haue I gilt to him or doon offense,
That I am thrall, and birdis gone at large,
Sen him to serve he mycht set my corage?
And gif he be not so, than may I seyne,
Quhat makis folk to jangill of him in veyne?

Bonalais drank rycht glaidly in a morow,
Syn leiff thai tuk, and with Sanct Jhon to borow,
Bottis was schot.
HENRY'S Wallace, p. 224.

Than angrit scho, and said, Sanct Johne to borow,
Thow licht boy, thow menis mekle sorrow.
Colkelbie's Sow, v. 648.

We shall fair well, wee find Saint John to borrow.
HENRYSON'S Fables, p. 19, edit. Edinb. 1621, 8vo.

Fare weil, quod I, and with Sanct Johne to borrow.
LINDSAY'S Works, vol. i. p. 242.

Can I not ellis fynd bot gif that he
Be lord, and as a god may lyue and regne,
To bynd and louse, and maken thrallis free,
Than wold I pray his blisful grace benigne
To hable me unto his seruice digne,
And euermore for to be one of tho
Him trewly for to serue in wele and wo.

And therwith kest I doun myn eye ageyne
Quhare as I saw walkyng under the Tovre,
Full secretely, new cumyn hir to pleyne,
The fairest or the freschest zong floure
That ever I sawe me thocht befor that houre:
For which sodayn abate anon astert
The blude of all my body to my hert.

And though I stude abaisit tho a lyte,
No wonder was; for quhy? my wittis all
Were so ourcome with plesance and delyte,
Onely through latting of myn eyen fall,
That sudaynly my hert become hir thrall
For ever of free wyll; for of manace
There was no takyn in hir suete face.

And in my hede I drew rycht hastily,
And eft sones I lent it out ageyne,
And sawe hir walk that verray womanly,
With no wight mo bot onely women tueyne:
Than gan I studye in myself and seyne,
Ah, suete! are ze a wardly creature,
Or hevinly thing in likenesse of Nature? . . .

Quhen I a lytill thrawe had maid my mone,
Bewailling myn infortune and my chance,
Unknawin how or quhat was best to done,
So fere I fallyng into lufis dance,
That sodeynly my wit, my contenance,
My hert, my will, my nature, and my mynd,
Was changit clene rycht in ane othir kind.

Off hir array the form gif I sal write,
Toward hir goldin haire and rich atyre,
In fretwise couchit with perllis quhite,
And grete balas lemyng as the fyre,
With mony ane emerant and faire saphire,
And on hir hede a chaplet fresch of hewe,
Of plumys partit rede, and quhite, and blewe.

Full of quaking spangis brycht as gold,
Forgit of schap like to the amorettis,
So new, so fresch, so plesant to behold,
The plumys eke like to the floure jonettis,
And othir of schap like to the floure jonettis,
And aboue all this, there was, wele I wote,
Beautee eneuch to mak a world to dote.

On finding himself precluded by his confinement from approaching this lovely object, he falls into a train of melancholy reflection.

So lang till evin for lak of mycht and mynd,
I for-wepit and for-pleynit pitously,
Ourset so sorrow had bothe hert and mynd,
That to the cold stone my hede on wrye
I laid and lenit, amasit verily,
Half-sleping and half-suoun, in suich a wise;
And quhat I met I will zou now deuise.

He imagines that a light suddenly shines through the window, and that a voice exclaims, "I bring thé comfort and hele, be not affrayde." He soon finds himself embraced in a crystal cloud, and transported from sphere to sphere, till he at length reaches the empire of Venus.

Off quhich the place, quhen I com there nye,
Was all me thocht of cristall stonis wrocht:
And to the port I liftit was in hye,
Quhare sodaynly, as quho sais at a thocht,
It opnyt, and I was anon inbrocht
Within a chamber, large rowm and faire,
And there I fand of people grete repaire.

This is to seyne, that present in that place,
Me thocht I sawe of every nacion
Loueris that endit thaire lyfis space
In lovis service, mony a mylion
Off quhois chancis maid is mencion
In diverse bukis, quho thame list to se,
And therefor here thaire namys lat I be.

The quhois auenture and grete laboure
Abone thair hedis writin there I fand;
This is to seyne, martris and confessoure,
Ech in his stage, and his make in his hand:
And therewith all thir peple sawe I stand,
With mony a solempt contenance,
After as lufe thame lykit to auance.

Of these lovers the various conditions and degrees are described with great felicity. The poet enters an apartment where he finds Venus reclining on a couch, and attended by Fair Calling, Secrecy, and other suitable domestics. He humbly recommends his suit to "the goddesse of delyte," who returns a favourable answer: she however informs him that the aid of another goddess is also requisite, and sends him under the guidance of Good Hope to visit the palace of Minerva. Here they soon arrive, and are readily admitted by Patience, the chief porter. Being admitted into the presence of Minerva, he mentions the object of his ardent wishes: the goddess inquires into the nature of his passion, and having discovered that it is consonant to virtue, she promises to lend her friendly aid. In the meantime, however, she takes an opportunity of displaying her metaphysical learning, and discusses the doctrine of fate and free-will. She then dismisses him in quest of Fortune, and conveys him to the earth on a beam of light.

Within a beme, that fro the contree dyvine
Sche percyng throw the firmament extendit,
To ground ageyne my spirit is descendit.[1]

Quhare in a lusty plane tuke I my way
Endlang a ryuer plesand to behold,
Enbroudin all with fresche flouris gay,
Quhare throu the grauel, brycht as ony gold,
The cristall water ran so clere and cold,
That in myn ere maid contynualy
A maner soun mellit with armony.

That full of lytill fischis by the brym,
Now here now there, with bakkis blewe as lede,
Lap and playit, and in a rout can swym

[1] Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even
On a sun-beam, swift as a shooting star
In autumn thwarts the night.
Paradise Lost, book iv. 555.
This passage, as Dr. Farmer remarks, has been suspected of imitation, "as a prettiness below the genius of Milton." (Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare, p. 30, 3d edit. Lond. 1789, 8vo.) He is inclined to believe that the poet may have been struck with a passage in Shirley's comedy of the Brothers, 1652.
After, her lookes grew chearfull, and I saw
A smile shoot gracefull upward from her eyes,
As if they had gain'd a victory over grief,
And with it many beams twisted themselves,
Upon whose golden threads the angels walk
To and again from heaven.

So prattily, and dressit thame to sprede
Thaire curall fynnis, as the ruby rede,
That in the sonne on thaire scalis brycht
As gesserant ay glitterit in my sight.

And by this ilke ryuer syde alawe
Ane hye way fand I like to bene,
On quhich on euery syde a long rawe
Off treis saw I full of levis grene,
That full of fruyte delitable were to sene;
And also, as it come vnto my mind,
Off bestis sawe I mony diuerse kynd.

Conducted by Good Hope, he arrives at the station of Fortune, whose eventful wheel is skilfully delineated. Being apprised of his wishes, she soothes him with the hope of a favourable change in his affairs; and placing him upon her wheel, she seizes him so closely by the ear, that he suddenly awakes from his dream. He afterwards takes occasion to compliment his mistress in more direct terms, and concludes his work by recommending it to the spirits of his dear masters Gower and Chaucer:—

Be impnis vnto my maisteris dere,
Gowere and Chaucere, that on the steppis satt
Off rethorike, quhill thai were lyvand here,
Superlatiue as poetis laureate,
In moralitee and eloquence ornate,
I recommend my buk in lynis seven,
And eke their saulis vnto the blisse of hevin.

Such is the general outline of a poem which in many of its detached parts is highly ingenious; a poem which, as Mr. Ellis remarks, "is full of simplicity and feeling, and is not inferior in poetical merit to any similar production of Chaucer."[1] The two English poets, mentioned by James, may be considered as his principal models; and an industrious search might perhaps enable us to trace various imitations. The following coincidence of Chaucer and the royal author can scarcely be regarded as accidental:—

O wery goste, that errest to and fro,
Why nylt thou flyen out of the wofullest
Body that euer might on grounde go?

[1] Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Poets, vol. i. p. 302.

O soule, lurkyng in thys woful neste,
Fly forthout myn herte, and it breste.[1]

O besy goste, ay flickering to and fro,
That neuer art in quiet nor in reste,
Till thou cum to that place that thou cam fro,
Quhich is thy first and verray proper rest.[2]

But the most popular poem attributed to King James is Christis Kirk of the Grene; a remarkable specimen of genuine humour and pleasantry, The earliest edition that has hitherto been traced was printed in the year 1663. There are other two impressions without date, which seem to have followed within twenty or thirty years; and in 1691 a more elaborate edition was published at Oxford by Edmund Gibson, afterwards bishop of London, who has added some learned notes to a very indifferent text.[3] It was afterwards inserted in the collections of Watson and Ramsay, and has since appeared in many different forms; but there is another edition which seems entitled to a more particular notice, namely, that which was published by Mr. Callander.[4] He has neither consulted Bannatyne's MS. nor adhered to any one of the printed texts, but has given such readings as appeared to him most consonant to the phraseology of the *sixteenth* century. From such a plan very little could be expected; but his deficiencies as a mere editor are compensated by his erudition as a philologer. In his copious annotations he endeavours to elucidate "the true system of etymology, which consists in deriving the words of every language from the radical sounds of the first, or original tongue, as it was spoken by Noah and the builders of Babel."[5] In the additional notes on

[1] Chaucer's Troylus and Creseyde, boke iv.

[2] Poetical Remains of James the First, p. 151.

[3] Polemo-Middinia, carmen Macaronicum, autore Gulielmo Drummundo, Scoto-Britanno. Accedit Jacobi id nominis Quinti, Regis Scotorum, cantilena rustica, vulgo inscripta *Christs Kirk on the Green*. Recensuit, notisque illustravit E. G. Oxonii, 1691, 4to.

[4] Two ancient Scotish Poems; the Gaberlunzie-man and Christ's Kirk on the Green: with notes and observations, by John Callander, Esq. of Craigforth. Edinb. 1782, 8vo.—Of the latter poem a curious edition appeared in Germany, under the title of "The Gaberlunzieman.; an old Scotch ballad; with explanatory notes." Göttingen, 1775, 8vo. The editor, as I was informed at Göttingen, was Matthias Christian Sprengel, afterwards professor of history in the University of Halle. The principal object of his publication is to illustrate "the intimate connexion of the Scotch with the German language."

[5] Some philosophers, supposing that mankind did not receive the gift of language from the divine author of their being, have been pleased to explain the process by which they must have fabricated a language for themselves; but if mankind had been sent into the world without the principal organ of speech, I could almost as easily have supposed them capable of inventing tongues.

the Gaberlunzieman, which is inserted in the same volume, the editor's general principles are further illustrated by the ingenuity and erudition of the late Dr. Doig. Mr. Callander exhibited these philological disquisitions as a specimen of his projected dictionary of the Scotish language; and the failure of this plan would have excited more regret, if the subsequent labours of Dr. Jamieson had not been attended with such eminent success.

With respect to the genuineness of Christis Kirk of the Grene, different opinions have been maintained. It has been suggested by Lord Hailes, that although both Bellenden and Mair have mentioned this king as a writer of verses, and the latter historian has preserved the first words of some of his poems, yet neither of them alludes to Christis Kirk; "which however was a great and voluminous work for those days."[1] But this argument certainly cannot be regarded as very convincing, and the remark with which it concludes must even excite some degree of surprise. A poem consisting of twenty-three stanzas could scarcely be considered as a voluminous work in any age; it certainly could not be so considered in an age which was familiar with the works of Barbour, Winton, and Henry the Minstrel, and, I may likewise add, with those of King James himself; for the King's Quair extends to nearly two hundred stanzas. Mair has not indeed mentioned him as the author of the poem in question; but he has not professedly given a complete catalogue of the king's productions. In our language, says the historian, he was a most skilful composer,

The researches of modern philologers have tended to ascertain the radical affinities of many languages, which were formerly believed to have no connexion with each other; and there is every reason to anticipate that the further progress of such researches will be attended with new discoveries of the same nature. Of the speculations of Joannes Elichmannus, a very learned physician, Salmasius has given an interesting account, which I do not remember to have seen quoted: "Quod ad hoc ævi latuit plerosque eruditorum, ex eadem origine compererat fluxisse Germanicam et Persicam linguam, ad hanc illum conjecturam ducente infinita vocum copia, utrique linguæ communium, sed et verbis similiter terminatis, eodem modo compositis, aliisque multis argumentis. Quia porro multa quoque vocabula reperiuntur in Persica dialecto, quæ et Græca sunt, sed ita Græca, ut etiam non minus videantur esse Germanica, ex eo non vane augurabatur, pluria etiam Græcos debuisse Scythicæ origini, quo ex fonte tam Persica quam Germanica profluxisset." (Præfatio in Tabulam Cebetis Arabicam, sig. * 3. Lugd. Bat. 1640, 4to.) The Scythian or Gothic origin of the Greeks has at a more recent period been ably illustrated by Dr. Jamieson, in a work entitled "*Hermes Scythicus*, or the Radical Affinities of the Greek and Latin Languages to the Gothic. Edinb. 1814, 8vo.

[1] Hailes's Specimen of Notes on the Statute Law of Scotland, part i. p. 7.

and many of his works are still preserved.[1] Of those works however he has only mentioned three; a number to which the word *plurimi* can hardly be thought applicable.

Another argument of the same learned writer is stated in the following terms:—"The fourth line, where mention is made of 'Peebles at the Play,' seems to relate to a more modern æra than that of James I." But this chronological objection is completely removed by the subsequent discovery of another work of the royal author; a work which professedly relates to those very festivities which Lord Hailes supposes to have belonged to a more recent period. Here his lordship was apparently misled by an erroneous notion that the word *play* must necessarily refer to a dramatic exhibition.[2]

Lord Hailes has further suggested that Bishop Gibson and the editor of Douglas's Virgil attribute this poem to James the Fifth. These authorities are however too recent to claim much attention; nor is Gibson the earliest writer who has ascribed Christis Kirk to this author. Dempster, who wrote during the earlier part of the seventeenth century, extols James the Fifth as a poet of rare genius, and as the author of a most ingenious poem on the rustic sports of *Falkirk*;[3] but as he wrote in a foreign country, where few Scotish books could be procured, it

[1] "In vernacula lingua artificiosissimus compositor: cujus codices plurimi et cantilenæ memoriter adhuc apud Scotos inter primos habentur. Artificiosum libellum de regina dum captivus erat composuit, antequam eam in conjugem duceret; et aliam artificiosam cantilenam ejusdem, *Yas sen*, etc. et jucundum artificiosumque illum cantum, *At Beltayn*, etc. quem alii de Dalketh et Gargeil mutare studuerunt: quia in arce aut camera clausus servabatur, in qua mulier cum matre habitabat." (Major De Gestis Scotorum, f. cxxxv. a. Paris, 1521, 4to.)

[2] "This poem," says a late writer, "opens with an intimation, which forbids us to assign it to James I. Falkland is herein spoken of as famous for *dancing, and deray*, on its velvet green. But, Falkland did not become the property of the crown, till after the return of James I. from his captivity." (Poetic Remains of the Scotish Kings, p. 127.) But where is the connexion between the premises and the conclusion? In order to render this argument available, it will first be necessary to prove that "dancing and deray" can only find a place in the vicinity of a royal palace. The same writer employs another argument of equal depth and cogency. "The style of the two poems, *The King's Quair*, and *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, is English; but are of very different sorts, and the versification is still more dissimilar." A serious and a ludicrous poem seem naturally enough to admit of some difference of style; and with respect to dissimilarity of versification, I suppose his meaning to be merely this, that the two poems are not written in the same stanza. The style and versification of the King's Quair and Peblis to the Play are certainly as dissimilar; and yet he finds no difficulty in admitting that they are compositions of the same author.

[3] "Erat illi amœnissimum ingenium, quod ab eo poemata relicta testantur; quorum ego tantum vidi *De Chorœis rusticis Falkirkensibus* epos vernacule, lib. I. quo nihil ingeniosius aut Græci aut Latini ostentare possunt." (Dempsteri Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum, p. 382.)

would have been impossible for him to avoid many errors and inaccuracies, if the disposition of his mind had even impelled him to aim at the most scrupulous fidelity.[1] His description of the work itself is evidently incorrect, and such as must have been produced by a very indistinct recollection: for Christis Kirk he has substituted Falkirk; and to this poem, written in a kind of lyric stanza, he applies the word *epos*, which, in reference to Latin compositions, is commonly applied to poems written in hexameter verse. After this erroneous account of the work, we may naturally expect an erroneous account of the author. It is more than probable that Christis Kirk of the Grene has only been attributed to James the Fifth by Dempster's faint and inaccurate recollection of what he had perhaps read at some very distant period: having seen this poem ascribed to one royal author, he has inadvertently ascribed it to another of the same name.[2] If there is not sufficient evidence for referring it to James the First, there is no evidence whatsoever for referring it to James the Fifth; for the unsupported testimony of Dempster, proceeding from a very suspicious source, and in this instance arising perhaps from a mere confusion of names, may safely be rejected as altogether incompetent. Bishop Gibson, who does not profess to have consulted any manuscript, may be supposed to have followed his authority; he however speaks with some degree of hesitation, and introduces it as a poem "composed, as is supposed, by King James the Fifth." Bishop Tanner has attributed it to the same monarch;[3] and their opinion has been adopted by the Earl of Oxford, Percy, Warton, Ritson, and various other writers who have directed

[1] Tam suspectæ fidei hominem illum fuisse comperimus, et toties tesseram fregisse, ut oculatos nos esse hic oporteat, et, nisi quod videmus, nihil ab eo acceptum credere." (Usserii Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, p. 726. Dublin, 1639, 4to.) Dr. Campbell has remarked that "the only harsh expression in Archbishop Usher's book is vented against this man." (Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland, p. 82. Dublin, 1789, 8vo.)

[2] "Vulgar tradition, before the Bann. MS. was heard of, had given the poem to James the Fifth; and as such it had been published in the first and second editions, 1691 by Bishop Gibson, and 1708 by James Watson, both of them persons who were likely to have the best information on the subject." (Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. ii. p. 356.) With respect to the antiquity of this vulgar tradition, it is sufficient to deny the fact, and to require some vestiges of evidence. In the first edition of the first part of Watson's Collection of Scots Poems, published in 1706, Christis Kirk of the Grene is ascribed to James the Fifth; but in the second edition, published in 1713, it is ascribed to James the First.

[3] Tanner, Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 426.

their attention to the history of Scotish literature.[1] Mr. Callander, who likewise adheres to this opinion, has remarked that "many different writers have said that this ballad was composed by James v., and many arguments are advanced for this opinion; such as the exact description of the manners and character of our Scotish peasants, with which James v. was intimately acquainted, as he delighted in strolling about in disguise, among the lower people and farmers; in which excursions he sometimes met with odd adventures, one of which he is said to have made the subject of his Gaberlunzieman, which we have therefore prefixed to Christ's Kirk on the Green; and indeed the style and strain of humour in both are perfectly similar."[2] But this last argument seems to be founded on very dubious premises. The tradition which assigns the Gaberlunzieman to James the Fifth, is too vague and uncertain to be admitted without further inquiry; and one doubtful subject is here illustrated by another still more doubtful. That James the First was accustomed to assume a disguise, and to mingle with the lower orders of his people, is attested by several of our early historians;[3] that he was intimately acquainted with the manners and character of the Scotish peasantry, is sufficiently evinced by his poem of Peblis to the Play. A man of superior genius is not to be judged by the rules which apply to ordinary men. It is evident that this most accomplished prince had never forgotten his native language; and in the course of a very few years, an observer so acute and indefatigable could easily catch the living manners of all classes of his subjects.

The evidence which we have hitherto examined is chiefly external or historical. To discover the internal proofs or indications by which a composition may be referred to its proper era,

[1] Orford's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. v. p. 19. Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 63. Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 146. Ritson's Hist. Essay on Scotish Song, p. xxxvi.

[2] Callander's Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 100.

[3] "Mutata veste velut privatum inter privatos ac maxime inter mercatores, quod aliorum ædes non ita cuivis expositæ essent, sese immiscuit." (Boethii Scotorum Historia, f. ccclxv. a.) "Jacobus privatorum, ac in primis mercatorum, se societati, tanquam privatus, mutata veste, sæpius implicavit. Unde est consecutus, ut quid de se ipso homines loquerentur et sentirent, et quid in republica corrigendum erat, explorato cognosceret." (Leslæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 275.) The conclusion of the passage quoted from Mair in p. 144, note 1, seems to afford some confirmation of this account.

will generally be found a task of no small nicety; and perhaps the best judges are most fully aware of the difficulties with which it is attended.[1] In the opinion of Bishop Percy, Christis Kirk of the Grene is evidently a more modern production than Peblis to the Play, and both poems could not have been written by the same author.[2] "To give judgment between them," observes Mr. Tytler, "or to say that the one is of an age older than the other, appears to me to be so nice, that, were I not convinced, from their internal marks, that they have been written in the same age, one might be induced to think, from sundry stanzas in the poem of Peblis, that it is much more modern than Christ's Kirk."[3] The language, versification, and humour of both poems appear to me to present an obvious and striking similarity. The following stanza, quoted from Peblis to the Play, and divested of its antique orthography, serves to confirm Mr. Tytler's observation; and it deserves the attention of those who consider this poem as more ancient than the other:—

Than they come to the townis end
Withouten more delay,
He before and she before,
To see wha was maist gay.
All that luiket them upon
Leuch fast at their array:
Some said they were mercat folk,
Some said the queen of May
Was come
Of Peebles to the Play.

Of the claim of James the First there is more direct evidence. That he was the author of Christis Kirk of the Grene, is asserted by George Bannatyne, who formed his collection of

[1] "The censures," says Dr. Bentley, "that are made from stile and language alone, are commonly nice and uncertain, and depend upon slender notices. Some very sagacious and learned men have been deceived in those conjectures, even to ridicule. The great Scaliger published a few iambicks, as a choice fragment of an old tragedian, given him by Muretus; who soon after confess'd the jest, that they were made by himself. Boxhornius writ a commentary upon a small poem *De Lite*, supposed by him to be some ancient author's; but it was soon discover'd to be Michael Hospitalius's, a late chancellor of France. So that if I had no other argument, but the stile, to detect the spuriousness of Phalaris's Epistles, I myself indeed should be satisfied with that alone, but I durst not hope to convince every body else." (Dissertation upon Phalaris, p. 19. Lond. 1699, 8vo.)

[2] See Pinkerton's Select Scotish Ballads, vol. ii. p. 163.

[3] Tytler's Dissertation on the Scottish Music, p. 244.

Scotish poetry in the year 1568, nor can any other testimony of equal antiquity be produced in favour of either opinion. But here Lord Hailes interposes with a remark that the authority of a manuscript written more than a century after the death of James the First proves nothing. Such a remark proceeds with a peculiar grace from the same writer who, within the course of a few lines, alleges the authority of one author who wrote one hundred and twenty-three, and of another who wrote one hundred and forty-two years after the date of this very manuscript. If Bannatyne had attributed the poem to some Scotish King who lived at a much remoter period, and of whose literary taste or talents we had no earlier evidence, if, for example, he had attributed it to King John instead of King James, his testimony must have been received with the utmost caution and even suspicion;[1] but he attributes it to a king whose death did not perhaps precede his own birth by a longer interval than eighty years, and of whose poetical talents and peculiar vein of humour we are fortunately in possession of other specimens. In justice to Lord Hailes it must however be stated, that when he made this remark, he could not have been acquainted with the other poems of King James. But the authority of Bannatyne has been considered as liable to another objection; for in the title of the next poem but one he has written James the Fifth instead of James the Fourth. This fact certainly proves that he was not infallible: but a copyist may be guilty of one error, and yet may in general maintain a degree of accuracy sufficient for all ordinary purposes; and it must besides be admitted that the question respecting the author of such a poem was much more likely to fix his attention, than the question whether another poem, containing nothing very remarkable, was addressed to a particular king or to his immediate successor.

[1] Another Scotish king, whose name however does not appear in our annals, is likewise connected with the history of poetry: an ancient German poem bears the title of *Künig Tyro von Schotten, und Fridebrant sin sun*, and begins thus:—

Got hat Wunder manigvalt.

This poem, which consists of a series of admonitions from the king to his son, occurs in Paræneticorum veterum pars I. cum notis M. Haiminsfeldii Goldasti, p. 273. Insulæ, 1604, 4to. It is reprinted in Schilter's Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum, tom. ii. See Von der Hagen und Büsching's Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie, S. 368.

Christis Kirk of the Grene, to whatever author it may be referred, must undoubtedly be regarded as an exquisite specimen of ancient humour: it is correctly represented by Lord Kames as "a ludicrous poem, describing low manners with no less propriety than sprightliness."[1] The native pleasantry of this composition has rendered it the most popular of all the early reliques of Scotish poetry. Its popularity during the age of Pope may be inferred from the following lines of one of his imitations of Horace:—

> One likes no language but the Faery Queen;
> A Scot will fight for Christ's Kirk o' the Green.[2]

To the original poem of King James two cantos were added by Allan Ramsay, but they are in every respect inferior to the masterly sketch of the royal author. He has ventured upon a complete deviation from the first design, and, instead of prosecuting the rustic squabble, has introduced the humours of a rustic wedding. It must however be admitted that he has displayed a strong vein of pleasantry; but it is pleasantry of a coarser denomination. King James's poem was translated into Latin verse by the late Mr. Skinner. The task of clothing British humour and pleasantry in a classical garb, is perhaps one of the most difficult that can be undertaken; nor can the translator's choice of a measure consecrated to tender and melancholy subjects, be regarded as altogether judicious. It was therefore scarcely to be expected that the arch peculiarities

[1] Kames's Sketches of the History of Man, vol. i. p. 292. The Rev. George Donaldson conjectures that the scene of the exploits described in this poem was Christ's Kirk in the parish of Kennethmont and county of Aberdeen; where a fair was formerly held during the night. "It is well known," he observes, "that James visited the most distant parts of his kingdom to hear complaints and redress grievances. And it is not impossible, nor even very improbable, that in his progress he may have seen or heard of Christ's Kirk. Now, what place more likely to strike the fancy of this monarch, than one distinguished by so singular a custom? The circumstance of the market at midnight may be supposed to fall in with his humour, and give birth to such scenes as he has described. Even the name of the performance is descriptive of the place: for the *green* still encircles the ruins of the *kirk;* and it is besides the only one in Scotland that I am acquainted with, to which the name of the ballad is applicable." (Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xiii. p. 77.)

[2] Dr. Langhorne, a more recent English poet, alludes to the same poem in the following passage (Poetical Works, vol. i. p. 55):—

> For James the Muses tun'd their sportive lays,
> And bound the monarch's brow with Chaucer's bays:
> Arch humour smil'd to hear his mimic strain,
> And plausive laughter thrill'd through every vein.

of the original should be transfused into this version. King James presents us with a succession of highly ludicrous objects, and never fails to mark them with the characteristic lines of his pencil; but the translator has often contented himself with little more than a general representation of the sense. This remark will be better understood by those who compare a single specimen with the original.

Then Lowry as ane lyon lap,
And sone a flane can feddir,
He hecht to perss him at the pap,
Theron to wed a weddir,
He hit him on the wame a wap,
It buft lyk ony bledder:
But sua his fortune was and hap,
His doublit wes maid of ledder,
And saift him
At Chrystis Kirk of the Grene that day.

The buff so boisterously abaift him,
That he to the eard dusht doun,
The uther man for deid then left him,
And fled out o' the toune.
The wyves cam furth, and up they reft him,
And fand lyfe in the loune,
Then with three routis up they reft him,
And cur'd him of his soune
Fra hand that day,
At Christis Kirk, etc.

Laurius inde feri saliebat more leonis,
Et pennata cito tela parare potest:
Spondebat juveni mediam terebrare papillam,
Ni faceret, contra sponte daturus ovem:
Inferiora tamen percussit arundine ventris,
Ut vesica, cavum fecit arundo sonum,
Namque benigna viro tantum fortuna favebat,
Indusium ex crassa pelle tegebat eum.

Plaga tamen gressus adeo labefecit eunti,
Succiduo in terram volvitur ille genu:
Alter ut extinctum nec opina morte reliquit,
Et procul ut potuit fugit ab urbe pavens:

Egressæ matres lapsum de stercore tollunt,
Inveniuntque animæ signa manentis adhuc:
Tunc tribus in clunes refovebant ictibus ægrum,
Seminanimemque cito restituere virum.[1]

Peblis to the Play is another burlesque poem, descriptive of rustic merriment and of rustic squabbles; and although it is perhaps of inferior merit, it exhibits strong marks of the same lineage. The only ancient copy known to exist was discovered by Bishop Percy in one of the Maitland MSS. preserved in the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Here it occurs without the name of the author; but it answers to Mair's description of a pleasant and ingenious ballad, beginning *At Beltayn*, and composed by King James. That two different poems should begin in the same manner, is by no means impossible; but these particular words are somewhat remarkable as placed at the beginning of the poem in question.[2] The evidence with

[1] Skinner's Works, vol. iii. p. 35. Carminum variorum Macaronicorum Delectus, p. 25, edit. 2dæ. Edinb. 1813, 8vo. An account of the translator is prefixed to his Works, and to a little volume entitled "Amusements of leisure Hours: or Poetical Pieces, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect: by the late Reverend John Skinner, at [of] Longside, Aberdeenshire." Ediub. 1809. 8vo.

[2] "It might easily happen," says Mr. Sibbald, "that more than one song or poem should begin with these two words; for *At Beltayne* means on May-day." (Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. i. p. 128.) But May-day is the first, and Beltane the second of the month. "Bellenden, the translator of Boece, points out what day is here meant, b. 17, c. 2: 'On Beltane day, in the year next following, callit the Invention of the haly Croce,' etc. The feast of the Invention of the Cross is celebrated by the Latin church on the 2d May." (Hailes's Specimen, part i. p. 7.) The same editor has drawn a very extraordinary argument from an act of parliament, passed in 1457, and enjoining the wives and daughters of men "within burowis, and commonys to landwart," to refrain from the use of sumptuous apparel, and dress themselves in a manner suitable to their condition; "that is to say, on thair hedis schort curches with litell hudis, as ar vsyt in Flanderis, Inglande, and vther cuntreis." (Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 49.) From these expressions he thinks himself entitled to infer "that *curchies* and *hudes* were either not known, or not commonly used by 'landwart' girls in Scotland, before the date of this act;" and as *curches* and a *hude* are mentioned in Peblis to the Play, he concludes that the act must be of an earlier date than the poem. (Sibbald, vol. i. p. 137.) It is however sufficiently obvious that the country wives and wenches are not referred to England and Flanders for patterns of hoods and tippets, but the propriety of confining themselves to a plain and decent garb is illustrated by the example of Flanders, England, and other countries.

Mair has informed us that the king's ballad, beginning *At Beltayn*, was the subject of a certain parody; "quem alii de Dalketh et Gargeil mutare studuerunt; quia in arce aut camera clausus servabatur, in qua mulier cum matre habitabat." From this statement, Mr. Sibbald thinks it may be collected that the subject of the poem "was the confinement of a person, otherwise there would not have been that correspondence between the original and the parodies which Major particularly specifies." This notion of a parody is singular enough: Philips is commonly understood to have written a parody of Milton; but what reader expects to find in the Splendid Shilling an exact counterpart of Paradise Lost? He proceeds to remark that the historian says, "*cantus* or song; with the definition of which it does not seem to correspond." But I can perceive no impropriety in applying the word to such a poem as Peblis to the Play: this

respect to either poem cannot be considered as complete in itself; but the two cases seem mutually to strengthen and illustrate each other. Christis Kirk of the Grene and Peblis to the Play are composed in a stanza of which we do not find many other specimens in our ancient writers; there is an obvious similarity in the choice and treatment of the subjects, and both compositions are enlivened by the same rich and native vein of humour.

In a very singular collection of Scotish poetry, the following stanzas are ascribed to King James :—

Sen throw vertue incressis dignity,
And vertew is flowre and rute of nobles ay,
Of ony wit or what estate thou be,
His steps follow, and dreid for none effray;
Eject vice and follow treuth alway,
Lufe maist thy God that first thy lufe began,
And for ilk inch he will thee quite ane span.

Be not ouer proud in thy prosperity
For as it cummis, sa will it passe away:
The time to compt is short thou may well see,
For of greene grasse soone cummis wallowed hay.
Labour in trueth quhilk suith is of thy fay;
Traist maist in God, for he best guide thee can,
And for ilk inch he will thee quite ane span.

Sen word is thrall, and thoght is only free,
Thou daunt thy toung that power hes, and may
Thou steik thy eene fra warlds vanity:
Refraine thy lust, and harken what I say:
Graip or thou slide, and keep furth the hie way:
Thou hald thee fast vpon thy God and man,
And for ilk inch he will thee quite ane span.[1]

King James is understood to have composed various works which are either lost, or are no longer ascribed to their proper author. Of the catalogue exhibited by Bishop Tanner, a late

word may signify a ballad as well as a song; and to denote a shorter composition, intended to be sung, Mafr seems to employ the term *cantilena*. It would not have been amiss if Mr. Sibbald had specified some more appropriate word by which the poem in question might have been described.

[1] Ane compentiovs Booke of godly and spiritvall Songs, newlie corrected and amended by the first originall Copie. Edinb. 1621, 8vo. This poem, the last in the collection, has the following colophon: "Finis. ¶ Quod King James the first."

writer has spoken in terms of sufficient contempt, though his censure ought rather to have fallen on Bale and Dempster, the original authorities.[1] His own catalogue of the writings of this royal author is not unexceptionable; for among other compositions, he enumerates Falkland on the Green, a poem, which, as he assures us, "is unfortunately lost, but we may well suppose it described the sports of Fifeshire, or the middle of Scotland, in words adapted to that part."[2] But that such a production ever existed, must not so easily be admitted as an undoubted fact. The king has indeed mentioned some place by the name of Falkland on the Green;[3] but that he composed a poem bearing this title, seems to be too strong an inference. Mair informs us that he wrote an elaborate poem in celebration of his future consort, and another ingenious *cantilena* or song on the same subject, beginning *Yas sen.* The former of these productions is obviously the King's Quair, and the latter is supposed to be a song on absence, which has lately been printed. It begins thus:

Sen that eyne that workis my weilfair.[4]

As this line has some appearance of being mutilated, Mr. Pinkerton proposes to read,—

Yas, sen that the eyne that workis my weilfair.

Mr. Ritson conjectures that we ought to correct the text of the historian by reading *Sen yat;*[5] but such conjectures as these must be confined within proper limits, and must not be confounded with historical evidence.

James has often been represented as a writer of Latin verses, and some of these compositions are familiarly mentioned by various authors. Dr. Mackenzie has here acquitted himself with more than his usual felicity: he first asserts that the king wrote verses both in Latine and English (of which many

[1] Balei Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. xiv. p. 217. Dempsteri Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum, p. 381.

[2] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. ii. p. 450.

[3] Wes nevir in Scotland hard nor sene
Sic dansing nor deray,
Nouthir at Falkland on the Grene,
Nor Pebillis at the Play.
Christis Kirk of the Grene, st. 1.

[4] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. ii. p. 214.

[5] Ritson's Hist. Essay on Scotish Song, p. xxx.

are yet extant) without any constraint;[1] but he afterwards avers that all the works of this royal author are lost. It is however certain that he composed Latin rhymes, for one distich has been preserved by Bower. This specimen answers to Buchanan's general description of his effusions in the Latin language;[2] but Latin rhymes do not always require, nor does extemporaneous composition easily admit of a rigid attention to the rules of prosody. During the session of the parliament which was held at Inverness in the year 1427, he ordered several offenders to be arrested; and while his attendants were executing this order, "the king made metre, saying to those who were standing near him,"—

Ad turrim fortem ducamus caute cohortem,
Per Christi sortem, meruerunt hi quia mortem.[3]

Dempster has asserted that King James wrote a treatise on music, and this statement has been copied by Tanner and other literary historians. The authority which he quotes is that of Hector Boyce, in whose work there is however no mention of any such composition. But it is at least certain that James has always been represented as an adept in the practical part of music; and from him the national melody is understood to have derived such material improvements, that a more particular examination of his claims may here be introduced with sufficient propriety; for in tracing the history of Scotish poetry, some attention seems due to the history of Scotish music.

Dr. Burney remarks that, in the course of his inquiries, it has never appeared that in any country poetry and music have with equal steps advanced towards perfection; and that almost every nation of Europe has produced good poetry, before it could boast of such an arrangement of musical sounds as constitutes good melody.[4] This remark seems to be applicable to the history of these kindred arts in the Lowlands of Scotland. Gerald Barry, who flourished about the year 1200, has indeed

[1] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. i. p. 316.

[2] "Carmina Latina, ut illud erat seculum, rudia ex tempore fundebat: Anglico quidem sermone poemata ab eo conscripta nonnulla adhuc extant; in quibus ingenii præstantia elucet, expolitior doctrina fortasse requiratur." (Buchanani Rerum Scoticarum Hist. lib. x. p. 196.)

[3] Bower, vol. ii. p. 489.

[4] Burney's History of Music, vol. ii. p. 336.

informed us that, in the opinion of many, the Scotish music was even superior to the Irish; and that three musical instruments, the harp, the timbrel, and the *chorus*, were used in Scotland, while only two, the harp and timbrel, were used in Ireland.[1] But this commendation must apparently be confined to the Gaelic division of the kingdom. There is reason to believe that the Highlanders, from their close relation to the Irish, became acquainted with the use of the harp at a very early period;[2] and Dr. Campbell, the late chancellor of the cathedral of Clogher, has proceeded so far as to aver that the honour of inventing what is termed the Scotish music, must be ascribed to Ireland.[3] It does not appear that the harp was at any period a favourite instrument among the Lowlanders. Mair has stated that the instrument used by the Highlanders was a harp strung with chords of brass, which they modulated very sweetly:[4] Buchanan mentions the inhabitants of the western islands as

[1] "Hibernia quidem tantum duobus utitur et delectatur instrumentis, cythera scilicet et tympano; Scotia tribus, cythera, tympano, et choro; Gwallia vero cythera, tibiis, et choro. Æneis quoque magis utuntur chordis Iiberni, quam de corio factis. Multorum autem opinione, hodie Scotia non tantum magistram æquiparavit Hiberniam, verum etiam in musica peritia longe prævalet et præcellit. Unde et ibi quasi fontem artis jam requirunt." (Silv. Geraldi Cambrensis Topographia Hiberniæ, p. 739, apud Camden.)

[2] Walker's Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards, p. 74. Lond. 1786, 4to. See likewise Gunn's Historical Enquiry respecting the Performance on the Harp in the Highlands of Scotland; from the earliest Times, until it was discontinued, about the year 1734. Edinb. 1807, 4to. The story of the harp which this writer describes as Queen Mary's, seems to be of the legendary kind. See Bunting's Ancient Music of Ireland, p. 43. Dublin, 1840, 4to. The Rev. Alexander Thomson, the grandson and biographer of Ross the poet, has furnished us with a very curious illustration of the influence of music among the Highlanders. The subsequent statement particularly refers to the united parishes of Crathy and Braemar in the county of Aberdeen; and the practice which it records was not completely discontinued about the year 1726. "However inconsistent and absurd such a practice may appear to most people now (and it would be considered as ridiculous at this period, even in the same country where it once prevailed), when any member of a family died, a musician was immediately sent for, and before the interment, as soon indeed as possible after the person had expired, the whole family, excepting children, were desirous to vent their sorrow by a kind of dancing. The musician accordingly played on the violin or bagpipe slow plaintive music, the nearest friends [that is, relations] of the deceased appeared first on the floor, took the first dance, and expressed their grief by their motion as well as by their tears. The honest man who communicated the account of this custom to our author, likewise told him that it was just about wearing out at the time when he was first employed as a musician; that in this capacity he was called to three or four of these houses of mourning, and that the custom, though very prevalent before in that country, was soon after universally discontinued." (Life of the Author (p. xix.) prefixed to Helenore; or the Fortunate Shepherdess, a pastoral Tale, by Alexander Ross, A.M. Dundee, 1812, 8vo.) The person whose authority is here quoted was "a celebrated performer on the violin, John Cameron, descended of a respectable family of that name, and a native of the parish of Crathie."

[3] Campbell's Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland, p. 455. Dublin, 1778, 8vo.

[4] Major De Gestis Scotorum, f. xvi. a.

extremely fond of music, and as employing a particular species of harp, which was sometimes strung with brass, and sometimes with catgut;[1] but with respect to the general use of this instrument among the other inhabitants, both these historians are silent. From these notices it is evident that the following speculations of a learned writer are not sufficiently supported by facts:—"In the ancient Scotish airs," says Mr. Mitford, "which are justly admired for their very peculiar yet beautiful melody, there is no modulation, no change of key. But in the Welsh, even the most imperfect fragments, the air often highly beautiful, though far less striking for its peculiarity, we find change of key frequent, and sometimes very artificial modulation, such as the modern composer might not disadvantageously emulate. Have not both been derived from a common origin, the Greek music, brought into Britain by the Romans? And has not the peculiar character of the Scotish arisen from the defective powers of the only instrument retained by fugitives among the bleak and stormy highlands, the bagpipe, while the Welsh, holding the triple harp, but in their poverty and their troubles among their mountains, though in a better climate, unable duly to cultivate so complex and troublesome, yet sweet and powerful an instrument, preserved ruins of a higher stile of music, but only ruins?"[2]

It has been supposed that the church-music of Scotland must have arrived at a high state of improvement during the twelfth century;[3] but the writer who suggests this opinion, has contented himself with quoting a passage, as translated by Dr. Mackenzie, from one of the works of Ailred. That learned abbot, if not a native of Scotland, had spent some of his earlier years in this country:[4] there is however no reason to believe

[1] "Musica maxime delectantur, sed sui generis fidibus; quarum aliis chordæ sunt æneæ, aliis e nervis factæ, quas vel unguibus prælongis vel plectris pulsant. Unica autem illis ambitio est, ut fides multo argento exorment et gemmis. Tenuiores pro gemmis crystallum adhibent. Accinunt autem carmen non inconcinne factum, quod fere laudes fortium virorum continent: nec aliud fere argumentum eorum bardi tractant." (Buchanani Rerum Scoticarum Hist. lib. i. p. 14.)

[2] Mitford's Inquiry into the Principles of Harmony in Language, p. 347, 2d edit. Lond. 1804, 8vo.

[3] Pinkerton's Essay on the Origin of Scotish Poetry, p. lxvi.

[4] "Cum hæc scripsissem, incidit mihi suspicio, et quidem vehemens, Ealredum in Scotia fuisse natum, ac deinde in Angliam pervenisse: at interim nihil temere adfirmo, veritate nondum excussa." (Leland de Scriptoribus Britannicis, tom. i. p. 200.)

that his account of the state of church-music has any reference to the northern kingdom. When he asks why so many organs are introduced into the churches,[1] we may venture to conclude that those churches were not to be found in Scotland. Boyce affirms that organs were unknown in this country before the reign of James the First;[2] and it must at all events appear extremely improbable that they were used in the Scotish churches so early as the twelfth century. Dempster informs us that the church-music of Scotland derived many important improvements from Simon Taylor, a Dominican friar who flourished about the year 1240; and, in support of this assertion, he refers to George Newton's Lives of the bishops of Dumblane, a work which is no longer known to exist. We are assured that this musical friar was compared by his contemporaries to Guido Aretino; that he effected such a reformation in the ecclesiastical chants, that Scotland might in this particular vie with Rome itself; and that he moreover composed four treatises on musical subjects.[3] Those who have examined the writings of Dempster with a critical eye, will be cautious in drawing any material inferences from such statements as rest upon his sole authority; and it may still be regarded as not improbable that the task of reforming the church-music was reserved for King James. Before his reign the elegant arts had made no very considerable progress; the trumpet which summoned the warlike chiefs to

[1] "Unde quæso, cessantibus jam typis et figuris, unde ecclesia tot organa, tot cymbala? Ad quid, rogo, terribilis ille follium flatus, tonitrui potius fragorem, quam vocis exprimens suavitatem? Ad quid illa vocis contractio et infractio? Hic succinit, ille discinit; alter supercinit, alter medias quasdam notas dividit, et incidit. Nunc vox stringitur, nunc frangitur, nunc impingitur, nunc diffusiori sonitu dilatatur. Aliquando, quod pudet dicere, in equinos hinnitus cogitur, aliquando, viril ivigore deposito, in fœmineæ vocis gracilitate acuitur, nonnunquam artificiosa quadam circumvolutione torquetur et retorquetur. Videas aliquando hominem aperto ore, quasi intercluso halitu exspirare, non cantare, ac ridiculosa quadam vocis interceptione, quasi minitare silentium, nunc agones morientium vel ecstasim patientium imitari. Interim histrionicis quibusdam gestibus totum corpus agitatur, torquentur labia, rotant oculi, ludunt humeri, et ad singulas quasque notas digitorum flexus respondet. Et hæc ridiculosa dissolutio vocatur religio; et ubi hæc frequentius agitantur, ibi Deo honorabilius serviri clamatur." (Ailredi Speculum Charitatis, lib. ii. cap. xxiii. Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, tom. xxiii. p. 118.)

[2] "Divinus quoque cultus hoc rege decentibus mirum in modum ornatus est cerimoniis, introducto novo cantandi ritu musico; qua in arte ipse plurimum pollebat, virosque domi in ea peritissimos alebat: insuper quæ vocant organa, qualia nunc sunt . . . tum primum per eum in Scotiam sunt adducta." (Boethii Scotorum Historia, f. ccclxii. a.)

[3] Dempsteri Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum, p. 617.

battle, was the sweetest music that could salute their ears:[1] but the example and the patronage of this illustrious monarch must have tended to impart a new value to some of the gentler accomplishments. James is himself represented as a musician of consummate skill. He excelled in vocal as well as instrumental music: he had learned to play on a great variety of instruments, but was chiefly distinguished as a performer on the harp, of which, according to Bower, he touched the strings like another Orpheus.[2] For his musical attainments he must have been partly indebted to his English education; but the force of his native genius enabled him to introduce various improvements, and even to form a new era in the history of the art.

Tassoni, in a passage frequently quoted, has mentioned him as a composer of distinguished merit. Among the moderns, says this writer, may be enumerated James, King of Scotland; who not only composed sacred music, but also invented a new species of plaintive melody, different from all others. In this he has been imitated by Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa, who during our own age has improved music by many admirable inventions.[3] This passage has generally been understood as signifying that James's melody was imitated by the Prince of Venosa; but as no similarity can be traced between Gesualdo's melodies and the national tunes of North Britain, it must only be understood as implying that those two princes were both cultivators and improvers of music.[4] It is sufficiently evident that the Scotish king to whom Tassoni alludes, is James the First; though an attempt has lately been made to deprive him

[1] Schaw nou quhat kynd of soundis musicall
Is maist semand to vailzeand cheueleris.
As thondrand blast of trumpat bellicall
The spritis of men to hardy curage steris,
So syngyng, fydlyng, and piping not efferis
For men of honour nor of hye estate;
Becaus it spoutis swete venome in thair eris,
And makis thair myndis al effeminate.
BELLENDEN.

[2] "Hic etenim in musica, non solum in sono vocis, sed et in artis perfectione, quemadmodum in tympano et choro, in psalterio et organo, tibia et lyra, tuba et fistula, non inquam avide ad usum, sed ad summæ perfectionis magisterium, natura creatrix quædam vis et potentia divinitus humano generi insita, ultra humanam quodammodo æstimationem, ipsum vivaciter decoravit, præsertim in tactu citharæ, tanquam alterum Orpheum, principem et prælatum omnium citharœdorum citharizantium in citharis suis delectabiliter et dulciter illum prædotavit." (Bowers Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 504.)

[3] Tassoni, Pensieri Diversi, p. 347, ediz. Venetia, 1676, 4to.

[4] Burney's History of Music, vol. iii. p. 219.

of this honour. "*The passage,*" says Mr. Pinkerton, "has been understood to refer to James I., but it refers to James VI., in whose time Tassoni lived: when we say Louis, King of France, it is the present we mean."[1] But this writer ought to have recollected that when Tassoni composed his work, James the Sixth was no longer King of Scotland, but of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; nor do we discover any evidence of his musical attainments. It is likewise to be considered, that if the Italian author had referred to two individuals who were both contemporary with himself, he could not have distinguished one of them as flourishing *in questa nostra età*, "in this our own age." Several of the Jameses appear to have been lovers of music;[2] but there are no grounds for supposing that any of them, except the first, was capable of inventing a new species of plaintive melody.[3]

Eleanor, one of the five daughters of this accomplished

[1] Pinkerton's Essays on the Origin of Scotish Poetry, p. lxviii.

[2] John Younge, in his account of Queen Margaret's journey to Scotland, mentions the musical talents of James the Fourth. "The kynge begonne before hyr to play of the clavycordes, and after of the lute; wiche pleasyd hyr varey much, and she had grett plaisur to here hym." (Lelandi de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 284.) In the Treasurer's Accounts for the reign of his successor, there are many charges for "lute stryngis to the king."

[3] Beside the works already quoted, the reader may consult on this subject Sir John Hawkins's History of Music, vol. iv. p. 5, etc. Ritson's Historical Essay on Scotish Song, and Tytler's Dissertation on the Scottish Music. Some incidental remarks on Scotish music may likewise be found in Dr. Beattie's Essay on Poetry and Music, p. 174; in Dr. Gregory's Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man, p. 154, and in Dr. Brown's Comparative View of Christianity, vol. i. p. 47. Hector Boyce celebrates a famous Scotish musician, named John Malison, whom Bishop Elphinstone appointed to superintend the music of his cathedral. "Ad sacra rite exequenda in basilica Aberdonensi, creat designatorem Joannem Malisonum, musica disciplina eruditum, moribus probatum, penes quem (quos scribi et concinnari fecerat) libri forent rituales. Huic viro debent Aberdonenses, musicam præsertim edocti, quam parenti filii caritatem: quicquid illic musices, quicquid exactæ in Dei ecclesia boreali jubilationis, hujus viri justissime debetur operæ; rarus enim conspicitur Aberdoniæ cantandi artem excellenter doctus, qui eo non fuerit usus præceptore." (Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitæ, f. xxiiii. a. Paris, 1522, 4to.) Robert Richardson, canon of Cambuskenneth, has celebrated the musical talents of Alexander Paterson, sacristan of the chapel-royal of Stirling, "sacrarii regalis collegii Stirlingensis." (Richardini Exegesis in Canonem Divi Augustini, f. 87 b. Lutetiæ, 1530, 16mo.) In an address "To the gentle Reader," inserted in an edition of the old version of the Psalms, the following passage occurs: "I acknowledge sincerely the whole composition of the parts to belong to the primest musicians that ever this kingdome had, as Deane John Angus, Blackhall, Smith, Reebles, Sharp, Black, Buchan, and others, famous for their skill in this kind. I would bee most unwilling to wrong such shyning lights of this art, by obscuring their names, and arrogating anything to my selfe, which any wayes might derogate from them." The writer of this address, E. M., appears, from another passage, to have belonged to the chapel-royal:—"There is one thing, moreover (good reader), which I do here publicklie professe, that the gentle-men of his Majesties Chapell-royall, my brethren, are free both of good and evill in this matter: and therefore impute not to them any blame for the errors hereof, since

monarch, has likewise obtained a place in the history of literature. In the year 1448 she became the wife of Siegmund, Archduke of Austria, and died on the 20th of November 1480. The Archduke was himself an encourager of learning; and his consort had made such progress in the language of her adopted country, that she translated from French into German the prose romance of Pontus and Sidonia. Her version has been repeatedly printed, and is regarded as a favourable specimen of her literary attainments.[1]

they were not accessorie to this my course." (The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter; with their whole Tunes, in foure or mo Parts, and some Psalmes in Reports. Edinb. 1635, 8vo.)

[1] Various editions of Pontus and Sidonia, both in French and German, are enumerated in Dr. Ebert's "Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexikon," ii. Bd. Col. 502. "Pontus und Sidonia, durch Eleonora, Erzherzogin zu Oesterreich," may be found in the "Buch der Liebe, herausgegeben durch Dr. Johann Gustav Büsching und Dr. Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen," S. 269. Berlin, 1809, 8vo. Of this work of the Archduchess, a manuscript, written so early as the year 1464, is preserved in the library at Gotha; and a transcript, together with a fac-simile, has lately been procured for the Advocates' Library.

CHAPTER VII.

To the beginning of the fifteenth century, we may perhaps venture to refer an anonymous poem entitled, "The Battle of Harlaw." It derives its subject from an event which happened in the year 1411: Donald of the Isles, with an army of ten thousand men, having marched southward with the view of plundering Aberdeen, and committing other acts of depredation, was intercepted in his progress by Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, with a considerable force hastily collected together; and the battle which ensued at Harlaw, a village in the district of Mar, was attended with the slaughter of nine hundred of the islanders, and five hundred of the royal army. The chieftain of the Isles escaped from the field, and afterwards made his peace with the Regent Albany.[1] Several persons of distinction, and among others, the eldest sons of Lord Saltoun and Lord Ogilvie, were slain in this fierce encounter, which appears to have excited a strong sensation in the kingdom; the school-boys in the time of Mair were accustomed to play at the battle of Harlaw, that is, to divide themselves into two parties, and to exhibit a mock-battle under that name.[2] This poem, or at least the original sketch of this poem, was probably written soon after the event to which it relates. Compositions which aim at popularity, and which are founded on incidents of no superior importance, do not commonly borrow their subjects from a remote period of history. A song or ballad on the Battle of Harlaw is mentioned in a book published in the year 1549;[3] nor do I perceive any incongruity in supposing that this is the identical poem

[1] Boweri Scotichronicon, vol. ii. p. 444.

[2] Major De Gestis Scotorum, f. cxxviii. b.

[3] ["The battel of the hayrlaw."] Complaynt of Scotland, p. 101.

which has reached our times. But the earliest edition that can be traced was published by Ramsay; and all the ancient poetry which passed through his hands was exposed to the most unwarrantable alterations; if he found it in the language and orthography of the fifteenth century, it was not consistent with his ordinary practice to leave it in that condition. It is therefore probable that the Battle of Harlaw, though composed at a remote period, has undergone considerable modifications; but even in its present state, it retains a certain air of antiquity. The poem consists of two hundred and forty-eight lines, and commences in the following manner:—

Frae Dunideir as I cam throuch,
Doun by the hill of Bánochie,
Allangst the lands of Garioch,
Grit pitie was to heir and se
The noys and dulesum hermonie,
That evir that dreiry day did daw,
Cryand the corynoch on hie,[1]
Alas, alas, for the Harlaw![2]

It is a dry and circumstantial narrative, with little or no embellishment, and can only be considered as valuable in the belief of its being ancient. Of the author's historical vein a sufficient estimate may be formed from the subsequent stanzas:—

Sir James Scrimgeor of Duddap, knicht,
Grit constabill of fair Dunde,
Unto the dulefull deith was dicht,
The kingis cheif banner-man was he,
A valziant man of chevalrie,
Quhais predecissors wan that place
At Spey, with gude King William frie,
Gainst Murray and Macduncan's race.[3]

[1] The *corynoch* commonly signifies the funeral lamentation. In Sir David Lindsay's Complaynt of the Papingo, it is used in the same sense. (Works, vol. i. p. 328.)

Cryand for yow the carefull *corenoch*.

The same expression is sometimes employed to signify an alarm, or war-cry; as in the following quotations from Dunbar's Daunce, and from the poem entitled, "Duncane Laideus' or Macgregor's Testament:"—

Than cryd Mahoun for a Heleand padyane;
Syn ran a feynd to fetche Makfadyane,
Far northwart in a nuke:
Be he the *correnoch* had done schout,
Ersche men so gadderit him about,
In hell grit rume thay tuke.

The loud *corrinoch* then did me exile
Through Lorne, Argyle, Monteith, and Braidalbane.

[2] Ramsay's Ever-Green, vol. i. p. 78.

[3] The history of this family, afterwards ennobled by the title of Earl of Dundee, may be found in Douglas's Peerage, vol. i. p. 462. The founder of the family was appointed the king's hereditary standard-bearer by Alex-

Gude Sir Alexander Irving,
The much renownit laird of Drum,
Nane in his days was bettir sene,
Quhen they war semblit all and sum;
To praise him we sould not be dumm,
For valour, witt, and worthyness;
To end his days he ther did cum,
Quhois ransom is remeidyless.[1]

And thair the knicht of Lawriston
Was slain into his armour schene,
And gude Sir Robert Davidson,
Quha provest was of Aberdene:
The knicht of Panmure, as was sene,
A mortall man in armour bricht,
Sir Thomas Murray, stout and kene,
Left to the world thair last gude nicht.

The Battle of Harlaw, if not known as a ballad, was certainly known as a tune during the earlier part of the seventeenth century: it is mentioned in the Polemo-Middinia, a macaronic poem written by Drummond; and the learned editor, Bishop Gibson, not being aware of the historical allusion, has exhibited a curious specimen of the plastic nature of etymology by tracing the word *Harlai* to an Islandic source:—

Interea ante alios Dux piperlarius heros
Præcedens, magnamque gerens cùm burdine pipam,
Incipit *Harlai* cunctis sonare[2] *Batellum*.

Another poetical relique of this century is Holland's Howlat, a moral fable of great length; illustrative of the danger of

ander the First; and Alexander Scrimger or Scrimgeour was one of the brave companions of Wallace, who, as governor of the kingdom, conferred upon him and his heirs the office of constable of Dundée, together with certain parcels of land in the vicinity of that town. The charter, dated on the 29th of March 1298, is inserted in Anderson's Diplomata et Numismata Scotiæ, No. xliii. Henry Scrimger, an eminent professor of the civil law, was a descendant of this ancient house, his father being Scrimger of Glaswell, a branch of the family of Dudhope.

[1] "Eo in prelio Alexander magnanimos ducebat Abredonenses; quam provinciam Irvinorum principes per multos annos tenuere: ast victoriæ hujus pretium suo pependit sanguine, nam validissime pro rege dimicans, cum D. Roberto Davidsonio, Equite Aurato, consule Abredonensi, multisque aliis, in campo Martio occubuit." (Gul. Smith Oratio in qua Academiæ Marischallanæ Abredonensis Parens, Mæcenates, et Benefactores commemorantur, p. 18. Abredeis, 1702, 4to.) The knight of Drum was interred in the field of battle; and a *cairn*, or large heap of stones, which marked the place of his interment, was long known by the name of Drum's Cairn. (Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. i. p. 51.)

[2] In this line, the first syllable of *sonare* is improperly lengthened. The word is probably an error of the press for *resonare*.

pride. It appears from internal evidence to have been written about the year 1450:

> Thus for ane dow of Dunbar drew I this dyte,
> Dowit with ane Dowglas, and boith war thai dowis,
> In the forest forsaid, frely parfyte,
> Of Terneway, tendir and tryde, quho so trast trowis.

This *dow* or dove of Dunbar, matched with a Douglas, was evidently Mary the daughter of James Dunbar, Earl of Moray, who conveyed her father's title and estates to Archibald the brother of William, Earl of Douglas;[1] and the marriage took place so early at least as the year 1445.[2] The power of the noble family of Douglas was now at its utmost height; their extensive influence and turbulent ambition rendered them extremely formidable to the king himself. Two of the Earl's brothers had already been elevated to the peerage; Hugh had been created Earl of Ormond, and John, Lord Balveny. But this dazzling prosperity only served to hasten their ruin. In the month of February 1452, James the Second having invited Douglas to Stirling Castle, began after supper to remonstrate against his dangerous proceedings, and particularly urged him to dissolve the unlawful confederacy into which he had entered with the Earls of Ross and Crawford; but having received a very unsatisfactory and insolent answer, the king was so roused with indignation that he plunged a dagger into his breast, and Sir Patrick Gray struck him a mortal blow with his battle-axe. His hereditary honours now devolved upon his brother James, who evinced a strong determination to avenge his blood: after an interval of a few months, he was induced to return to his allegiance, but the restless and daring ambition of the family was not yet repressed; and in the year 1454 sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against all these noble brothers. In the course of the following year they ventured to invade their native country, but received a final check at the battle of Arkinholm;[3] where the Earl of Moray was slain, and the Earl of Ormond, having been severely wounded, was taken

[1] Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 253.

[2] See the Appendix (p. 8) to Mr Laing's edition of Holland's Buke of the Howlat. Edinb. 1823, 4to.

[3] The field of battle has been erroneously

prisoner, and was afterwards beheaded at Edinburgh. The Earl of Douglas again sought refuge in England, where for many years he led a more tranquil and obscure life; but after a long interval of repose, his turbulent spirit prompted him to make a similar attempt in the ensuing reign; and having been overtaken in his flight from Burnswark in Dumfriesshire, he was doomed to pass the remainder of his days in the abbey of Lindores. In the month of March 1482, when he was already hovering on the borders, an act was passed against Douglas and his adherents; and a free pardon is there promised to all those who shall forsake this traitor and return to their allegiance, with the exception of "Alexander Jarding, Schir Richard Holland and Maister Patrik Haliburtoun, preistis, and vther sic like tratouris that ar sworne Inglismen, and remanys in Ingland."[1] As the name of Holland was never common in Scotland, and as this priest was so decided a partisan of the noble house of Douglas, it has been very plausibly conjectured that he was no other than the author of the Howlat.[2] Nor is it improbable that he had been the Earl of Moray's domestic chaplain, and that after his death he still followed the fortunes of the family. As the scenery of his poem is connected with the forest of Ternoway, and as it was written during the Earl's lifetime, it must have been written before the battle of Arkinholm.

Holland's Howlat is composed in the same stanza as the romances ascribed to Sir Hugh Eglintoun, and it exhibits the same conspicuous mixture of alliterative verse; it however displays a much smaller portion of energy, and upon the whole can only be considered as a tedious performance. The allegory,

described as in Annandale. (Balfour's Annales, vol. i. p. 184. Scott's Minstrelsey, vol. i. p. viii.) Arkinholm is situated in Eskdale, and now contains the town of Langholm. Of the origin of this town I find the following account in a printed "Petition of John Maxwell of Broomholm," dated in 1757, and signed by William Johnstone, afterwards better known by the name of Sir William Pulteney. "The ten merk-lands of Arkinholm or Langholm, with the pertinents, formerly belonged to the family of Nithsdale, and were by them feud out, upon the 4th of February 1628, to ten persons of the name of Maxwell, *pro indiviso*, for payment of 250 merks, and under an obligation that they should build houses of certain dimensions, in order to erect the burgh of barony of Langholm." This town is beautifully situated at the confluence of the rivers Ewes, Esk, and Wauchope.

[1] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 139.

[2] Laing's Preface to Holland's Howlat, p. viii.

which extends to a great length, and is not supported with sufficient congruity, is founded on the ancient fable of the jackdaw in borrowed plumage: here however we have a long narrative, with a curious exhibition of the feathered tribes under a great variety of civil and ecclesiastical characters. The howlat or owl being dissatisfied with his shape, resolves to solicit the peacock, who is the pope of birds, to recommend his case to the favourable consideration of Nature. His holiness convokes a general council in due form, and after a serious deliberation, they find it expedient to refer the matter to the temporal power: the swallow, in the character of a herald, having been despatched with letters to the eagle, who is the emperor of birds, finds his imperial majesty in the tower of Babylon; but for what reason he has chosen such a place of residence, does not appear. With a great train of attendants, he immediately begins his journey: the woodpecker, his pursuivant, displays the armorial bearings of the pope, the emperor of Almane, and the kings of France and Scotland. Here the allegory is manifestly discontinued; and we are next entertained with a long digression on the arms and exploits of the Douglases. When the conference takes place between the spiritual and the temporal powers, they come to the resolution of requesting a new form for the owl; and Nature now arrays him in the richest plumage, borrowed from the other birds. But the change in his feathers produces an unfavourable change in his disposition: his arrogance becomes so insupportable that the other fowls complain to Dame Nature, and he is speedily reduced to his original deformity. Having received this lesson of humility, he begins a moral descant on the danger of pride. But this brief analysis of the Howlat will afford a very inadequate idea of the multiplicity of characters and minuteness of incident which it exhibits. The most curious passage of the poem is perhaps the description of a banquet at which the pope entertains the emperor and his court. In this production most readers will be satisfied with finding a tedious allegory, concluding with a moral lesson; but under this allegorical veil one of Holland's editors persuades himself that he has discovered a secret and more refined meaning. Mr. Pinkerton is of opinion that the

following lines "certify the idea that the Houlat is no other than the King James II., a prince little deserving such a satire."[1]

> We cum pure, we gang pure, bath king and comon :
> Bot thow rewll the richtous, *thy crowne* sall ourere.

But this hypothesis apparently hangs by a very slender thread ; and the passage on which the ingenious writer places his chief reliance must have been very inaccurately transcribed from the manuscript. The genuine reading is not "thy crowne," but "thi rovme," that is, thy room or place. This inference must therefore fall to the ground with the rotten materials by which it is supported. Satirical allusions, which not one person in five thousand could perceive or suspect, would have been very idly introduced ; nor is it to be imagined that a poet of the fifteenth century would manage his satire with so cautious and delicate a hand. The satire of a ruder age is more apt to degenerate into downright invective and coarse abuse ; and if the trencher-chaplain of a family which had so frequently braved the royal authority, had been induced to compose a poem against the reigning king, his verses would have been distinguished by a sufficient portion of Fescennine licentiousness.

Holland seems to have enjoyed a considerable share of reputation as a poet : he is mentioned by Dunbar and Lindsay,[2] and a writer of his own time has introduced a curious allusion to the Howlat. Henry the Minstrel, in his description of the battle of Falkirk, represents two of the Scotish chieftains as engaged in an angry dispute for the honour of leading the vanguard ; and in the course of their altercations, Stewart addresses Wallace in the following terms :—

> Wallace, he said, thow takis the mekill cur ;
> So feryt it, be wyrkyng off natur,
> How a howlat complend off his fethrame,
> Quhill deym natur tuk off ilk byrd, but blame,
> A fayr fethyr, and to the howlat gaiff ;
> Than he throuch pryd reboytyt all the laiff.

[1] Pinkerton's Scotish Poems, reprinted from scarce Editions, p. xxix. Lond. 1792, 3 vols. 8vo.

[2] Dunbar's Lament for the Deth of the Makkaris. Lindsay's Prolog to the Complaynt of the Papingo.

Quhar off suld thow thi senye schaw so he?
Thow thinkis nan her at suld thi falow be.
This makis it, thow art cled with our men,
Had we our awn, thin war bot few to ken.[1]

One passage of the Howlat is remarkable, as containing a random prediction which has been unequivocally fulfilled; namely, that the King of Scotland, as the heir of St. Margaret and the representative of the ancient Saxon line, was to become the sovereign of all Britain :—

Our souerane of Scotland his armes to knawe,
Quhilk sall be lord and ledar
Our braid Brettane all quhar,
As Sanct Mergaretis air,
And the signe schawe.

A more recent prediction of the same event has been recorded by Sir James Melville :—"This puts me in remembrance of a tale that my brother Sir Robert told me, the time that he was busy dealing between the two queens to entertain their friendship and draw on their meeting at a place near York. One Bassintoun,[2] a Scotsman who had been a traveller, and was learned in high sciences, came to him and said, Good gentleman, I hear so good a report of you, that I love you heartily, and therefore cannot forbear to show you how that all your upright dealing and honest travel will be in vain: For whereas you believe to obtain advantage for your queen at the Queen of England's hands, you do but lose your time and your travel: For, first, they will never meet together, and, next, there will never be anything else but dissembling and secret hatred for a while, and at length captivity and utter wrack to our queen from England. My brother answered, he liked not to hear of such devilish views, nor yet would he in any sort credit them, as being false, ungodly, and unlawful for Christians to meddle with. Bassingtoun answered, Good Mr. Melvil, entertain not that harsh

[1] Henry's Wallace, p. 286, Jamieson's edit.

[2] James Bassinton, or Bassantin, is said to have been one of the greatest astronomers of the age in which he flourished. He was born, says Dr. Mackenzie, in the reign of James the Fourth, and received his academical education in the University of Glasgow. He afterwards travelled through various countries of Europe; and for several years taught the mathematics at Paris. He returned to Scotland in 1562, and died there in 1568. (Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 81.)

opinion of me. I am a Christian of your own religion, and fear God, purposeth never to cast myself on any of the unlawful arts that you mean, but so far as Melanchthon, who was a godly theologue, hath declared lawful, and written concerning the natural sciences which are lawful and daily read in divers Christian universities; in which, as in all other arts, God gives to some less and to others clearer knowledge: by the which knowledge, I have attained to understand, that at length the kingdom of England shall of right fall to the crown of Scotland, and that this instant there are some born who shall brook lands and heritages in England: But, alas, it will cost many their lives; and many bloody battles will be fought e'er things be settled or take effect; and by my knowledge, says he, the Spaniards will be helpers, and will take a part to themselves for their labour, which they will be loath to leave again."[1] The more ancient of these predictions is merely to be considered as a traditionary rumour, rather indicating what the people of Scotland ardently wished, than what they had any reasonable ground to expect; nor had such an impression any stronger connexion with a knowledge of future events, than the traditionary belief which so long prevailed among the Welsh and Portuguese, that King Arthur[2] and the good King Dom Sebastian were yet to resume the sceptres of their respective realms. But the prediction of Bassantin was evidently of a different denomination; for the exercise of strong natural sagacity is a species of divination. From the situation of the royal families of Scotland and England, it required no uncommon sagacity to perceive the probability of James succeeding his relation Elizabeth, nor was Bassantin the only individual who anticipated an event of this nature;[3] and with respect to the other particulars specified by Melville, a competent share of knowledge and reflection might enable him to form conjectures, which, having been in a great measure verified, are thus recorded as predictions, and which, if they had not been verified, would have been forgotten

[1] Melvil's Memoires, p. 92.

[2] Sic Britonum ridenda fides et credulus error
Arturum expectat, expectabitque perenne.
JOSEPHUS ISCANUS de Bello Trojano, lib, iii. v. 472.

[3] Bacon's Essays, p. 201. *Of Prophecies.*

as idle suggestions. For, as Lord Bacon has observed, "men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss."

A singular production entitled *Cockelbie's Sow*, apparently belongs to the same period. It is quoted by several of our early writers; but without any mention of the author's name; and must have been composed after the age of Chaucer, or at least after the publication of one of his poems, to which it contains an allusion. From the manner in which it is mentioned by Dunbar[1] and Douglas, who both wrote about the beginning of the sixteenth century, we may infer that it was then a popular work.

I saw Raf Coilyear with his thrawin brow,
Craibit Johne the Reif, and auld Cowkellpis sow,
And how the wran came out of Ailysay,[2]
And Peirs Plewman, that maid his workmen few,
Greit Gowmacmorne and Fyn Mac Cowl, and how
They suld be goddis in Ireland, as they say.[3]
Thair saw I Maitland upon auld Beird Gray,
Robene Hude, and Gilbert with the quhite hand,[4]
How Hay of Nauchtan[5] flew in Madin land.[6]

[1] In the General Satyre, which has been ascribed to Inglis as well as to Dunbar, we find the following allusion to this poem:—

Sic knavis and crakkaris, to play at cartis and dyce,
Sic halland-scheckaris, quhilk at Cowkelbyis gryce
Are haldin of pryce, when lymmaris do convene.

[2] Ailsa is a rocky isle near the coast of Ayrshire. "A huge rock it is," says Spotswood, "four miles in compass, wherein an old ruinous tower built on the ascent of the rock of difficult access." (Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 447.) It rises to a great height, and affords a place of resort to large flocks of solan geese. The story of the wren that came out of Ailsa was probably contained in some popular poem, in the form of an allegory.

[3] Here the reader may with some difficulty recognise Gaul the son of Morni, and the redoutable Fingal himself. In this early notice of Ossian's heroes, they are clearly represented as of Irish origin. Fingal is thus mentioned by Boyce, who flourished about the same period as the bishop of Dunkeld: "Conjiciunt quidam in hæc tempora Finanum filium Cœli (Fyn Mak Coul vulgari vocabulo) virum, uti ferunt, immani statura, venatoria arte insignem, omnibus insolita corporis mole formidolosum: circularibus fabulis, et iis quæ de Arthuro Britonum rege passim apud nostrates leguntur simillimum, magis quam eruditorum testimonio decantatum." (Scotorum Historia, f. cxxxiii. a. Paris [1527], fol.)

[4] Gilbert with the white hand was one of the companions of Robin Hood, and was likewise famous for his skill in archery. He is thrice mentioned in the Lytell Geste of Robyn Hode.

[5] Sir William Hay of Nachtane was one of the knights who followed the Earl of Mar when he fought in Flanders. He is repeatedly mentioned by Winton, and was probably celebrated in some tale of chivalry.

Lord of the Nachtane Schire William,
"Ane honest knycht and of gud fame,
A travalit knycht lang be-for than.

WINTON'S Cronykil of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 433.

[6] Douglas's Palice of Honour, part iii. st. 48. This stanza, as Mr. Pinkerton remarks, is wanting in the London edition, probably because the editor could make nothing of the strange names.

It is a rambling and strange performance; and the first fit, both in the matter and versification, bears a strong resemblance to some of the effusions of Skelton. The rest of the poem is not written in the same short and rugged verse, but is by no means remarkable for its harmony or smoothness. With much that is whimsical and much that is obscure, it contains some gleanings of curious information.

A merry man, named Colkelbie or Cockelbie, had a black sow, which he sold for the reasonable sum of three pence; and a detail of the various effects connected with the disbursement of this sum, constitutes the substance of the poem. One penny fell into a lake, and was afterwards found by a person who applied it to the purchase of a pig.

A harlot wynnit neir by,
And scho wald mak at mangery,
And had no substance at all,
Bot this pur pig stall,
To furniss a gret feist,
Withoutin stufe bot this beist;
And zit scho callit to hir cheir
On apostata freir,
A peruerst pardoneir,
And practand palmair,
A wich and a wobstare,
A milygant and a mychare,
A fond fule,[1] etc.

The enumeration of the different guests who were to partake of the harlot's feast, as well as the description of the entire scene, is not a little curious; and here we find the names of various songs or tunes which are not elsewhere recorded. But the pig, which was to furnish a banquet for all these guests, contrived to make its escape in the midst of the confusion, and lived to become a mighty boar.

This pig, quhen he a boir wes,
Off micht he grew maikles,
As to fecht for awant
With antelop or oliphant,

[1] Laing's Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland. Edinb. 1822, 4to.

Tiger, pard, or pantere,
Bull, wolf, or wyld bore,
With the awfull vnicorne,
Nor ony beist that wes borne.
For he faucht wichtly with Wad,
And with Melliager mad;
With Anterouss and Hercules
He did a battell in pres,
And huntit was in the plane
Befoir the goddes Diane,
Bot he eskapit harmeles,
And killit houndis in the chase.

In the second fit, this eccentric poet changes his measure, and regales us with a short romance of chivalry. Cockelbie, when one day walking by the side of a river, was accosted by a young and beautiful damsel, leading an old and blind man :—

Bot, suth to say, scho was not lyk to be
A worldly wicht, so wundir fair wes sche,
So weill nurtourit as scho had nurischeit bene
In closter or court, dochter to king or quene.
Innocentlie scho salust on hir kne
This carlage man, this foirsaid Colkelbie.

Cockelbie presented the second penny to this wayfaring man, and in return obtained the beautiful damsel, who in process of time became the wife of his son Flammislie, a strong and skilful archer. This promising youth having attracted the notice of his sovereign the king of France, was appointed a squire of the body, and afterwards arrived at higher honours :—

And Flammislie so weill in weiris him bare,
That the king eftir maid him erle ryall;
And a cornar of a comtie seuerall,
Nocht than invent inhabit as it lay,
Gaif him be seile heretable for ay,
Quhich he plenyssit with peple and polesy,
And namit it eftir him and his lady;
That is to say, Flammslie and Adria,
His hole erldome callit Flandria;
Flan, fra the first sillab of Flammislie,
And *dria*, drwin fra Adria the fre:
The quhich famous erldome of Flanderis ay
Haldis of Faukland and Duchpeir to this day.

Having thus disposed of the first and second penny, the poet proceeds to the history of the third. Cockelbie having stood as godfather to the son of his wealthy neighbour Bleirblowane, purchased twenty-four eggs with this penny, and offered them as a "godfadirly reward," but the child's mother rejected them with disdain :—

He said, I sall keip thame to my gud sone,
And had thame home to his place quhair he wone,
And chargeit sone his henwyfe to do hir cure,
And mak thame fruct: than to set thame scho fure;
Hir best brod hen, callit lady Pekle-pes,
And zoung Cokrell, hir lord and lemman wes,
Scho maid brud on thir eggis, that in schort space
Twenty-four chikkynis of thame scho hes,
Twelf-maill and twell famell be cronikulis cleir,
And quhat thay war with thair names we sall heir:
The first was the samyn Chantecleir to luke,
Of quhome Chaucer treitis into his buke,
And his lady Partlot, sister and wyfe.

The proceeds of this very moderate investment were managed with so much address and frugality, that in the space of fifteen years he had accumulated upwards of a thousand pounds, which he bestowed upon his godson, and thus laid the foundation of an immense fortune. In this original manner various moral lessons are conveyed; but the poem contains many curious details which we cannot now stop to consider. The author evidently possessed a peculiar vein of rustic humour, and has at least produced a very singular performance.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE reign of James the First produced a poet not less remarkable than the king himself. Of this poet the surname has not been recorded: he was long known by the familiar name of Blind Harry, which has lately been superseded by the more respectful appellation of Henry the Minstrel. Of his personal history the memorials are extremely scanty, and indeed are almost entirely comprised in the following passage of Mair:—"During my infancy, Henry, a man blind from his birth, composed a separate work on the exploits of Sir William Wallace; collecting such accounts as were then preserved by popular tradition, he exhibited them, in popular rhyme, which he had cultivated with success; but writings of this kind I only credit in part: the author was a person who, by the recitation of stories before men of the highest rank, earned his food and raiment, of which he was worthy."[1] From this notice it may be inferred that Henry composed his poem somewhat later than the middle of the fifteenth century. The period of Dr. John Mair's birth has not been ascertained; but as he was still provost of St. Salvator's College in 1549,[2] we can scarcely venture to adopt the conjecture of Crawfurd, that he was born so early as the year 1446;[3] if we even refer his birth to the year 1455, he must have attained the age of ninety-four; and as Buchanan mentions him as very old in 1524,[4] it is certain that his life must

[1] "Integrum librum Guilielmi Vallacei Henricus, a nativitate luminibus captus, meæ infantiæ tempore cudit, et quæ vulgo dicebantur carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, conscripsit (ego autem talibus scriptis solum in parte fidem impertior) qui historiarum recitatione coram principibus victum et vestitum, quo dignus erat, nactus est." (Major De Gestis Scotorum, f. lxxiiii. a. Paris, 1521, 4to.)

[2] Memoirs of George Buchanan, p. 374, 2d edit. Edinb. 1817, 8vo.

[3] Crawfordii Vita Joannis Majoris (p. x.) ante ejusd. Hist. Edinb. 1740, 4to.

[4] Buchananii Vita, ab ipso scripta, p. 2.

have been prolonged beyond the ordinary term. Infancy, if we adhere to the definition of the civil law, terminates with the seventh year. According to this computation, Henry must have been engaged in the composition of his work about the year 1460. His talents and patriotism do not appear to have been altogether unregarded; they attracted some notice from his sovereign James the Fourth, to whom he was indebted for occasional donations. The latest record of these donations belongs to the month of January 1492.[1]

If Henry was blind from his infancy, it is certainly not a little remarkable that he should have been enabled to reach so considerable a height of intellectual improvement. His education, so far as we can judge from the evidence of his own works, must have exceeded the common standard of that age; he occasionally introduces French words; and the chronicle of Blair, from which he professes to have derived his principal materials, was, according to his statement, compiled in Latin. A knowledge of the Latin language was then so generally confined to ecclesiastics, that we might perhaps have been inclined to suppose he belonged to some religious order, if the canonical impediment of his blindness did not in a great measure preclude this supposition.[2] He describes himself as a rustic man;[3] and his occupation was evidently that of a professed minstrel. He therefore belonged to an order of men which, during the ages of

[1] These gratuities are recorded in the Treasurer's Accounts, and we cannot help regretting that they were not more ample. Instead of a regular pension, we merely find occasional donations of five, nine, and eighteen shillings. The accounts from August 1492 to January 1494 have not been preserved; and the poet may perhaps have died in that interval.

[2] See Lancelotti Institutiones Juris Canonici, lib. i. tit. xxv. § 33, and Devoti Institutiones Canonicæ, lib. i. tit. vii. § 6.

[3] It is weill knawin I am a *burell* man.
HENRY'S Wallace, p. 860.

Burel, which is accidentally omitted in Dr. Jamieson's Glossary, signifies *rustic* or *boorish*. The same word is likewise used in Bishop Douglas's translation of Virgil:—

Weill may I schaw my *burell* bustious thocht.
P. 3.

Bure in thare handis lance, staiffis and *burrel* speris. P. 231.

It is thus explained in Ruddiman's excellent glossary to Douglas:—"Burell, bureill, *rustick, boorish, rude, plain.* Belg. *boer*; Teut. *bauer*, agricola, a *boor*; and perhaps because these boors are commonly big-bodied, it may signify *big, large*; whence comes our S. word *burly, i.e.*, big, vir grandis et obesus." The word *borel* is used by Chaucer; and by *borel folk* he evidently means laymen.

And more we seen of Cristes secret thinges,
Than *borel folk*, although that they be kinges.
Canterbury Tales, v. 7458.

A more ancient English poet speaks of *borel clarks*; that is, learned men not in orders:—

Then shal *borel clarks* be lashed you to blame
or greve;
And carpen not as they carpe nowe, and call
you domme hounde.
Pierce Plowman, f. 45. a.

chivalry, was very conspicuous in almost every civilized country of Europe; nor can we dismiss this subject without attempting to trace a faint outline of their history, so far as it seems to be connected with our present inquiries.

Bishop Percy has remarked that "the minstrels were an order of men in the middle ages, who subsisted by the arts of poetry and music, and sang to the harp verses composed by themselves or others. They also appear to have accompanied their songs with mimicry and action; and to have practised such various means of diverting as were much admired in those rude times, and supplied the want of more refined entertainment. These arts rendered them extremely popular and acceptable in this and all the neighbouring countries; where no high scene of festivity was esteemed complete, that was not set off with the exercise of their talents: and where, so long as the spirit of chivalry subsisted, they were protected and caressed, because their songs tended to do honour to the ruling passion of the times, and to encourage and foment a martial spirit."[1] The same ingenious writer has properly represented the minstrels as the genuine successors of those ancient bards who were still more conspicuous at an earlier period; but the general character of the minstrel appears to have been somewhat less dignified than that of the bard.[2]

[1] Percy's Essay on the Ancient Minstrels in England, p. xxi.

[2] The same order of men is still to be found in certain parts of the world, where civilisation has made but little progress. Among the Mandingo tribes of Africa, as Major Laing informs us, the *jelle*, or minstrels, earn their subsistence "by singing the mighty deeds and qualifications of rich men, who, in their opinion, have no faults. Like the minstrels of old, they are always at hand to laud with hyperbolical praise the landlord of a feast, and headman of a town." (Travels in Western Africa, p. 132. Lond. 1825, 8vo.) In Bondoo, Major Gray met with abundance of "*gowlahs*, or singing people, who in Africa always flock around those who have anything to give. Dozens of them," he adds, "would, at the same moment, set up a sort of roaring extempore song in our praise, accompanied by drums and a sort of guitar; and we found it impossible to get rid of them by any other means than giving something." (Travels in Western Africa, p. 112. Lond. 1825, 8vo.)

In one European nation, which retains much of its primitive simplicity, the race of minstrels is not yet extinct. The *quædamenni* of Island earn their subsistence by wandering from house to house, and reciting or rather chanting poems, which are sometimes composed by themselves, but more commonly by others. They are generally received as welcome visitors; being regarded as men of talents, whom fortune has not befriended, they everywhere experience kind treatment, but more particularly from the females of every cottage and farm-house. At the same time, they are often viewed as persons half-crazed; but the common people consider it as the craziness of genius, or sometimes as the consequence of a curse pronounced by some enemy. This, for example, was the case of the well-known Gudmund Begthorson, who died in the course of last century. During his infancy, his mother,

France was undoubtedly the country in which the minstrels appeared with the most distinct and reputable character. Mr. Ritson has taken considerable pains to represent the English minstrels as having never been much elevated above the condition of modern fiddlers;[1] and indeed his rancorous hostility to that most respectable prelate, the late Bishop of Dromore, has impelled him to seek every opportunity of controverting his statements. If we admit the author of Wallace to be an adequate specimen of the Scotish minstrels, we cannot consider them as falling under the general description of ignorant and vulgar men; we cannot easily suppose him to have been "entirely destitute of education," and it is evident that he possessed an uncommon share of genius. His profession, by whatever term it may have been described among his contemporaries, was doubtless that of a minstrel: he earned his subsistence by reciting stories before persons of rank; that these were metrical stories may be regarded as more than probable; and although it is not stated that he sang to the harp or other instrument, verses of his own composition, it may at least be taken for granted that some of the verses which he sang or recited were composed by himself. An ancient Scotish poet, if I rightly apprehend his

while bearing him in her arms, happened to engage in a violent altercation with another woman, who became frantic with rage, and cursed the child: it was in consequence of this imprecation that he was supposed to have been stinted in his growth, and to have been rendered a helpless cripple; for he was so infirm in his limbs that he never was able to walk. This lame minstrel composed as many poems as would fill several large volumes. Some of the wandering rhapsodists have committed to memory an immense number of verses, while others recite from a book. Each of them chants with his own peculiar cadence; and to a foreign ear their music is sufficiently monotonous. Those who betake themselves to this mode of life are distinguished by the appellation of *quæda;* thus, if the minstrel's name is Arni, he is commonly described as Quædi-Arni; that is, Arni of the songs. The *Rimur* which they chant are distributed into stanzas of three and four verses, each verse consisting of six or seven syllables; the metre is always trochaic, and alliteration is a principal ingredient in the poetry. They most frequently borrow their subjects from the chivalrous stories of the middle ages; and in their common stock there is an entire series of poems on the exploits of Charlemagne and his paladins. Some of their poems are founded on Syrian and other oriental fables; nor has the siege of Troy been forgotten by these minstrels of the north. It may be proper to remark that to every canto, consisting of two or three hundred stanzas, it is usual to prefix an introduction, unconnected with the professed subject of the poem; and in these excursive compositions, the poet, somewhat in the manner of Ariosto, deviates into various topics of discussion, and not unfrequently mingles the serious with the ludicrous. For the substance of this paragraph I am indebted to a learned native of Island, Thorleif Gudmundson Repp, A.M., assistant-keeper of the Advocates' Library.

[1] See Ritson's Observations on the Ancient English Minstrels, prefixed to Ancient Songs from the time of King Henry the Third to the Revolution, Lond. 1792, 8vo; and his Dissertation on Romance and Minstrelsy, prefixed to Ancient English Metrical Romances. Lond. 1802, 3 vols. 8vo.

meaning, represents harping and reciting as an inferior accomplishment, and a talent for poetry as the chief qualification of a minstrel :—

> To harpe or carpe, whare so thu gose,
> Thomas, thu sall hafe the chose sothely.
> And he said, harpynge kepe I none,
> Ffor tonge es chefe of mynstralsye.[1]

And in the subsequent quotation from another ancient poet, minstrels seem to be clearly distinguished from common musicians :—

> Quhen riallest most redowttit and he
> Magnificat crownit kingis in maieste,
> Princis, duces, and marquis curious,
> Erlis, barronis, and knychtis chevelrous,
> And gentillmen of he genolegye,
> As scutiferas and squieris full courtlye,
> Ar assemblit and sett in a ryell se,
> With namit folkis of he nobilite,
> Thair talk that tyme in table honorable
> Befoir lordingis and ladeis amiable,
> Is eft singing and sawis of solace,
> Quhair melody is the mirthfull maistrace
> Ermy deidis in auld dayis done afoir,
> Croniculus, gestis, and, mich moir,
> Manestralis amang mvsicianis, merely
> To haif hartis in hevinly armony.[2]

Of the Scotish minstrels very few authentic or satisfactory notices have been preserved. In the collection of laws said to have been promulgated by Kenneth the Second about the year 850, we find a particular clause relating to bards : "Fugitivos, bardos, otio addictos, scurras, et hujusmodi hominum genus, loris et flagro cœdunto."[3] This enactment is supposed to reduce the bards to the lowest station ;[4] and in order to evade such a conclusion, Salmasius and Warton propose, instead of *bardos*, to read *vargos* or *vergos*, a barbarous word signifying vagabonds. But the passage seems to admit of a more easy emendation : instead of reading with Boyce, "fugitivos, bardos," we ought apparently to read with Lesley, "fugitivos bardos ;"[5]

[1] Thomas off Ersseldoune, fytt ii. v. 5.
[2] Cockelbie's Sow, prohem. v. 1.
[3] Boethii Scotorum Historia, f. ccvii. a.
[4] Warton's Dissertation on the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe, p. xlviii.
[5] Leslæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 76.

and the law may then be understood as directed, not against the entire order of bards, but only against such members of that order as were not protected by great families, but led a loose and wandering life. Among the laws of Macbeth, who was slain in 1056, there are certain regulations of a similar tendency: it is there provided that minstrels and other idle vagrants shall be enjoined to betake themselves to some mechanical employment; and that if they neglect to comply with this injunction, they shall be treated like beasts of burthen, and compelled to draw the plough or cart.[1] I am very far from regarding these as the genuine laws of Kenneth and Macbeth: but several centuries must have elapsed since their fabrication; and the knowledge of the compiler may be supposed to have extended a little beyond his own age. We may therefore venture to infer that, at some early period of our history, bards or minstrels formed rather too numerous a class of the community, and that it had become necessary to restrain their wanderings by certain regulations. In Ireland the order of bards was at one period so numerous, that it is said, though certainly not with much probability, to have included one-third of the national population.[2] This necessity of imposing a restraint on certain idle and strolling classes of individuals, appears to have been felt long after the reign of Macbeth. According to some of our historians, Randolph Earl of Moray, who governed the kingdom during the minority of David the Second, was anxious to detect and punish such persons as gained a livelihood by practising the ludicrous arts; but in consideration of the important services which had been rendered during the wars by those who performed on the lyre or harp, they were specially exempted from the visitation of the law. Whether

1 "Histriones, ludiones, mimi, et reliquum otiosorum nebulonum genus, nisi regis peculiari gratia ita permittantur, ad aliquod artificium agendum coguntor: quod si recusent, nisi inepti ægritudine aut mutilatione fuerint, jumentorum more ad aratrum aut plaustrum trahendum adiguntor." (Boethii Scotorum Historia, f. cclix. b.) "Fulis, monstralis, bardis, and al other sic ydil pepil, bot gif they be specially licent be the kyng, salbe compellit to scik sum craft to wyn thair leuying. Gif thay refuse, yai salbe drawin lik hors in ye pluch and harrowis." (Bellenden's Hist. of Scotland, b. xiii. f. lxxiiii. a.)

2 "They were now," says Dr. Brown, "become a kind of sacred order or college; which was grown so numerous, that one-third of the kingdom is said to have ranked themselves in this class, as a safe asylum for idleness and hypocrisy." (Hist. of the Rise and Progress of Poetry, p. 211. Newcastle, 1764, 8vo.) See Dr. Campbell's Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland, p. 111. Dublin, 1789, 8vo.

they were merely harpers, or accompanied their instrumental music with martial songs, is left to conjecture; and before we spend much time in such conjectures, we must be better assured of the principal fact.[1] Henry has represented minstrels as attending the army of his hero; nor is it unworthy of remark that they seem to be placed on the same footing with heralds:

> Wa was the qweyn hyr trawaill helpyt nocht.
> The gold scho tuk, that thai had with hyr brocht;
> On-to the ost rycht frely scho it gayff,
> Till euirylk man that likyt for till haiff:
> Till menstraillis, harroldis, scho delt haboundandlé,
> Besekand thaim hyr frend at thai wald be.[2]

It is stated by Bishop Percy that the minstrels seem in many respects to have been upon the same footing as the heralds; and that both in England and on the Continent, the king of the minstrels, like the king at arms, was an usual officer in the courts of princes. We do not however find that such an officer belonged to the court of Scotland: but here, if we do not discover the office of king of the minstrels, we at least discover that of the king's minstrel. Under this denomination, Thomas Acarsone received a pension of ten pounds a year from Robert the Second.[3] During the minority of James the Fifth, we find James Grame described as the king's minstrel;[4] but as the same person is otherwise described as "the kingis cornar," we must suppose him to have been a common musician. Mr. Pinkerton avers that in 1474 minstrels were classed with knights and heralds, and allowed to wear silken apparel. The distinc-

[1] Boethii Scotorum Hist. f. cccxxii. a. Leskæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 251.

[2] Henry's Wallace, p. 214, Jamieson's edit. —"It is to understand," says Sir David Lindsay, "yat na menstrale sall weir his lord or princis armes as ane herrald dois. Bot he sall beir it ewin on ye middis of his breist, and wt ane round circle about ye scheild, qlks is callit ane besigell in armes, and yat is ye difference betuix offiris of armes and menstrallis, quhairby yai sall be knawin. Except alanerlie trumpettis, qlk is callit ye bell of armes, and he sall haue na besigell about ye schield, bot ane litill fassone of ane trumpet hingand at ye neyr newk of ane schield, quhairby he salbe knawin be vyer menstrellis." (Collectanea D. Davidis Lindesay. Adv. Lib. MS.) See Dr. Leyden's Dissertation on the Complaynt of Scotland, p. 65. From the tenor of this passage it seems evident that the author solely refers to common musicians.

[3] Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 95. "Et Thome Acarsane Ministrallo Regio, percipienti per annum pro tempore vitæ suæ pro suo servicio decem libras," etc. This entry belongs to the year 1377. In a subsequent entry, p. 111, the name is written Thomas Acressan.

[4] In the Treasurer's Accounts for the year 1517, the subsequent entry occurs: "Item, the third day of Aprile to James Grame, the Kingis Menstrale, xl s."

tion which the same writer has endeavoured to establish between minstrels and bards, I am inclined to view as somewhat arbitrary. The Scotish minstrels, he observes, "were first in the highest reverence; the superior ones reciting to the great and polite their own compositions, or those of other poets in the French language, till about the fourteenth century, when they began to use the common tongue; while the inferior order called bards entertained others. But in time a gradual change of the manners of chivalry brought neglect and contempt on the bards, and after on the minstrels."[1] Some of these positions would require to be strengthened by better evidence; and from a careful review of the scanty documents which we now possess, I am persuaded that the terms *bard* and *minstrel* were commonly applied in a very indefinite manner. That the bards, whatever meaning the word may have conveyed, were sometimes viewed in no very respectful light, is sufficiently evinced by an act of James the Second, passed in 1457; for here they are classed with sturdy beggars and "fenzeit fulys."[2] Sir David Lindsay likewise places beggars and bards on the same footing;[3] and a more ancient poet, the author of Cockelbie's Sow, after enumerating many other miscreants who attended the harlot's feast, adds

Ane vsurar, a bard,
Ane ypocrait in haly kirk,
A burn-grenge in the dirk.

Holland, in his allegorical poem of the Howlat, describes a Celtic bard with some degree of satirical humour:

Sa come the Ruke with a rerd, and a rane roch,
A bard out of Irland, with Banachadee:
Said, Gluntow guk dynyd dach hala mischy doch;
Raike hir a rug of the rost, or scho sall ryiue the.
Mich macmory ach mach mometir moch loch;
Set hir dovne, gif hir drink: quhat Dele alis the?

[1] Pinkerton's Essay on the Origin of Scotish Poetry, p. lxxiii.

[2] "Item the Iordis thinkis speidfull that in all justice ayris the kingis justice ger tak inquisicione of sornaris, bardis, maisterfull beggaris, or fenzeit fulys, and other banyss thame the cuntre, or sende thame to the kingis presone." (Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 51.) A former act of the same reign, 1449, directs an inquisition to be made "gif thar be ony that makis thaim fulis that ar nocht bardis, or sic lik vtheris rynnaris aboute." (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 36.)

[3] Blasphematouris, beggaris, and commoun bardis.
LINDSAY'S Works, vol. i. p. 307.

O Deremyne, O Donnall, O Dochardy droch ;
Thir ar his Irland kingis of the Irischerye :
O Krewlyn, O Conochor, O Gregre Makgrane,
The Schenachy, the Clarschach,
The Ben schene, the Ballach,
The Crekery, the Corach,
Scho kennis thaim ilkane.

However unintelligible some of the bard's expressions may be, his clamorous demand for meat and drink is not to be misunderstood. Dr. Winzet, who wrote about the era of the Reformation, uses the word *bard* as a term of reproach : "This I wryte, for sa mekle as sum blasphemous *bairdis* conuict in consceence be the inuincible treuth of this litle buke, wald draw the cunning auctour thairof in a contempt, and lichtlie be thare iesting, tanting, and rayling."[1] All these authorities represent the character of the bard in no very dignified point of view; but it is equally certain that when our ancestors speak of minstrels, we must frequently understand common musicians.[2] The minstrel who officiates at the rustic dance of Christis Kirk of the Grene, seems scarcely entitled to knightly honours :—

Tam Lutar wes thair menstral meit,
O Lord, as he could lanss !
He playit sa schill, and sang sa sweit,
Quhile Tousy tuke a transs :
Auld Lightfute thair he did forleit,
And counterfutted Franss ;
He used himself as man discreit,
And up tuke Moreiss danss.[3]

[1] Vincentius Lirinensis, sig. I. 3 b. Antwerp, 1563, 8vo.—"The rest of that day, and much also of the posterior sessions, were mispent with the altercations of that *bardish* man Mr. D. Dogleish and the young constable of Dundee." (Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 311.) The adjective *bardish*, which is thus applied by a learned writer, may however be derived, not from bard, but from *bardus*, a Latin adjective signifying dull or stupid, and supposed to be formed from βραδὺς, slow. See Sex. Pompeius Festus de Verborum Significatione, p. xxiii. edit. Scaligeri, 1575.

[2] "The word *minstrel* is of an extensive signification, and is applied as a general term to every character of that species of men whose business it was to entertain, either with oral recitation, music, gesticulation, and singing, or with a mixture of all these arts united." (Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iv. p. 127.)

[3] "Morrice or *Moorish* dances, rather of slow solemn movement, performed usually by *Gipsies* after the Moorish manner." TYTLER. —In the Treasurer's Accounts, 25th May 1590, we find this curious entry : "Item to the Egiptianis that dansit before the king in Halyrudhouse xl s." The preceding king, James the Fourth, bestowed a more liberal reward on some Spanish dancers : 5 April 1491. "Item the samin day to the Spanzeartis that dansyt befor the king on the cawsay of Edinburgh before the thesauraris lugeing, xxvij li."

And in his Satyre of ye three Estaitis, Lindsay evidently applies the term minstrel to a piper :—

> Let sum ga drink, and sum ga dance :
> Menstrell, blaw up ane brawll of France,
> Let se quha hobbils best.[1]

Semple, in his Legend of the Bishop of St. Androis, introduces no very honourable mention of minstrels and bards :—

> Bot yit the menstrallis and the baird is,
> Thair trowand to obtene rewardis,
> About his ludgene loudlie played ;
> Bot menstrallis, serving man and maid,
> Gat Mitchell in an auld pocke nucke.[2]

When the burgesses of Aberdeen visited Edinburgh in order to participate in the festivities attending the nuptials of James the Fourth, they presented ten pounds to the common minstrels by whom they were accompanied.[3] It is scarcely to be supposed that these minstrels of Aberdeen united the art of poetry with the art of blowing a bagpipe or scraping a fiddle. John, Duke of Albany, who was regent of Scotland during the minority of this king's successor, appears to have retained in his service Italian and French minstrels ; but these, it is sufficiently evident, were fiddlers, and other common musicians.[4]

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. p. 155.

[2] Scotish Poems of the Sixteenth Century, vol. ii. p. 329.

[3] Chalmers's Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare Papers, p. 617. Lond. 1797. 8vo. "Minstrels, or secular musicians, had become common in Scotland about this period. They possessed many privileges, and were held in high esteem by all ranks of people. Aberdeen, like other towns of consideration, had a proportion of them. Their business was to perform favourite pieces of music upon their instruments, in the course of their progress through the town, every morning at an early hour, and in the evening, after the ringing of the curfew bell. On all ceremonious occasions they attended the magistrates ; and the abbot and prior of Bon-Accord, at their festivals." (Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. i. p. 98.)

[4] The subsequent entries occur in the Treasurer's Accounts, for 1616 :—

"Item, the penult day of December, to Bontans, Franche menstrall, at my Lord Governourris command, in part of pament of his wagis, xl *s.*

"Item to v Italiane menstrallis, viz. Vincent, auld Juliane, younger Juliane, Anthone, and Bastiane Drummonth, and George Forest, Scotisman, with thame makand vj personis, lxxviij *li.* xv *s.*

"Item the samyn day, be my Lord Governouris command, to Bestiane Drummonth, ane of the said menstrallis, becauss he past with licence to vesy his frendis in Italc, to help his expenss, by his wagis abuff writtin, x *li.*

The French minstrel is soon afterwards described as a fiddler : "Item, the xxiiij day of Februar, to Bonecampus, fiddillar," etc. Under the date of 1626, we find a payment of fourteen shillings "to Franche Orry, menstrale."

And in this less dignified sense the term "minstrel" seems to have been most frequently employed, both in Scotland and England.[1] A late writer, who supposes the minstrels to have been once held in the highest reverence, remarks that "so early as the time of Dunbar we find them lightly reputed;" and in confirmation of the remark, he quotes the following lines from this poet:—

I will nae leisings put in verse,
Lyke as sum *janglers* do reherse.[2]

The Scotish word *jangler* may perhaps bear a close affinity to the French *jongleur;* but I am not aware of any instance in which it unequivocally denotes a minstrel.[3] In the passage now quoted, it apparently signifies a foolish prater; and Henryson seems to apply the word in a similar sense:—

Makyne, the nicht is soft and dry,
The wedder is warme and fair
And the grene woud rycht neir us by
To walk attour all quhair;
Thair may na *janglour* us espy,
That is to lufe contrair.

Instead of representing the character of the minstrels as contemptible, Dunbar seems disposed to exhibit them in a favourable light. At the Daunce performed in the presence of Satan, he is careful to inform us that no minstrel attended, and that only a single gleeman had found his way to the infernal regions:—

Na menstralls playit to thame but dowt,
For gle-men thair wer haldin out
Be day and eik by nycht;
Except a menstrall that slew a man;
Sa till his heretage he wan,
And enterit be breif of richt.

[1] In this sense the word occurs in the common version of the Bible: "But now bring me a minstrel. And it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him." (2 Kings iii. 15.)

[2] Ramsay's Ever-Green, vol. i. p. 202.

[3] But in the following passage of an ancient English poet, the phrase "janglers of jestes" seems to denote reciters of romances:—

Harlots for her harlotrye may haue of her goodes,
And iapers and iudgelers, and iangelers of iestes.

Pierce Plowman, f. 45. b.

It is however evident that two different events, altogether unconnected with each other, must have produced a very unfavourable influence on this class of men. The decline of chivalry introduced a material change in the general relations of society; and the noble art of printing, by rendering the stores of knowledge so much more accessible, gave a new impulse and a new direction to the intellectual pursuits of mankind. Those who were able to read, and to procure a supply of books, would feel less inclination to listen to the recitation of others; nor could the same class of romantic or amatory fictions be supposed to delight every successive age. Giants, dragons, and other monsters, were gradually extirpated: classical disquisition and theological controversy began to exercise some of the most powerful intellects; and the limits of science were better ascertained, and more widely extended. It must at length have become difficult for the minstrel to find an audience, willing to hear and able to reward his strains; and the last melancholy remnant of this profession must have degenerated into a condition not much removed from that of a modern ballad-singer.

Buchanan informs us that during his own time, the order of bards was still cherished and revered among all the Celtic tribes of these kingdoms; but he makes no allusion to the existence of minstrels in the southern provinces of Scotland.[1] After the lapse of a century, however, some slight vestiges of this ancient profession were still to be traced; though it had then subsided into a state too insignificant to claim much attention in the history of literature. "To our fathers' time and ours," says George Martine, "something remained, and still does, of this ancient order. And they are called by others, and

[1] "Horum et functio et nomen adhuc perseverat apud omnes nationes, quæ vetere Britannorum lingua utuntur; tantumque eis honos multis in locis habetur, ut et ipsi sacrosancti, et eorum domus pro asylo sint; et inter infestissimos hostes, ubi crudelissime et bellum geritur et victoria exercetur, perpetua sit eis eorumque comitibus ultro citroque commeandi potestas. Nobiles eos ad se ventitantes, et honorifice suscipiunt, et munifice dimittunt. Carmina autem non inculta fundunt; quæ rhapsodi proceribus, aut vulgo audiendi cupido, recitant, aut ad musicos organorum modos canunt." (Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Hist. p. 32.) Dempster avers that the bards maintained their reputation at a more recent period: "Clarissimæ sane etiamnum hodie eo nomine apud nostrates familiæ, et viri plerique eruditionis gloria præstantes." (Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum, p. 86.)

by themselves, *jockies;* who go about begging, and use still to recite the sluggornes of most of the true ancient surnames of Scotland from old experience and observation. Some of them I have discoursed, and found to have reason and discretion. One of them told me there were not now twelve in the whole isle; but he remembered when they abounded, so as at one time he was one of five that usuallie met at St. Andrews."[1]

Dr. Blackwell has remarked that the wandering life of a bard is of all others the most favourable to the acquisition of poetical sentiments. "It is exactly the easy, independent state, that is unawed by laws and the regards that molest us in communities; that knows no duties or obligations but those of hospitality and humanity; that subjects the mind to no tincture of discipline, but lays it open to all the natural sensations, with which the various parts of the universe affect a sagacious, perceptive, mimicking creature."[2] However accurate these observations may be, it is obvious that Henry's unfortunate privation of sight excluded him from many of the advantages incident to his mode of life. A person blind from his birth is entirely deprived of one of the most copious sources of knowledge; and many of the images of poetry are drawn from the appearances and vicissitudes of external nature. Notwithstanding this great and manifest disadvantage, he produced a work which maintained an extensive and uninterrupted popularity during the course of several centuries; and if we consider it as the composition of a man blind from his infancy, we cannot but be disposed to class its author among the most remarkable individuals recorded in the history of literature. He has conducted a very long narrative with an uncommon degree of spirit and vivacity. His accounts of battles and adventures are not very frequently diversified with picturesque descriptions

[1] Martine's State of the See of St. Andrews, p. 3. St. Andrews, 1797, 4to. Colville, who wrote at an earlier period than Martine, speaks of the minstrels in contemptuous terms: "Cum puer essem, audiveram balathrones ceraulas nomine Thomæ Rythmici fatidici numerare quædam carmina trivialia." (Oratio Funebris Exequiis Elizabethæ nuperæ Angliæ Reginæ destinata, p. 24. Paris, 1604, 8vo.) The passage may be thus translated: "When I was a boy, I had heard the beggarly *jockies* recite certain homely verses ascribed to Thomas the Rhymer, a reputed prophet." Colville terms them *ceraulæ*, because they were accustomed "to recite the sluggornes of most of the true ancient surnames of Scotland."

[2] Blackwell's Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, p. 113. Lond. 1735, 8vo.

of the works of nature or art; but such is the vigour of his mind and the fervour of his patriotism, that he rarely suffers the reader's attention to languish. His poem exhibits little more than a perpetual succession of adventures, marked with blood and slaughter; but the incidents themselves are sufficiently varied, and he proceeds to every new encounter with fresh and unabated ardour.

Lest these high commendations should be considered as the result of prejudice or prepossession, I shall produce the opinion of two unexceptionable judges of ancient poetry. It may scarcely be necessary to quote the earlier testimony of Dempster, who avers that Henry has enriched his native language with a vein of poetry superior to the age, and has even merited the appellation of a second Homer.[1] In the judgment of Warton, a more competent authority, he has adorned the language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical images, far superior to the age;—an encomium which this elegant critic likewise extends to Barbour.[2] "That a man *born* blind," says Mr. Ellis, "should excel in any science is sufficiently extraordinary, though by no means without example; but that he should become an excellent poet is almost miraculous; because the soul of poetry is description. Perhaps, therefore, it may be easily assumed, that Henry was not inferior in point of genius either to Barbour or Chaucer, nor indeed to any poet of any age or country; but it is our present business to estimate the merits of the work rather than the genius of the author. The similarity of the subject will naturally induce every reader to compare the life of Wallace with Barbour's life of Bruce: and on such a comparison, it will probably be found that Henry excels his competitor in correctness of versification, and, perhaps, in perspicuity of language (for both of which he was indebted to the gradual improvements which had taken place during near a century); but that in every other particular he is greatly inferior to his predecessor. The Bruce is evidently the work of a politician as well as poet. The characters of the king, of his brother, of Douglas, and of the Earl of Moray, are discriminated,

[1] Dempsteri Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 349.

[2] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 154.

and their separate talents always employed with judgment; so that every event is prepared and rendered probable by the means to which it is attributed; whereas the life of Wallace is a mere romance, in which the hero hews down whole squadrons with his single arm, and is indebted for every victory to his own muscular strength. Both poems are filled with descriptions of battles; but in those of Barbour our attention is successively directed to the cool intrepidity of King Robert, to the brilliant rashness of Edward Bruce, or to the enterprising stratagems of Douglas; while in Henry we find little more than a disgusting picture of revenge, hatred, and blood."[1]

It is indeed painful to contemplate the pictures which he too frequently exhibits; and it is to be hoped, and even presumed, that he imputes to his hero a degree of unrelenting ferocity which did not belong to his character. It is impossible to peruse this and other early productions, without being very forcibly impressed with the violent animosity which so unhappily subsisted between the two kingdoms. But in every case of injustice, the injured party stands in a more favourable situation; nor can it be doubted that the chief foundation of this animosity had been laid by the cold-blooded and profligate ambition of Edward the First. Before his attempt to usurp the Scotish crown, the two nations had never manifested the same persevering hostility: when national quarrels arose, and such quarrels may always be expected to arise, they were seldom of long duration; but his scheme of reducing this independent kingdom to the condition of a conquered province,[2] and the barbarian cruelty with which his favourite scheme was prosecuted, produced an impression so deep and durable that it is still to be traced in the lonely glens of Scotland. A Scotish peasant, when he mentions the revered name of Wallace, is apt to begin a fierce invective against his murderer Edward Longshanks; and this particular invective is sometimes followed by a general averment that the English were always cruel and

[1] Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Poets, vol. i. p. 354.

[2] A manly race,
Of unsubmitting spirit, wise and brave,
Who still through bleeding ages struggled hard
(As well unhappy Wallace can attest,
Great patriot hero! ill-requited chief!)
To hold a generous undiminish'd state.
THOMSON'S Autumn, v. 895.

treacherous.[1] The ambition and the crimes of this ruthless king have now been buried in his grave for upwards of five hundred years. If their memory is still so freshly retained in the country to which the minstrel belonged, it cannot excite much surprise that at this remote period he should have drunk so deep in the bitter cup of resentment.[2]

Of eminent poets who at an advanced period of life have by various accidents been deprived of sight, the catalogue is extensive; but few poets blind from their infancy have ever been distinguished by the intrinsic merit of their compositions. Another example, however, occurs in the case of the late Dr. Blacklock, who at the age of five months was rendered totally blind by that once-fatal disease the small-pox. The series of conjectures by which Mr. Spence has endeavoured to account for this poet's capability of producing animated descriptions of external nature, can scarcely be regarded as altogether satisfactory;[3] when such a faculty is displayed by a poet blind from his infancy, it is chiefly to be referred to his accurate recollection of the descriptive language employed by other poets; but what notions he himself attaches to words expressive of the visible qualities of objects, it might be extremely difficult for a blind poet to explain. The following is Henry's description of morning:—

> The mery day sprang fra the oryent,
> With bemys brycht enlumynyt the occident.
> Eftir Titan Phebus wp rysyt fayr;
> Heich in the sper the signes maid declayr.

[1] "The story of Wallace," says Burns in his letter to Dr. Moore, "poured a tide of Scottish prejudice into my veins, which will boil along there till the flood-gates of life shut in eternal rest."

[2] "Hear," says Dr. Ferguson, "the peasants on different sides of the Alps, and the Pyrenees, the Rhine, or the British channel, give vent to their prejudices and national passions; it is among them that we find the materials of war and dissension laid without the direction of government, and sparks ready to kindle into a flame, which the statesman is frequently disposed to extinguish. The fire will not always catch where his reasons of state would direct, nor stop where the concurrence of interest has produced an alliance. 'My father,' said a Spanish peasant, 'would rise from his grave, if he could foresee a war with France.' What interest had he, or the bones of his father, in the quarrels of princes?" (Essay on the History of Civil Society, p. 34. Edinb. 1767, 4to.)

[3] Spence's Life of Blacklock (sect. iv.) prefixed to his Poems. Lond. 1756, 4to. Burke has remarked that "few men blessed with the most perfect sight can describe visual objects with more spirit and justness than this blind man." (Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful, p. 324, edit. Lond. 1812. 8vo.)

Zepherus began his morow courss,
The swete wapour thus fra the ground resourss ;
The humyll breyth doun fra the hewyn awaill,
In euery meide, bathe fyrth, forrest, and daill ;
The cler rede amang the rochis rang,
Throuch greyn branchis quhar byrdis blythly sang,
With joyus woice in hewynly armony.[1]

Such strokes of description as this passage contains must have been produced by recollecting the terms which former poets had applied to similar subjects ; but it cannot be supposed that some of those terms conveyed the same meaning to Henry and to his readers ; to the words *bright* and *green* he could not possibly affix any definite signification. With respect to colours, his associations, like those of Blacklock, must have been chiefly of the moral kind.

His description of Wallace's encounter with the spectre of Fawdoun is highly picturesque. This unfortunate individual, whose fidelity was strongly suspected, had recently been slain by the Scotish chief, while they were flying before an English blood-hound[2] and a formidable detachment of English soldiers. Wallace retreated to Gask Hall with only thirteen of his followers, and was afterwards left alone in this solitary castle.

Quhen he allayne Wallace was lewyt thar,
The awfull blast aboundyt mekill mayr.
Than trowit he weill thai had his lugyng seyne ;
His suerd he drew of nobill mettall keyne,
Syn furth he went quhar at he hard the horne.
With-out the dur Fawdoun was him beforn,
As till his sycht, his awne hed in his hand ;
A croyss he maid, quhen he saw him so stand.
At Wallace in the hed he swaket thar ;
And he in haist sone hynt [it] by the hair,
Syne out agayne at him he couth it cast ;
In-till his hart he was gretlye agast.
Rycht weill he trowit that wäs no spreit of man ;
It was sum dewill, at sic malice began.

[1] Henry's Wallace, Jamieson's edit. p. 206.

[2] This blood-hound had been reared in Cumberland, in the barony of Gilsland, and had formerly hunted its human prey in the neighbouring dales of Esk and Liddal.

In Gyllisland thar was that brachell brede,
Seker off sent to folow thaim at fiede :
So was scho vsyt on Esk and on Ledaill ;
Quhill scho gat blude no fleyng mycht awaill.

He wyst no waill thar langar for to bide,
Vp throuch the hall thus wicht Wallace can glid,
Till a closs stair ; the burdis raiff in twyne,
Fyftene fute large he lap out of that in.
Wp the wattir sodeynlye he couth fair ;
Agayne he blent quhat perance he sawe thair.
Him thocht he saw Faudoun that hugly syr ;
That haill hall he had set in a fyr ;
A gret raftre he had in-till his hand.
Wallace as than no langar walde he stand,
Off his gud men full gret meruaill had he,
How thai war tynt throuch his feyle fantasé.
Traistis rycht weill all this was suth in deide,
Suppose that it no poynt be of the creide.[1]

The death of good Sir John Graham, and the subsequent retreat of Wallace from the field of Falkirk, are thus related :

The worthy Scottis weryt fer on bak,
Sewyn akyrbreid, in turnyng off thair bak.
Yeit Wallace has thir twa delyueryt weill
Be his awn strenth and his gud suerd off steill.
The awfull Bruce amang thaim with gret mayn,
At the reskew, thre Scottismen has he slayn :
Quham he hyt rycht, ay at a straik was ded.
Wallace preyst in tharfor to set rameid.
With a gud sper the Bruce was serwyt but baid :
With gret inwy to Wallace fast he raid ;
And he till him assonyeit nocht for thi.
The Bruce him myssyt as Wallace passyt by,
Awkwart he straik with his scharp groundyn glaive,
Sper and horsscrag in-till sondyr he draive ;
Bruce was at erd or Wallace turned about.
The gret battaill off thousandis stern and stout,
Thai horssyt Bruce with men off gret walour.
Wallace allayn was in that stalwart stour.
Graym pressyt in, and straik ane Ingliss knycht,
Befor the Bruce, apon the basnet brycht.
That seruall stuff and all his othir weid,
Bathe bayn and brayn, the nobill suerd throuch yeid.

[1] Henry's Wallace, Jamieson's edit. p. 72. —Of this passage there is a judicious enough defence, in the preface to Andrew Hart's edition, 1620, 8vo. "The other doubt is of the vision that befell him at the Gask-Hall, the which is no derogation to the trueth of this history: For the booke affirmeth not these thinges to haue beene done in verie deed, but onely that it appeared so. And it was no maruell, that a man of so great spirite beeing nowe left alone in a desert place, in a great perplexitie, and ouer-wearied with excessiue trauels, long forwaked without any refreshment of meat or drinke all the day before, that he was rauished with such foolish visions or fantasies."

The knycht was dede ; gud Graym retornet tyte.
A suttell knycht tharat had gret despyt,
Folowyt at wait, and has persawyt weill
Gramys byrny was to narow sumdeill,
Be-neth the waist, that closs it mycht nocht be.
On the fyllat full sternly straik that sle,
Persyt the bak, in the bowalys him bar,
Wyth a scharp sper, that he mycht leiff no mar.
Graym turnd tharwith, and smate that knycht in teyn,
Towart the wesar, a litill be-neth the eyn.
Dede off that dynt, to ground he duschyt doun.
Schyr Jhon the Graym swonyt on his arsoun.
Or he our com, till pass till his party,
Feill Sotheroun men, that was on fute him by,
Stekit his horss, that he no forthir yeid ;
Graym yauld to God his gud speryt, and his deid.
Quhen Wallace saw this knycht to dede was wrocht,
The pytuouss payn so sor thryllyt his thocht,
All out off kynd at alteryt his curage ;
His wyt in wer was than bot a wod rage.
Hys horss him bur in feild quhar so him lyst ;
For off him selff as than litill he wyst.
Lik a wyld best that war fra reson rent,
As wytlace wy in to the ost he went,
Dingand on hard ; quhat Sotheroun he rycht hyt,
Straucht apon horss agayn mycht neuir syt.
In-to that rage full feill folk he dang doun ;
All hym about was reddyt a gret rowm.
Quhen Bruce persawyt with Wallace it stud sa,
He chargyt men lang sperys for to ta,
And sla hys horss, sa he suld nocht eschaip.
Feyll Sotheroun than to Wallace fast can schaip,
Persyt his hors with sperys on athir syd ;
Woundys thai maid that was bathe deip and wyd.
Off schafftis part Wallace in sondyr schayr,
Bot fell hedys in till his horss left thair.
Sum wytt agayn to Wallace can radoun,
In hys awn mynd so rewllyt him resoun ;
Sa for to de him thocht it no waslage.
Than for to fle he tuk no taryage ;
Spuryt the horss, quhilk ran in a gud randoun
Till his awn folk was bydand at Carroun.
The sey was in, at thai stoppyt and stud ;
On loud he cryt and bad thaim tak the flud ;
" To gyddyr byd, ye may nocht loss a man."
At his commaund the watter thai tuk than.

Hym returned, the entré for to kepe,
Quhill all his ost was passyt our the depe;
Syn passyt our, and dred his horss suld faill,
Hym selff hewy cled in-to plait off maill;
Set he couth swom, he trowit he mycht nocht weill:
The cler watter culyt the horss sumdeill;
Atour the flud he bur him to the land,
Syn fell doun dede, and mycht no langar stand.[1]

Henry is the most ancient Scotish poet who has presented us with an extensive specimen of the heroic couplet; a species of versification which Chaucer had cultivated with eminent success. But to this form of composition he does not uniformly adhere; for he sometimes admits alternate rhymes, as well as an extension of the same assonance beyond the limits of a couplet. The additional ornament of alliteration he does not entirely reject, and he occasionally heightens his poetical expression by the aid of a skilful inversion. Upon the whole, he may be pronounced an excellent versifier: many of his lines possess much of the smoothness of modern English verse.

But he appears to have been less ambitious of being considered as a great poet, than as a faithful recorder of the exploits of the Scotish hero. His credit as a historian is not however of the highest order. "A few examples," says Lord Hailes, "may serve to prove the spirit of this romancer: He always speaks of Aymer de Valloins, Earl of Pembroke, as a false Scottish knight. He mentions Sir Richard Lundin as one of Wallace's coadjutors at the battle of Stirling; whereas he was of the opposite party; and indeed was, to all appearance, the only man of true judgment in the English army. B. 6, c. 4, he says, that one Sir Hew, sister's son of Edward I., went, in the disguise of a herald, to Wallace's camp, was detected, and instantly beheaded; that Wallace surprised Edward's army at Biggar, and with his own hand slew the Earl of Kent; that many thousands of the English fell in the engagement, particularly the second son of the king of England, his brother Sir Hew, and his two nephews."[2] A more glaring inaccuracy might perhaps have been detected: he avers that

[1] Henry's Wallace, p. 292, Jamieson's edit. [2] Hailes's Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 299.

Sir John Graham had been knighted by Alexander the Fierce; whereas it is evident that the knight was not born till about a hundred and forty years after that king's death. But every reader who considers the unfortunate situation of the author must be disposed to treat his errors with lenity; and we may safely presume that many of the inaccuracies which appear in his work are not to be ascribed to the poet, but to his copyists. He could not himself commit his verses to writing, nor are we certain that he could always procure a skilful amanuensis. In some instances, a slight emendation will restore sense or consistency to the most exceptionable passages: thus if we read Alexander the *Thryd* instead of the *Ferss*, and in some antique hands the letters are not very dissimilar, a gross anachronism is completely removed. But after every reasonable indulgence has been extended to him, a sufficient number of errors must still be imputed to the poet himself: many portions of his work present an air of complete romance, though at the same time it is highly probable that all or most of these romantic tales had long been floating on the stream of popular tradition, and had been gradually swelling in their progress.[1] The poet's imagination was apparently warmed by his familiarity with the romances of chivalry, a very material branch of the literature of that age: Dr. Jamieson has remarked that his acquaintance with these compositions may be inferred from his style of writing; and the history of Wallace is repeatedly illustrated by the history of Arthur and Charlemagne:—

> Wallace ansuerd; Off your gold rek we nocht;
> It is for battaill that we hydder socht.
> We had leuir haiff battaill off Ingland,
> Than all the gold that gud king Arthour fand
> On the mont Mychell, quhar he the gyand slew:
> Gold may be gayn, bot worschip is ay new.[2]

The principal source from which he professes to have derived his materials was a Latin chronicle, chiefly compiled by John Blair, who had been the school-fellow of Wallace, and was after-

[1] The authenticity of that part of Wallace's history which is connected with his exploits in France, is strenuously maintained by another poet. (Adamson's Muses Threnodie, p. 72.)

[2] Henry's Wallace, p. 197, Jamieson's edit.

wards one of his most faithful adherents. According to the poet's account, Blair was a brave and worthy clerk, who had formerly resided at Paris, apparently as a member of the university :—

Maister Jhone Blayr was offt in that message,
A worthy clerk, bath wyss and rycht sawage.
Lewyt he was befor in Paryss toune,
Amang maistris in science and renoune.
Wallace and he at hayme in scule had beyne :
Sone eftirwart, as verité is seyne,
He was the man that pryncipall wndirtuk,
That fyrst compild in dyt the Latyne buk
Off Wallace lyff, rycht famouss of renoune ;
And Thomas Gray persone off Libertoune.
With him thai war, and put in story all,
Offt ane or bath, mekill of his trauaill.[1]

Of Thomas Gray, parson of Liberton, he has not given so particular an account; but Blair is frequently mentioned in the course of his narrative, and is not less commended for his courage than for his learning. When Wallace's ship was attacked by John of Lynne, Gray acted as steersman, and the other worthy chaplain fought with distinguished bravery :—

Bot maister Blayr spak nothing off himsell,
In deid off armes quhat awentur he fell :
Schir Thomas Gray, was than preyst to Wallace,
Put in the buk how than hapnyt this cace.[2]

Such acts of clerical prowess were by no means rare : Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, more eminent as a warrior than as a theologian, was one of the principal leaders of the English chivalry at the Battle of Falkirk; and at a much later period the Archbishop of St. Andrews was slain at the Battle of Flodden. Towards the conclusion of his narrative, Henry introduces a further account of this original chronicle :—

Off Wallace lyff quha has a forthar feill,
May schaw furth mair with wit and eloquence ;
For I to this haiff don my diligence,
Eftyr the pruff geffyn fra the Latyn buk,
Quhilk Maister Blayr in his tym wndyrtuk,

[1] Henry's Wallace, p. 83, Jamieson's edit. [2] *Ibid.* p. 308.

In fayr Latyn compild it till ane end;
With thir witnes the mar is to commend.
Byschop Synclar than lord was off Dunkell,
He gat this buk, and confermd it him sell
For werray trew; thar-off he had no dreid,
Himselff had seyn gret part off Wallace deid.
His purpos was till haue send it to Rom,
Our fadyr off kyrk tharon to gyff his dom.
Bot Maister Blayr, and als Schir Thomas Gray,
Eftir Wallace thai lestit mony day,
Thir twa knew best off gud Schir Wilyhamys deid,
Fra sexteyn yer quhill nyne and twenty yeid.[1]

In the course of his narrative, he frequently refers to "the buk" and to "myn autor;" nor is it easy to conceive that he should thus venture to quote a book which had no existence except in his own imagination. This chronicle, however, is no longer to be found, and it is therefore impossible to ascertain with what fidelity he may have availed himself of such materials. Among other works on the same subject, Sir Robert Sibbald published a meagre chronicle under the title of certain Relations of Arnald Blair, a monk of Dunfermline, and chaplain to Sir William Wallace;[2] and it has been supposed, though certainly not very plausibly, that this is the identical work so frequently quoted by the minstrel.[3] We are assured that, after Wallace's death, John Blair retired to the Abbey of Dunfermline, and having, according to a common practice, changed his name, devoted himself to the monastic life. This account, which contains nothing in itself improbable, would however require more legitimate evidence; especially as the Relations ascribed to Arnald Blair seem merely to consist of undigested transcripts from the Scotichronicon. Another authority quoted by Henry is "Conus cornykle."[4] Perhaps there may be some reason to suspect that this chronicle has only been introduced by a mistake of the transcriber; though, as will speedily appear, the name may easily be supposed of Scotish

[1] Henry's Wallace, p. 358, Jamieson's edit.

[2] De Gestis illustrissimi Herois Gulielmi Vallæ, Scotiæ olim Custodis, Collectanea varia. Edinb. 1705, 8vo.

[3] Sibbaldi Commentarius in Relationes Arnaldi Blair, p. 14.

[4] And Wilyame als, as Conus cornykle beris on hand.—Jamieson's edit. p. 2. Instead of this long line, the edition of Hart substitutes the following:—

And William too, as chronicles beares on hand.

origin. Conn, a Scotish writer of the seventeenth century, avers that the exploits of this hero had been celebrated in distinct volumes,[1] and it appears that great "gestis of his gud dedis" had been composed so early as the time of Winton.[2]

The numerous impressions of Henry's Wallace sufficiently testify the extent of its popularity.[3] The earliest edition that has yet been traced was printed by Lekprevik in 1570, and another made its appearance in 1594. After many impressions in black letter, the poem was again reprinted in 1790,[4] this edition, which contains a few illustrations by the late Mr. Scott of Perth, is professedly published from the ancient manuscript in the Advocates' Library; but the transcript seems to have been executed with no uncommon degree of fidelity. From the same manuscript, written in the year 1488, and containing both the Bruce and Wallace, the most valuable edition that has yet appeared, was published by Dr. Jamieson, in 1820.[5] During the last century, Henry's poem has been most commonly known among his countrymen through the unfavourable medium of a modernized copy, published by William Hamilton of Gilbertfield.[6] We are informed "that nothing more was intended in this new edition, than making the original copy intelligible, putting the book in modern Scots, and making the numbers run smooth and easy;" but the editor or translator has executed his task in such a manner, that the strains of the minstrel are for the most part completely vulgarized. This work still continues to be widely circulated; and it is perhaps to be regretted that the common people have not access to cheap editions of Barbour and Henry, containing no alterations except in the ortho-

[1] "Miranda plane sunt quæ de hoc viro traduntur: cujus gesta justis voluminibus nostrates descripserunt." (Conæus de duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos, p. 70. Romæ, 1628, 4to.

[2] Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 102.

[3] The meikle tasker, Davie Dallas,
Wis telling blads of William Wallace:
My mither bad hir second son say
What he'd by heart of Davie Lindsay.
PENNECUIK'S Streams from Helicon,
p. 75. Edinb. 1723, 8vo.

[4] Perth, 1790, 3 vols. 12mo.

[5] The Bruce and Wallace, etc. Edinb. 1820, 2 vols. 4to.

[6] A new edition of the Life and heroic Actions of the renoun'd Sir William Wallace, etc. Glasgow, 1722, 8vo. A similar task was undertaken at a more recent period, but the publication did not extend beyond the first book. It bears the following title:—"Wallace, a Poem, in eleven books; composed about the year 1361, by Henry, a blind Bard; and now translated into modern English poetry, from the most authentic and correct Edition, by Anthony Macmillan. With a Dissertation, etc. In four volumes. Vol. i. Edinb. 1799, 12mo.

graphy; but as their poems have a tendency to excite or foster a strong antipathy to the *Southrons,* a short preface, conveying an antidote against this infection, might be a suitable addition to each.

The valour and patriotism of Wallace have frequently been celebrated in more recent times. Few heroes have enjoyed a more ample share of domestic renown:[1] the glory which accrued to him in his own age can scarcely be considered as impaired in the present; his memory is still consecrated in the national songs, and is still incorporated with the national feeling. This perpetuated fame, this freshness of reputation, may perhaps be in some measure imputed to his being the hero of such a country, small, mountainous, and romantic; where the inhabitants being few in number, each individual is more disposed to regard him as an object of personal gratitude and of general admiration.[2]

[1] A fair renown, as years wear on,
Shall Scotland give her noblest son:
The course of ages shall not dim
The love that she shall bear to him.

BAILLIE's Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters, p. 78.

[2] The eulogy of this hero has been pronounced by Boyce in the following sententious manner: "Hunc finem habuit vir clarissimus, ac solus ea tempestate liber, cum omnes reliqui turpissime Anglo sese ac patriam in servitutem dedissent." (Scotorum Historia, f. cccx. a.)

CHAPTER IX.

THE number of Scotish poets whose names have been recorded, is sufficient to impress us with a very favourable opinion of the national love of literature. Where the writers of poetry were so many, the readers could not be few. In these colder and more barren regions, poetry seems less congenial to the mind; nor are we entitled to expect the same fertility of fancy that distinguishes some warmer climates. At Oxford, as Sir William Jones informs us, there is a manuscript containing the lives of a hundred and thirty-five of the finest Persian poets; and a collection of the select verses of five hundred and forty-nine Turkish poets was published at Constantinople about the beginning of the seventeenth century.[1] Of such literary exuberance Scotland cannot indeed boast; but the number of our ancient poets must be regarded as comparatively ample. Many of them however are only known by name; if any of their works are now preserved, they can no longer be traced to their respective authors.

Sir John Rowll, one of the pope's knights, is the author of a strange performance, described by the title of Rowlis Cursing. Of this surname however there were two different poets, who are both commemorated in Dunbar's Lament for the Deth of the Makkaris :—

> He hes tane Rowll of Abirdeen,
> And gentill Rowll of Corstorphyne.

One of them is likewise celebrated by Sir David Lindsay among other Scotish poets of reputation :—

> Quintyn, Merser, Rowl, Henderson, Hay, and Holland,
> Thocht thay be deid, thair libellis bene levand,
> Quhilkis to reherse makith reidaris to rejose.[2]

[1] Jones's Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations (pp. 190, 197) subjoined to his *Poems* Oxford, 1772, 8vo.

[2] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 285.

Whether the poem under our consideration was written by Rowll of Aberdeen or gentle Rowll of Corstorphine, we have no means of ascertaining; but from the poem itself it appears that the author was a vicar, and that he must have written about the year 1500.

> And now of Rome that beiris the rod,
> Vndir the hevin to lowse and bind,
> Paip Alexander that we do fynd
> With that power that Petir gaif.[1]

Lord Hailes has remarked that "the pontiff here meant must have been the virtuous Alexander VI. who was *Divine Vicegerent* from 1492 to 1503."[2] As Dunbar's Lament was printed in 1508, Rowll must have died between that date and the commencement of Alexander's pontificate. His poem is a rambling and ludicrous denunciation against those who had stolen his fowls and other property; and if he was the vicar of Corstorphine, his geese and apples must have been exposed to divers contingencies, on account of their convenient distance from the metropolis. Of this poem, consisting of two hundred and sixty-two verses, the following specimen may enable the reader to form an adequate judgment:—

> Godis braid malesone nixt thay haif,
> And all the blude about thair hairt;
> Blak be thair hour, blak be thair pairt,
> For fyve fat geiss of Sir Johne Rowlis,
> With caponis, henis, and vthir fowlis;
> Resettaris and the preve steilaris;
> And he that saulis saisis and dammis,
> Beteich the Devill thair guttis and gammis,
> Thair toung, thair teith, thair handis, thair feit,
> And all thair body haill compleit,
> That brak his yaird, and stall his frutt,
> And raif his erbis vp be the rute,
> His quheit, his aitis, his peiss, his beir,
> In stowk or stak to do him deir,
> In barne, in houss, in kill, or mill,
> Except it had bene his awin will;
> His wow, his lamb, his cheis, his stirk,
> Or ony teyndis of haly kirk,

[1] Laing's Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland.

[2] Hailes's Notes on Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 272.

And all that lattis, vnkind or knawin,
The vicar to dispone his awin.
Kirkland hay or gerss to awaill
Be thair support, red, or counsall:
Now cursit and wareit be thair werd
Quhill thay be levand on this erd;
Hungir, sturt, and tribulatioun,
And nevir to be without vexatioun,
Of vengance, sorrow, sturt, and cair,
Graceless, thriftles, and threid-bair;
All tymes in thair legasie
Fyre, sword, watter, and woddie.

David Steele, another rhyming priest, is frequently mentioned, though not in terms of the highest respect, as the writer of a poem known by the title of "The Ryng of the Roy Robert." It is preserved in the Maitland MSS. at Cambridge, and has been printed with no appearance of accuracy.[1] It contains a magnanimous and indignant answer, supposed to have been returned by Robert the Third, when Henry the Fourth of England summoned him to do homage for his kingdom. The author's patriotism may be more safely commended than his poetry, which is of a very inferior order. With his personal history we are entirely unacquainted. Although the title of Dean is prefixed to his name, this circumstance is not sufficient to prove that he was a dignitary of the church; for by the courtesy of the age, that title was very promiscuously bestowed. This fact is unequivocally attested by Sir David Lindsay, in whose works we trace many curious vestiges of domestic manners:—

The pure priest thinkis he gettis na richt,
Be he nocht stylit lyke ane knicht,
And callit Schir afore his name,
As Schir Thomas and Schir Williame:[2]

[1] It appeared under the title of "Robert the III. King of Scotland his Answer to a Summonds sent by Henry the IV. of England, to do Homage for the Crown of Scotland." Edinb. 1700, 8vo. It is reprinted in Watson's Collection, part iii. and in two different publications of Mr. Laing, Fugitive Scotish Poetry, and Early Metrical Tales.

[2] I am informed by my learned friend Mr. Repp that a similar practice still prevails in Island, where a clergyman is always honoured with the title of Sira or Séra. This practice does not appear to have been generally adopted till after the Reformation, which took place between 1530 and 1540: before that period, a clergyman was usually styled Prestr, that is, Priest, the title being always subjoined to the name, as Gisli Prestr, Arni Prestr. It is this clerical title that constantly appears in the Sagas. But after the Reformation, we find every clergyman, under the rank of a bishop, described as Sira, with the title prefixed to the name, as Sira Arni, Sira Gudmund; and the omission of this title is by the common people considered as an instance of great rudeness.

All monkis, ye mey here and se,
Are callit Denis for dignite ;
Howbeit his mothir milk the kow,
He mon be callit Dene Androw.[1]

Quintin Shaw is mentioned by Douglas and Lindsay as a poet of eminence.[2] Kennedy styles him his "cousin Quintene and his commissar;" and he may likewise have been a native of Carrick, a district of Ayrshire. One of his poems, consisting of six stanzas, and containing "Advice to a Courtier," has recently been printed;[3] nor is another known to be extant.

Patrick Johnston, who is likewise enrolled by Dunbar in his catalogue of deceased poets, is the author of a short but curious poem entitled, "The thre deid Powis," or the three death's heads. These *powis* deliver lessons of morality in such strains as the following :—

O sinfull man ! into this mortall sé,
Quhilk is the vaill of mournyng and of cair,
With gaistly secht behold our heidis thré,
Oure holkit eine, oure peilit powis bair.
As ye ar now, into this warld we wair,
Als fresche, als fair, als lusty to behald :
Quhan thou lukis on this suth-exemplair,
Off thy self, man, thow may be richt unbald.

For suth it is that every man mortall
Mon suffer deid and dé, that lyfe has tane ;
Na erdly stait aganis deid ma prevaill ;
The hour of deth and place is uncertane,
Quhilk is referrit to the hie God allane :
Herefoir haif mynd of deth, that thow mon dy ;
This fair exampill to sé quotidiane ;
Sowld cause all men fro wicket vycis flé.

O wantone yowth ! als fresche as lusty May,
Farest of flowris, renewit quhyt and reid,
Behald our heidis, O lusty gallands gay !
Full laithly thus sall ly thy lusty heid,
Holkit and how, and wallowit as the weid,
Thy crampland hair, and eik thy cristall ene ;
Full cairfully conclud sall duleful deid,
Thy example heir be us it may be sene.[4]

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. iii. p. 103.
[2] Douglas's Palice of Honour, part ii. st. 17. Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 285.
[3] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems. vol. i. p. 133.
[4] Hailes's Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 139.

Mersar is commemorated by Dunbar as a poet of peculiar merit :—

He has reft Mersar his indyte,
That did in luve so lyfiy wryte,
So schort, so quick, of sentens hie ;
Timor mortis conturbat me.

At present he is only known as the author of a few stanzas, printed under the title of "Perrell in Paramours." This is an effort too inconsiderable to enable us to ascertain how far he may have merited the commendation bestowed upon him by Dunbar and Lindsay. His verses however are not destitute of spirit :—

Allace ! so sobir is the micht
Of wemen for to mak debait,
Incontrair menis subtell slicht,
Quhilk ar fulfillit with dissait ;
With tressone so intoxicait
Are mennis mowthis at all ouris,
Quhome in to trest no woman wait ;
Sic perrell lyis in paramouris.

Sum sueris that he luvis sa weill,
That he will dé without remeid,
Bot gife that he hir friendschip feile,
That garris him sic langour leid ;
And thocht he haif no dout of speid,
Yet will he sich and schaw grit schouris,
As he wald sterfe in-to that steid ;
Sic perrell lies in paramouris.

Athis to suere, and giftis to hecht,
Moir than he has thretty fold,
And for hir honour for to fecht,
Quhill that his blude becommis cold ;
But fra scho to his willis yold,
Adew, fair weill thir somer flouris,
All grows in glass that semit gold ;
Sic perrell lyis in paramouris.

Than turnis he his saill annone,
And passis to ane uthir port ;
Thocht scho be nevir so wo-begone,
Hir cairis cauld ar his confort.

Heirfoir I pray in termys schort,
Chryst keip thir birdis bricht in bowris
Fra fals luvaris, and thair resort;
Sic perrell lyes in paramouris.[1]

Clapperton, whose Christian name is likewise unknown, is the writer of a song, entitled "Wa worth Marriage,"[2] which, according to Mr. Pinkerton, is possessed of the most exquisite neatness and simplicity. The author's history is totally unknown; but from the language and style of this production we may conjecture that he was contemporary with Dunbar. Among other poets enumerated in Dunbar's Lament, are the following nine:—Sir Mungo Lockhart of Lee, Sir John Ross, John Clerk, James Affleck, Alexander Trail, Ettrick, Heriot, Brown, and Stobo. A poem by one Clerk, and another by Walter Brown, are preserved in Bannatyne's MS.; but there is reason to apprehend that the compositions of all the rest are irretrievably lost. With respect to the first of these poets, says Lord Hailes, "I do not find this name in the family of Lee, one of the most ancient and honourable in Scotland. I suspect that the person here meant has been some priest officiating in a chapel belonging to that family."[3] It is probable that Sir John Ross was likewise a secular priest, one of the pope's knights. To him Dunbar addresses his first invective against Kennedy. The gentle Stobo is mentioned as recently dead; and his name occurs in one of Kennedy's invectives:—

Pas to my commisare and be confest,
Cour before him on kneis, and cum in will;
And syne ger Stobo for thy lyf protest.[4]

A Scotish poet named Dundas is very fiercely attacked in some of the doggrel rhymes of Skelton, an English poet who died in the year 1529. George Dundas is celebrated by Boyce as eminently skilled in the Greek and Latin languages, and as a distinguished ornament of the College of Montaigu in the University of Paris: the historian subjoins that he was at length appointed master of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem

[1] Hailes's Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 156.

[2] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. i. p. 135.

[3] Hailes's Notes on Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 271.

[4] Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. i. p. 355.

within the kingdom of Scotland;[1] but whether this was the same individual, it is not so easy to determine. It appears that the poet had written some verses in derision of the English, and, among other topics of ridicule, had animadverted upon their long tails :—

Skelton laureat
After this rate
Defendeth with his pen
All English men,
Agayn Dundas
The Scottishe asse,
Shake thy tayle, Scot, lyke a cur,
For thou beggest at euery mannes dur.
Out Scot, I say,
Go shake thy dog, hey,
Dundas of Galaway,
With thy versyfying rayles
How they haue tayles.[2]

Nor had this topic of ridicule escaped the notice of the French poets. In one of the Norman *chansons* of an early date, the following verses occur :—

Du pays de France ils sont tous deboutez :
Il n'est plus mot de ces Engloys couez.[3]

Cretin, a Norman poet who flourished about the beginning of the sixteenth century, employs the same expression :—

Si acquerrez loz,
Rides, angelotz,
L'or, la chair, et l'os
Des Angloys couez.[4]

Some of the anonymous poems of this period cannot be passed without a cursory notice. One of these is a song of fifteen octave stanzas, described by the title of *Tayis Bank*, and appa-

[1] "Georgius Dundas, Græcas atque Latinas literas apprime doctus, equitum Hierosolymitan orum intra Scotorum regnum magistratum multo sudore, superatis æmulis, posteà adeptus." (Boethii Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitæ, p. 61, edit. Edinb. 1825, 4to.)

[2] Pithy pleausaunt and profitable Workes of Maister Skelton, p. 273, edit. Lond. 1736, 12mo.

[3] Choix de Chansons Normandes, subjoined to the Vaux-de-Vire d'Olivier Basselin, p. 172. Caen, 1821. 8vo.

[4] M. du Bois, the editor of Basselin, has remarked, "Quand les Anglois furent chassés de Paris au commencement d'Avril 1436, les Parisiens leur criaient avec dérision et malice, *A la queue, à la queue!*" P. 206.

rently not more modern than the age of Dunbar. According to Mr. Weber, it appears to have been composed in honour of a lady bearing the name of Margaret, and belonging to the noble family of Perth; and this lady he conjectures to have been the eldest daughter of Sir John Drummond.[1] She is said to have been privately betrothed to James the Fourth, to whom she bore a daughter, who was married to the Earl of Huntley.[2] But this conjecture seems to be fallacious; for it must chiefly rest on no better foundation than the following passage:—

> This myld meik *mergrite*,
> This perle polist most quhyt,
> Dame Natouris deir dochter discreit,
> The dyamant of delyt.[3]

The word *mergrite* ought apparently to be considered, not as a proper name, but as a common noun, derived from the Latin *margarita*, and, according to the term immediately subjoined, denoting a pearl. The eyes of this fair damsel are of crystal, and she herself is first a rose, afterwards a pearl and a diamond; but certainly her name was neither Diamond, Pearl, nor Rose. To connect her with the family of Perth, or any family whatsoever, no other circumstance, except the mention of Scotshaw and the banks of Tay, is to be traced in the poem itself; which contains no allusions to a high lineage, or to a royal lover. This poem, as the following specimen may serve to evince, is not without some portion of grace and harmony:—

> Rasing the birdis fra thair rest,
> The reid sone raiss with rawis;
> The lark sang lowd, quhill lycht mycht lest,
> A lay of luvis lawis;
> The nythingall woik of her nest,
> Singing, the day vpdawis;
> The mirthfull maveis merriest
> Schill schowttit throw the schawis.
>
> All flouris grew that firth within,
> That man cowth haif in mynd;
> And in that flud all fische with fyn,
> That creat wer be kynd:

[1] British Bibliographer, vol. iv.

[2] Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 361.

[3] Laing's Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland, No. 10.

Vndir the rise the ra did ryn,
Our ron, our rute, our rynd ;
The don deir dansit with a dyn,
And herdis of hairt and hynd.

Wod winter with his wallowand wynd,
But weir, away wes went :
Brasit about with wyld wodbynd
Wer bewis on the bent.
Allone vnder the lusty lynd
I saw ane lusum lent,
That fairly war so fare to fynd
Vndir the firmament.

The exquisite poem entitled "The murning Maiden" seems from internal evidence to have been composed during the age of Dunbar. The first verse is quoted by Wedderburn, whose work was printed in the year 1549.[1] "This piece, for the age it was written," observes Mr. Pinkerton, "is almost miraculous. The tender pathos is finely recommended by an excellent cadence. An age that produced this might produce almost any perfection in poetry."[2] The plan of the poem is however inferior to its execution. Under the green leaves, the poet overhears a beautiful maiden lamenting the inconstancy of her lover. As she carries a bow in her hand, with broad arrows under her belt, he pretends to make her a prisoner for having slain the "deer of pride ;" but he afterwards addresses her in a more tender strain, and she suddenly transfers her affections to this new admirer.

[1] Complaynt of Scotland, p. 100.

[2] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. ii. p. 424.

CHAPTER X.

AMONG the Scotish poets who flourished during the latter part of the fifteenth century, Robert Henryson merits a conspicuous place. He is described as chief schoolmaster of Dunfermline, and this is almost the only particular of his life that is sufficiently ascertained. According to one writer, he was a notary-public, as well as a schoolmaster; and another is inclined to identify him with Henryson of Fordell, the father of James Henryson, who was king's advocate and justice-clerk, and who perished in the fatal Battle of Floddon. This very dubious account seems to have originated with Sir Robert Douglas, who avers that Robert Henryson appears to have been a person of distinction in the reign of James the Third, and that he was the father of the king's advocate. Douglas refers to a certain charter, granted by the abbot of Dunfermline in 1478, where Robert Henryson subscribes as a witness;[1] but in this charter he certainly appears without any particular distinction, as he merely attests it in the character of a notary-public. A later writer is still more inaccurate when he pretends that the same witness is described as Robert Henryson of Fordell:[2] in this and other two charters which occur in the Chartulary of Dunfermline, he is described as a notary-public, without any other addition.[3] That the notary-public, the schoolmaster of Dunfermline, and the proprietor of Fordell, were one and the same individual, is by no means to be admitted upon such slender and defective evidence. Henryson, or, according to its more modern and less correct

[1] Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p. 518.

[2] Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. i. p. 88.

[3] Chartularium de Dunfermline, f. 64, a. Robert Henryson is a witness to other two charters which occur in the same record, f. 63, a. b. His only mark of distinction is that of being designated *Magister*, while the names of several other witnesses appear without this title. He was perhaps a master of arts.

form, Henderson, was not at that period an uncommon surname. It not however improbable that the schoolmaster may have exercised the profession of a notary. While the canon law prevailed in Scotland, this profession was generally exercised by ecclesiastics,[1] and some vestiges of the ancient practice are still to be traced; every notary designates himself a *clerk* of a particular diocese;[2] and by the act of 1584, which, under the penalty of deprivation prohibited the clergy from following the profession of the law, they still retained the power of making testaments;[3] so that we continue to admit the rule of the canon law, which sustains a will attested by the parish priest and two or three witnesses.[4] If Henryson was a notary, it is highly probable that he was also an ecclesiastic, and if he was an ecclesiastic, he could have no legitimate offspring. The poet, in one of his works, describes himself as "ane man of age;" and with respect to the period of his decease, it is at least certain that he died before Dunbar, who, in his Lament, printed in the year 1508, commemorates him among other departed poets:—

> In Dunfermling he hes tane Broun,
> With gude Mr. Robert Henrysoun.

The compositions of Henryson evince a poetical fancy, and, for the period when he lived, an elegant simplicity of taste. He has carefully avoided that cumbrous and vitiated diction which had begun to prevail among the Scotish as well as the English

[1] The clergy being the only persons knowing in the laws civil and canon, were most qualified to examine these notaries, and it is probable that in all the kingdom there were none so fit. Besides, in the ancient times, and when the above act was made [that is, in 1469], none other than the clergy either aspired to this office, or were admitted to it." (Ars Notariatus: or, the Art and Office of a Notary-Public, p. 18, 2d edit. Edinb. 1762, 12mo.)

[2] It is indeed true that the word *clericus* is generally applied to a man of learning, whether an ecclesiastic or a layman. "*Scholares*," says a learned civilian, "qui et ipsi quarundam regionum consuetudine *clerici* appellantur quamvis non sint theologiæ studiis addicti." (Rittershusii Jus Justinianeum, p. 171, edit. Argent. 1629, 4to.) See likewise Hearne's glossary to Robert of Gloucester, v. *clerc*. But clerk, subjoined to a person's name as his proper designation, always denoted a clergyman.

[3] "That nane of thame presentlie being in that functioun, or that salbe admittit thairto in tyme cumming, sall in ony wayis accept, vse, or administrat ony place of judicature in quhatsumeuir ciuill or criminall caussis, not to be of the College of Justice, commissionaris, aduocatis, court clerkis, or notaris in ony materis (the making of testamentis onlie exceptid), vnder the pane of depriuatioun from thair benefices, levingis, and functioun." (Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 294.)

[4] Decretal. Gregorii IX. lib. iii. tit. xxvi. cap. x.

poets. To his power of poetical conception he unites no inconsiderable skill in versification: his lines, if divested of their uncouth orthography, might often be mistaken for those of a much more modern poet. His principal work is a collection of Fables, thirteen in number.[1] They are written in a pleasing manner, and are frequently distinguished by their arch simplicity; but in compositions of this nature, brevity is a quality which may be considered as almost indispensable; nor can it be denied that those of Henryson generally extend to too great a length. The collection is introduced by a prologue, and another is prefixed to the fable of the Lyon and the Mouse. The latter prologue exhibits a curious specimen of the literature of that age. In a delightful morning of June, the poet wanders into a wood, and reclines himself, in the midst of flowers, under the shade of a hawthorn; having made the sign of the cross, he falls asleep, and fancies himself to be accosted by a person of a very goodly appearance:—

His goun was of a claith als quhyt as mylk,
  His chymers wer of chamelet purpure brown,
His hude of skarlet, bordowrit with silk,
  In heckle wyss, untill his girdle down;
  His bonat round wes of the auld fassoun:
His heid was quhyt, his een was grene and gray,
With lokar hair, quhilk our his shulderis lay.

A row of paper in his hand he bair,
  A swanis pen stickand under his eir,
An ynkhorn, with pretty gilt pennair,
  A bag of silk all at his belt he weir:
  Thus wes he guldlie graithet in his geir;
Of stature large, and with a feirful face,
Evin quhair I lay he come a sturdy pace,

And said, God speid, my sone; and I was faine
  Of that couth word, and of his company.
With reverence I salust him agane,
  Welcom, fader; and he sat down me by
  Displeis you not, my gude maister, thocht I
Demand your birth, your facultie, and name,
Quhy ye com her, or quhair ye dwell at hame.

[1] The morall Fables of Esope, the Phrygian: compyled into eloquent and ornamentall Meeter, by Robert Henrisoun, Schoolemaster of Dvmfermelling. Newlie reuised and corrected. Edinburgh, printed by Andro Hart, 1621, 8vo.

My sone, said he, I am of gentle blude,
  My natall land is Rome, withouttin nay;
And in that town first to the scoullis yude,
  And science 'ther' studied mony a day:
  And now my winning is in hevin for ay.
Esope I hecht; my wryting and my wark
Is couth and kend to mony cunnand clerk.

O maister Esope, poet laureat,
  God wat ye are full deir welcum to me:
Are ye not he that all thir fables wrate,
  Quhilk in effect, suppois they fenyeit be,
  Are full of prudens and moralitie?
Fair sone, said he, I am that samyn man.
God wait gif that my hairt was merry than.[1]

Æsop, who is thus represented as a Roman and a poet, it is impossible to recognise as the reputed author of the fables written in Greek prose.[2] Mr. Tyrwhitt, who was equally familiar with classical and with Gothic literature,[3] has remarked that in many passages quoted from Æsop by writers of the middle ages, it is not easy to ascertain what author they mean. "The

[1] Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. i. p. 91.

[2] Walter Burley gives the following curious account of Æsop:—"Esopus adelphus poeta claruit tempore Cyri regis Persarum. Fuit autem Grecus de civitate Attica; vir ingeniosus et prudens, qui confinxit fabulas elegantes, quas Romulus postmodum de Greco transtulit in Latinum: in quibus docet quid observare debent homines; et, ut vitam hominum ostendat et mores, inducit aves, arbores, bestiasque loquentes, pro probanda cujuslibet fabula: quas qui diligenter inspexerit inveniet joca apposita, quæ et risus misceant, et ingenium acuant." (Burlæus de Vita et Moribus Philosophorum et Poetarum, cap. xxiiii.) The history of Æsop is involved in much obscurity. A critical account of his life has however been written by Mezeriac; whose *Vie d'Esope* is reprinted with the learned author's *Commentaires sur les Epistres d'Ovide*. Haye, 1716, 2 tom. 8vo. With respect to the genuineness of the fables ascribed to Æsop, he expresses some doubt:—"Je n'asseure pas pourtant que celles que Planudes a publiées, soient les mesmes qu'Æsope avoit escrites; tant parce que Planudes nous a donné trop de sujets de douter de sa foy, qu'à cause qu'en son recueil il a obmises plusieurs fables que des anciens et graves autheurs attribuent à Æsope."—P. 68. Vavassor was of opinion that the work was entirely composed by Planudes, but that this work must have gleaned from tradition as well as from books, various apologues ascribed to the ancient sage. (De Ludicra Dictione, p. 20. Paris, 1658, 4to.) Bentley undertook to prove that these fables were not written by Æsop; and he was even persuaded that "'tis very uncertain if Æsop himself left any fables behind him in writing."—P. 445. But this latter opinion, as well as several others contained in his Dissertation upon the Fables of Æsop, has not been so generally adopted. See Tyrwhitt's Dissertatio de Babrio, p. 25. Lond. 1776, 8vo. Maximus Planudes could neither be the author of the fables, nor of the life of Æsop, which is commonly attributed to him: he was still living in the year 1353; but the Florentine ms. containing the fables, and nearly the same biographical narrative, appears to have been written about the beginning of the preceding century. See the preface to Fabulæ Æsopicæ, cura et studio Francisci de Furia. Florent. 1809, 2 tom. 8vo.

[3] "Ex iis qui nunc critici in Britannia numerantur, dubito an quisquam ullo sit genere laudis Thomæ Tyrwhitto anteponen-

name of Æsop," he adds, "was chiefly appropriated to the anonymous author of sixty fables in Elegiac metre, which were printed in Nevelet's collection, under the title of *Anonimi Fabulæ Æsopicæ*. I have seen an edition of them in 1503, by Wynkyn de Worde, in which they are entitled simply, *Esopi Fabulæ*. The subjects are for the most part plainly taken from Phædrus: but it may be doubted whether the author copied from the original work of Phædrus, or from some version of it into Latin prose. Several versions of this kind are still extant in MS. One of very considerable antiquity has been published by Nilant, Lugd. Bat. 1709, under the title of *Fabulæ Antiquæ*, together with another of a later date, which is pretended to have been made from the Greek by an Emperor Romulus, for the use of his son Tiberius."[1]

Henryson's "Taill of the uponlandis Mous and the burges Mous" may be regarded as one of his happiest efforts in this department. The same tale, which is borrowed from Æsop, has been told by many other poets, ancient as well as modern. Babrius has despatched the story of the two mice in a few verses,[2] but Henryson has extended it over a surface of seven quarto pages. To this fable of the Scotish poet, it does not, in the opinion of Dr. Nott, seem improbable that Sir Thomas Wyatt might have been indebted, if not for the idea of his first satire, at least for the manner of telling the story.[3] [Henryson's "Tale of Sire Chantecleire and the Foxe" is evidently borrowed from Chaucer's "Nonnes Preestes Tale."] From these apologues some curious fragments of information may be gleaned. That of "The Dog, the Wolf, and the Scheip," contains all the particulars of an action before the consistory court, and probably as complete an exposure of such transactions as the author could prudently hazard. The proceedings of the

dus. Non enim vanis incertisque conjecturis lectorem ludit, aut ingenii ostentatione lascivit, sed criticæ disciplinæ severitate usus, sententiam cujusque scriptoris amplectitur, ex eaque in omnes partes versata facile elicit quod prius scriptum erat. Has autem tam felices emendationes non, qui multorum mos est, Thrasonico flatu jactat, sed summa modestia viris eruditis judicandas proponit." (Bibliotheca Critica, vol. ii. par. iv. p. 85.)

[1] Tyrwhitt's Glossary to Chaucer, v. Ysope, p. 280.

[2] Babrii Fabularum choliambicarum, libri tres, collegit Fr. Xav. Berger, p. 9. Monachii, 1816, 8vo.

[3] Nott's Essay on Wyatt's Poems, p. cxliii. In the Appendix, No. vi. Dr. Nott has printed Henryson's fable from the Harleian MS.

ecclesiastical court seem about this period to have been felt as a common grievance; and they are still more decidedly reprehended in the Satyre of Sir David Lindsay, whose works furnish many valuable contributions to the history of manners and customs.

Another conspicuous production of Henryson is the Testament of Cresseid, which is a sequel to Chaucer's Troylus and Creseyde, and is commonly printed among the works of that poet.[1] It presents many vestiges of a poetical imagination; and if it is not free from incongruities, they are such as may be expected in all, or nearly all, the literary reliques of that age. It commences with the following stanzas:—

Ane doolie sessoun to ane cairfull dyte
Suld correspond and be equivalent.
Richt sa it wes quhen I began to wryte
This tragedie: the wedder richt fervent,
Quhen Aries, in middis of the Lent,
Schouris of haill can fra the North discend,
That scantlie fra the cauld I micht defend.

Yit nevertheles within myne oratur
I stude, quhen Titan had his bemis bricht
Withdrawin doun, and sylit under cure,
And fair Venus, the bewtie of the nicht[2]
Uprais, and set unto the west full richt
Hir goldin face, in oppositioun
Of god Phebus, direct discending doun.

Throwout the glas hir bemis brast sa fair,
That I micht se on everie syde me by
The northin wind had purifyit the air,
And sched the mistie cloudis fra the sky:
The froist freisit, the blastis bitterly
Fra pole Artick come quhisling loud and schill,
And causit me remufe aganis my will.

For I traistit that Venus, luifis quene,
To quhome sum tyme I hecht obedience,
My faidit hart of lufe scho wald mak grene:
And therupon with humbill reverence
I thocht to pray hir hie magnificence.

[1] This poem is quoted as Chaucer's, by Mr. Strutt, in his view of the Dress and Habits of the People of England, vol. ii. p. 279, and by Mr. Douce in his Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. i. pp. 15, 487.

[2] Quene of the sey and bewtie of the nicht. Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 208.

Bot for greit cald as than I lattit was,
And in my chalmer to the fyre can pas.

Thocht lufe be hait, yit in ane man of age
It kendillis nocht sa sone as in youtheid,
Of quhome the blude is flowing in ane rage,
And in the auld the curage doif and deid;
Of quhilk the fire outward is best remeid.
To help be phisike quhair that nature faillit,
I am expert, for baith I have assalit.

I mend the fyre, and beikit me about,
Than tuik ane drink my spreitis to comfort,
And armit me weill fra the cauld thairout:
To cut the winter nicht, and mak it schort,
I tuik ane quair, and left all uther sport,
Writtin be worthie Chaucer glorious,
Of fair Cresseid and worthie Troylus.[1]

Resuming the narrative where it is discontinued by Chaucer, he proceeds to relate the punishment of the false Cresseid.[2] Having been abandoned by Diomede, she returns to the house of her father Calchas in a despondent and querulous condition. She retires to an oratory, and bitterly upbraids Venus and Cupid for having permitted her to sink into such hopeless misery:—

Quhen this was said, doun in ane extasie,
Ravischit in spreit, intill ane dreame sho fell,

[1] The Testament of Cresseid, compylit be M. Robert Henryson, Sculemaister in Dunfermeling. Imprentit at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris, 1593, 4to.

[2] "For the author of this supplement," says Sir Francis Kinaston, "called the Testament of Creseid, which may passe for the sixt and last booke of this story, I have very sufficiently bin informed by Lr. Tho. Ereskin, late earle of Kelly, and divers aged schollers of the Scottish nation, that it was made and written by one Mr. Robert Henderson, sometimes chiefe schoole-master in Dumfermling, much about the time that Chaucer was first printed and dedicated to King Henry the 8th by Mr. Thiane, which was neere the end of his raigne. This Mr. Henderson wittily observing that Chaucer in his 5th booke had related the death of Troilus, but made no mention what became of Creseid, he learnedly takes upon him in a fine poeticall way to expres the punishment and end due to a false unconstant whore, which commonly terminates in extreme misery." See the Loves of Troilus and Creseid, written by Chaucer; with a Commentary by Sir Francis Kinaston, p. xxx. Lond. 1796, 8vo. Kinaston had translated into Latin rhyme two books of Chaucer's Troylus and Creseyde, and published them under the title of Amorum Troili et Creseidæ libri duo priores Anglico-Latini. Oxoniæ, 1635, 4to. He completed his version of the poem, together with a commentary; and his manuscript at length came into the possession of Mr. Waldron, who announced his intention of committing it to the press, but did not find encouragement to proceed beyond a short specimen.

And be appearance hard quhair scho did ly
Cupide the king ringand ane silver bell,
Quhilk men micht heir fra hevin unto hell;
At quhais sound befoir Cupide appeiris
The sevin planetis discending fra thair spheiris.

The seven planets, or the seven divinities who preside over them, are successively introduced, and are portrayed with some strong but grotesque touches. The picture of Saturn, although it presents some disgusting features, is drawn with a bold and vigorous hand:—

His face frosnit, his lyre was lyke the leid,
His teith chatterit, and cheverit with the chin,
His ene drowpit, how sonkin in his heid,
Out of his nois the meldrop fast can rin,
With lippis bla, and cheikis leine and thin:
The ice shoklis that fra his hair doun hang
Was wonder greit, and as ane speir als lang.

Atouir his belt his lyart lokkis lay
Felterit unfair, ouirfret with froislis hoir,
His garmound and his gyes full gay of gray,
His widderit weid fra him the wind out woir:
Ane busteous bow within his hand he boir,
Under his girdill ane flashe of felloun flanis,[1]
Fedderit with ice, and heidit with hailstanis.

The attributes of Mercury, as described by Henryson, cannot easily be reconciled with classical notions. He is properly characterized as "richt eloquent and full of rethoric;" but why did the worthy schoolmaster of Dunfermline invest him with a doctor's gown, and commend him for his honesty?

Boxis he bair with fine electuairis,
And sugerit syropis for digestioun,
Spycis belangand to the pothecairis,
With mony hailsum sweit confectioun,
Doctour in phisick cled in skarlot goun,
And furrit weill, as sic ane aucht to be,
Honest and gude, and not ane word culd lie.

The honesty of Mercury has long been considered as more than

[1] This word is erroneously printed *slanis*. *Flane*, which is allied to the Islandic *flein*, the Anglo-Saxon *flan*, signifies an arrow.

Then cleverly my *fen* soone can I feather.
ADAMSON'S Muses Threnodie, p. 4.

Ane bent a bow, sic sturt coud steir him,
Grit skayth wes'd to haif skard him,
He cheset a *fane* as did affeir him.
Christis Kirk of the Grene, St. 8

doubtful; nor has Horace given the same account of his characteristic qualities.[1] It is to be hoped that Henryson taught one system of mythology to his scholars, and adopted another for the embellishment of his poetry. These divinities having assembled together, they chuse Mercury speaker of the parliament: Cupid proceeds to charge Cresseid with having uttered blasphemies against his mother and himself; and sentence is finally pronounced that she shall terminate her career in beggary and wretchedness:—

> Thus sall thow go begging fra hous to hous,
> With cop and clapper lyke ane lazarous.

In awaking from this fearful dream, she finds that her punishment has already commenced, that she has been seized with the direful disease of leprosy. A tender scene ensues between the father and the daughter, and she expresses a wish to conceal her miseries in a lazar-house:—

> Than in ane mantill and ane bawar hat,
> With cop and clapper wonder prively,
> He opnit ane secreit yet, and out thairat
> Convoyit hir, that na man suld espy,
> Unto ane village half ane myle thairby,
> Delyverit hir in at the spittaill house,
> And daylie sent hir part of his almous.

It has been justly remarked that "want of cleanliness, of linen,[2] of vegetables, of fresh meat in winter, but, above all, sloth and hardship, concurred to render the leprosy as common in Europe, during the middle ages, as it is in some eastern countries at this day. Nor were its ravages confined to the poor and destitute. Robert de Bruce died of this disorder, as did Constance, Duchess of Bretagne, and Henry IV. of England. Various hospitals were founded by the pious for the reception of those miserable objects, whose disease, being infectious, required their exclusion from society. For the same reason, when they begged through

[1] Te canam, magni Jovis et deorum
Nuntium, curvæque lyræ parentem;
Callidum, quidquid placuit, jocoso
Condere furto.
HORATII Carm. lib. i. od. x.

[2] "In my mind," says Dr. Lister, "a fair linen shirt every day is as great a preservative to neatness and cleanness of the skin and health, as daily bathing was to the Romans." (Journey to Paris, p. 33.)

the streets, they usually carried the cup and clapper mentioned in the text. The former served to receive alms, and the noise of the latter warned the passenger to keep aloof, even while bestowing his charity."[1] A disease, which was doubtless regarded as one of the greatest scourges of mankind, could not but make a deep impression on the imagination; and it frequently forces itself on the attention of poets as well as historians. Cresseid, on finding herself in this forlorn situation, begins a pathetic lamentation of her fate: she continues awake during the whole night, "chydand with her drerie destenie," when another leper-lady endeavours to rouse her from her despondency:—

Sen thy weiping dowbillis bot thy wo,
I counsall the mak vertew of ane neid,
To leir to clap thy clapper to and fro,
And leir efter the law of lipper leid.
Thair was na buit, bot furth with thame scho yeid,
Fra place to place, quhill cauld and hounger sair
Compellit hir to be ane rank beggair.

She is not long destined to bear so great a load of misery. A company of these lepers soon afterwards accost Troilus, as he is returning from a successful and brilliant attack on the Greeks: they demand alms in the usual manner, and his attention is arrested by a countenance which he can no longer recognise, but which, though deprived of its former beauty, is still capable of reviving dormant images, and of kindling a spark of love in his heart:—

Than upon him scho kest up baith her ene,
And with ane blenk it come into his thocht
That he sumtime hir face befoir had sene,
Bot scho was in sic plye he knew her nocht;
Yet than hir luik into his mynd it brocht
The sweit visage and amorous blenking
Of fair Cresseid, sumtyme his awin darling.

Na wonder was, suppois in mynd that he
Tuik hir figure sa sone, and lo now quhy:

[1] Scott's Notes to Sir Tristrem, p. 302. See a very interesting little work by Professor Marx of Göttingen, "On the Decrease of Disease effected by the Progress of Civilisation," p. 96. Lond. 1844, 16mo. It is translated from the German by Dr. Willis.

The idole of ane thing in cace may be
Sa deep imprentit in the fantasy,
That it deludis the wittis outwardly,
And sa appeiris in forme and lyke estait,
Within the mynd as it was figurait.

Ane spark of lufe than till his hart culd spring,
And kendlit all his bodie in ane fyre;
With hait fewir ane sweit and trimbling
Him tuik, quhill he was reddie to expyre.
To beir his scheild his breist began to tyre;
Within ane quhyle he changit mony hew,
And nevertheles not ane ane uther knew.

From knightly piety, and as a memorial of the fair Cresseid, by whom his ardent love had been so ill requited, he throws a purse of great value into the skirt of her garment, and without uttering a word resumes his march with heavy cheer. They separate without either party recognising the other; but on learning from one of her companions the name of this gentle knight, she is immediately struck to the heart, and after lamenting her inconstancy, and framing her last will and testament, she yields up her perturbed spirit. And some say that Troilus prepared for her a tomb of grey marble, and in letters of gold inscribed it with her name and epitaph.

This poem, it is evident, rises above the ordinary standard of that period, and on some occasions evinces no mean felicity of conception. The silent interview between Troilus and Cresseid is skilfully delineated; and the entire passage has been described as beautiful by a very competent judge of old poetry.[1] It is unnecessary to remark, that for "the tale of Troy divine," neither Chaucer nor Henryson had recourse to the classical sources:[2] this, like some other subjects of ancient history, had been invested with all the characteristics of modern romance; nor has the Scotish poet thought proper to deviate from the models which delighted his contemporaries. Sir Troilus is commended for his knightly piety; a temple is converted into a *kirk;* Mercury is elected speaker of the parliament; and Cresseid, on being afflicted with a leprosy, is consigned to a spittal-house in

1 Scott's Notes to Sir Tristrem, p. 363.
2 See Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 220, and Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. ii. p. 65.

order to beg with cup and clapper. The personages are ancient, but the institutions and the manners are all modern.

Henryson's tale of Orpheus is not free from similar incongruities, and possesses fewer attractions; it is indeed somewhat languid and feeble, and may have been a production of the author's old age. Sir Orpheus is represented as a king of Thrace, and is first despatched to heaven in search of the lost Eurydice :—

Quhen endit was the sangis lamentable,
He tuke his harp, and on his brest can hyng,
Syne passit to the hevin, as sais the fable,
To seke his wyf, bot that auailit no thing:
By Wadlying Strete[1] he went but larying,
Syne come doun throu the spere of Saturn ald,
Quhilk fader is of all thir sternis cald.[2]

Having searched the sun and planets without success, he directs his course towards the earth, and in his passage he is regaled with the music of the spheres :—

In his passage amang the planetis all,
He herd a hevynly melody and sound,
Passing all instrumentis musicall,
Causid be rollyng of the speris round,
Of euery sterne the twynkling notis he,
That in the stil heuin moue cours we se,
Arthurys hufe, and Hyades betaiknyng rane,
Syne Watling Strete, the Horne and the Charle wane,
The feirs Orioun with his goldine glaue.

[1] Watling Street is a name given to one of the great Roman ways in Britain. (Horsley's Roman Antiquities of Britain, p. 337. Lond. 1732, fol.) This passage, which to some persons may appear so unintelligible, will be best explained by a quotation from Chaucer's House of Fame, book ii. :—

Lo, quod he, caste up thyne eye,
Se yonder, lo, the Galaxie,
The whiche men clepe the Milky Way,
For it is whyte; and some parfay
Callen it Watlynge Strete.

In the Towneley Mysteries, p. 308, one demon thus addresses another :—

Let us go to this dome up Watlyn Strete.

Bishop Douglas has employed the same expression in translating a passage in the third book of the Æneid, where the original contains no corresponding term :—

Sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia cœlo,
Arcturum, pluviasque Hyadas, geminosque Triones,
Armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona.

An ancient Roman building, which once stood on the banks of the Carron, but was long ago demolished by the Gothic owner of the soil, bore the name of *Arthur's Hof* or *Arthur's Oon*. "It is remarkable," says Mr. Ritson, "that Gawin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, a noted poet, has described this erection in the milky way." (Life of King Arthur, p. 36. Lond. 1825, 8vo.) But it is necessary to recollect that Virgil mentions the star Arcturus, and that his translator could make no reference to the hero of the Round Table.

[2] Heire begynnis the traitie of Orpheus Kyng, and how he yeid to Hewyn and to Hel to seik his Quene; and ane othir Ballad in the lattir end. Edinburgh, Chepman & Myllar, 1508, 4to.

Quhilk among throu all this mappamound.
Quhill moving cesse, vnyt perpetuall,
Quhilk of this warld Pluto[1] the soul can call.

His subsequent adventures are circumstantially, but not very poetically detailed. In enumerating the various characters whom he finds in the domains of Pluto, the poet is guilty of a glaring anachronism: here Orpheus finds Julius Cæsar, Nero, and even popes and cardinals; and it is likewise to be remarked that the heathen and the Christian notions of hell are blended together.

Thare fand he mony carefull king and quene,
Wyth croun on hede of brasse full hate birnand,
Quhilk in thair lyf rycht maisterfull had bene,
Conquerour of gold, richesse, and of land.
Ector of Troy and Priam thare he fand,
And Alexander for his wrang conquest,
Anthiocus thare for his foule incest.

Thare fand he Julius Cesar for his crueltee,
And Herode with his brotheris wyf he sawe,
And Nero for his grete iniquitee,
And Pilot for his breking of the lawe.
Syne vnder that he lukit, and coud knawe
Cresus the king, non mithiar on mold
For couatise, yett full of byrnand gold.

Thare fand he Pharo for oppressioun
Of Goddis folk, on quhilk the plagis fell,
And Saul eke for the grete abusioun
Off iustice to the folk of Israell:
Thare fand he Acab and quene Iesabell,
Quhilk sely Nabot, was a prophet trewe,
For his wyne yarde wyth-outyn pitee slewe.

Thare fand he mony pape and cardinall,
In haly kirk quhilk dois abusioun,
And bischopis in thair pontificall,
Be symony for wrang ministratioun;
Abbotis, and men of all religioun,
For euill disponyng of thair placis rent,
In flambe of fyre were bitterly turment.

Such anachronisms are very frequently to be found in the

[1] Instead of Pluto, we must evidently read Plato.

writers of the middle ages. Mr. Warton remarks that Chaucer has been guilty of a very diverting, and what may be termed a double anachronism, by representing Cresside and two of her female companions as reading the Thebaïd of Statius.[1] Like the fables of Henryson, his tale of Orpheus is followed by a long moral; and here he professes to have derived his materials from Boethius and one of his commentators.

Lo, worthy folk, Boece that senature
To wryte this feynit fable tuke in cure,
In his gay buke of Consolatioun,[2]
For oure doctryne and gude instructioun:
Quhilk in the self suppose it fenyeit be,
And hid vnder the cloke of popesie,
Yit Maister, trowit Doctour Nicholas,[3]
Quhilk in his tyme a noble theolog was,
Applyis it to gude moralitee,
Rycht full of frute and seriostee.
Faire Phebus is the god of sapience,
Caliopee, his wyf, is eloquence.
Thir twa maryit gat Orpheus belyve,
Quhilk callit is the part intellectiue
Of mannis saule, etc.

The Bludy Serk is an allegorical poem of considerable ingenuity. The poet represents the fair daughter of an ancient and worthy king as having been carried away by a hideous giant, and cast into a dungeon, where she was doomed to linger until some valiant knight should achieve her deliverance. A worthy prince at length appeared as her champion, vanquished the giant, and thrust him into his own loathsome dungeon. Having restored the damsel to her father, he felt that he had received a mortal wound: he requested her to retain his bloody

[1] In Shakspeare's Troilus and Cressida, says Mr. Douce, "Hector quotes *Aristotle;* Ulysses speaks of the bull-bearing *Milo*, and Pandarus of a man born in *April*. *Friday* and *Sunday*, and even *minced-pies* with dates in them, are introduced." (Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. ii. p. 291.)

[2] Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, lib. iii. met. xii.

[3] "On est redevable à Nicolas Crescius Florentin, moine de l'ordre de Citeaux, d'avoir rétabli les livres de la Consolation de Boece dans leur première pureté sur les meilleurs et les plus anciens manuscrits, qu'il chercha avec beaucoup de soin dans toutes les bibliothèques d'Italie. Avant l'édition qu'il en fit faire à Florence, on ne pouvoit pas les reconnoître tant ils étoient corrompus et différents des originaux." (Gervaise, Histoire de Boece, part i. p. 290. Paris, 1715, 12mo.)

shirt, and to contemplate it whenever a new lover should present himself:—

This king is lyk the Trinitie
  Baith in hevin and heir,
The manis saule to the lady,
  The gyane to Lucefeir,
The knycht to Chryst, that deit on tre,
  And coft our synnis deir,
The pit to hell, with panis fell,
  The syn to the woweir.

The lady was wowd, but scho said nay
  With men that wald hir wed:
Sa suld we wryth all syn away,
  That in our breistis bred.
I pray to Jesu Chryst verray,
  For ws his blud that bled,
To be our help on domysday,
  Quhair lawis ar straitly led.

The saule is Godis dochtir deir,
  And eik his handewerk,
That was betrasit with Lucifeir,
  Quha sittis in hell full merk.
Borrowit with Chrystis angell cleir,
  Hend men, will ze nocht herk?
For his lufe that bocht ws deir,
  Think on the bludy serk.[1]

This poem of Henryson bears an obvious resemblance to two distinct tales which occur in the Gesta Romanorum. In the first of these, a noble lady having been cruelly oppressed by a tyrant, is relieved by a valiant pilgrim, who falls in the moment of victory. According to his injunctions, she places his staff and scrip in her chamber; but on being addressed by three kings, in whom we are instructed to recognise the Devil, the World, and the Flesh, she afterwards removes these memorials, and forgets her obligations. The other tale represents the daughter of a king as having suffered dishonour from a tyrannical duke. When reduced to poverty and wretchedness, she is accosted at the wayside by a certain valiant knight, who, on condition of obtaining her hand, undertakes to fight the tyrant,

[1] Laing's Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland.

and to recover her inheritance. A mortal combat ensues: before he slays his antagonist, he receives a mortal wound, which after an interval of three days terminates his life. She hangs up his bloody armour in a chamber, and on being addressed by any new suitor, she surveys this memorial of her deliverer, and declares her resolution to form no new attachment.[1]

The Abbay Walk is of a solemn character, and is not altogether incapable of impressing the imagination. Its object is to inculcate submission to the various dispensations of providence, and this theme is managed with some degree of skill. Some of his other poems are of the same religious tendency, but of inferior merit. The following stanzas are entitled the Garment of gude Ladyis: Lord Hailes has remarked that "the comparison between female ornaments and female virtues, is extended throughout so many lines, and with so much of a tire-woman's detail, that it becomes somewhat ridiculous."

Wald my gud lady lufe me best,
And wirk after my will,
I suld ane garment gudliest
Gar mak hir body till.

Of hé honour suld be her hud,
Upoun hir heid to weir;
Garneist with governance so gud,
Na demyng suld hir deir,

Hir sark suld be hir body nixt,
Of chestetie so quhyt;
With schame and dreid togidder mixt,
The same suld be perfyt.

Hir kirtill suld be of clene constance,
Lasit with lesum lufe,
The mailyeis of continwance
For nevir to remufe.

Hir gown suld be of gudliness,
Weill ribband with renowne,
Purfillit with plesour in ilk place,
Furrit with fyne fassoun.

[1] Gesta Rhomanorum, cum applicationibus moralizatis ac mysticis, f. xiii. xxvii. edit. Hagenaw, 1508, 4to.—See likewise Wright's Selection of Latin Stories, p. 132, and "The old English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum," edited by Sir Frederic Madden, p. 22. Lond. 1838, 4to.

Hir belt suld be of benignitie,
About hir middill meit;
Hir mantill of humilitie,
To tholl bayth wind and weit.

Hir hat suld be of fair having,
And hir tepat of trewth,
Hir patelet of gude pansing,
Hir hals-ribbane of rewth.

Hir slevis suld be of esperance,
To keip hir fra dispair;
Hir gluvis of the gud govirnance,
To hyd hir fyngearis fair.

Hir schone suld be of sickernes,
In syne that scho nocht slyd;
Hir hois of honestie, I ges,
I suld for hir provyd.

Wald scho put on this garmond gay,
I durst sweir by my seill,
That she woir nevir grene nor gray
That set hir half so weill.[1]

But the most beautiful of Henryson's productions is Robene and Makyne, the earliest specimen of pastoral poetry in the Scotish language. I consider it as superior in many respects to the similar attempts of Spenser and Browne: it is free from the glaring improprieties which sometimes appear in the pastorals of those distinguished writers, and it exhibits many genuine strokes of poetical delineation. The Shepherd's indifference is indeed too suddenly converted into love; but this is almost the only instance in which the operations of nature are not faithfully represented. The story is skilfully conducted, the sentiments and manners are truly pastoral, and the diction possesses wonderful terseness and suavity.[2]

[1] Hailes's Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 103.

[2] This poem contains some obscure passages, which have not been very happily illustrated by its latest editor, Mr. Chalmers. (Robene and Makyne, and the Testament of Cresseid; by Robert Henryson. Edinb. 1824, 4to.) I shall produce a single example:—"I dern with thee; bot gif I dräll." This line he endeavours to illustrate by the following note:—"This is a difficult verse. The *dern*, herein, may be the *derne deraygne*, of Gawyn Douglas: signifying to behold, see, perceive; and then the meaning would be, I perceive, unless with thee I deal, or have connection, I must doubtless die."

CHAPTER XI.

But the greatest name that adorns our poetical annals during the reign of James the Fourth, is that of William Dunbar, who is indeed regarded as the most eminent of all the early Scotish poets. Notwithstanding the high reputation which he enjoyed among his contemporaries, the records of his personal history and character are extremely scanty: although he belonged to the church, his progress is not to be traced by successive preferments; and there is too much reason to believe that many of his days were consumed amidst the gloom of poverty and disappointment. He appears to have been born about the middle of the fifteenth century. Kennedy represents him as related to the Earl of March: but this perhaps is only to be considered as a poetical fiction, introduced for the purpose of heightening his invective. The same writer seems to insinuate that the place of his birth was Mount Falcone. To what particular place he alludes, it is not easy to conjecture; but Dunbar apparently represents himself as a native of Lothian. There is some reason to suppose that he studied in the University of Oxford: "Quod Dunbar at Oxinfurde," is the colophon of one of his poems;[1] and I need scarcely remark that Oxenford was once the current name of this seat of the Muses. But it is likewise to be recollected that the poet might visit Oxford in some other capacity than that of a student; and that Oxenford Castle is the name of a place not many miles distant from Edinburgh. In his youth he appears to have been a novice of the order of St. Francis. His sentiments with regard to this profession we are enabled to glean from a poem, describing "How Dunbar wes desyred to be ane Frier;" and these senti-

[1] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. i. p. 106.

ments I shall endeavour to transfuse into plain prose. "Before the dawn of day," says Dunbar, "methought St. Francis appeared to me with a religious habit in his hand, and said, Go, my servant, clothe thee in these vestments, and renounce the world. But at the sight of him and his habit I was scared like one who sees a ghost. And why art thou terrified at the sight of the holy weed? St. Francis, reverence attend thee, and thanks for this intended benefit; but with regard to those garments of which thou art so liberal, it has never entered into my mind to wear them: sweet confessor, take it not in evil part. In holy legends have I heard it alleged that bishops are more frequently canonized than friars; if therefore thou wouldst guide my soul towards heaven, invest me with the robes of a bishop.[1] Had it ever been my fortune to become a friar, the season is now long past: between Berwick and Calais, in every flourishing town of the English dominions, have I made good cheer in the habit of thy order; in friar's weeds have I mounted the pulpit at Dernton and Canterbury, in them have I also crossed the sea at Dover, and instructed the inhabitants of Picardy; but this mode of life compelled me to have recourse to many a pious fraud, from the guilt of which no holy water could cleanse me. What had thus appeared to me as St. Francis, was a fiend in the likeness of a friar: he vanished away with stench and fiery smoke; methought he carried the end of the house along with him, and I awoke like a wight in perplexity."

From this and some other passages of his works, it is evident that Dunbar had, to a certain extent, imbibed the spirit of a reformer; and it is obvious that in all countries which have in any degree been extricated from the superstitions and delusions of the Romish church, the poets have contributed to prepare the

[1] Buchanan has manifestly imitated this poem in his *Somnium*. (Fratres Fraterrimi, xxxiv.) He has adopted the very same plan, and his best epigrammatic turn is borrowed from Dunbar.

In haly legendis have I hard allevin
Ma sanctis of bischoppis nor freiris be sic sevin;
Of full few freiris that hes bene sanctis I reid;
Quhairfoir ga bring to me ane bischopis weid,
Gife evir thow wald my saul gaid unto hevin.

Mentior, aut peragra saxo fundata vetusto
Delubra, et titulos per simulacra lege:
Multus honoratis fulgebit episcopus aris,
Rara cucullato sternitur ara gregi.
Atque inter monachos erit hæc rarissima vestis:
Induat hanc, si quis gaudeat esse miser.
Quod si tanta meæ tangit te cura salutis,
Vis mihi, vis animæ consuluisse meæ?
Quilibet hac alius mendicet veste superbus;
At mihi da mitram, purpureamque togam.

way for the theologians. Wit and satire, when thus directed, are formidable weapons; and although ridicule is no test of truth, it is often found a most powerful instrument for exposing inveterate error. The best arguments may be employed in vain, and force commonly interposes in behalf of established opinions: but poets have in all ages claimed and exercised considerable freedom of animadversion; and as light troops are sometimes more serviceable than the heavy-armed soldiery, the gay satirist is sometimes more successful in his attacks than the learned disputant. Another inference to be drawn from this poem is equally obvious: as the author had preached in England and France, he must have been familiarly acquainted with the languages of both countries; or if we suppose him to have preached at Canterbury in his native tongue, we must at least conclude that he spoke French when he instructed the inhabitants of Picardy. His travels are likewise mentioned in Kennedy's Flyting, where we must however make some allowance for satirical exaggeration.

Fra Etrike forest furthward to Drumfreiss
Thou beggit wyth a pardoun in all kirkis,
Collapis, cruddis, meill, grotis, gryce, and geis,
And under nycht quhylis stall thou staggis and stirkis.
Because that Scotland of thy begging irkis,
Thou schaipis in France to be a knycht of the felde,
Thou has thy clamschellis and thy burdoun kelde,
Unhonest wayis all, wolrounn, that thou wirkis.

Dunbar, in one of his invectives against Kennedy, has furnished us with some further information respecting his own adventures:—

Or thow durst move thy mynd malitius,
Thow saw the saill abone my heid vp-draw,
Bot Eolus full woid, and Neptunus,
Mirk and moneless, wes met with wind and waw,
And mony hundreth myll hyne cowd ws blaw
By Holland, Seland, Zetland and Northway coist,
In desert 'place' quhair we wer famist aw;
Yit come I hame, fals baird, to lay thy boist.

After the period of his travelling noviciate, Dunbar appears in the character of a court poet, and of a candidate for prefer-

ment. On one occasion he speaks of his dancing "in the quene's chalmer."

Than cam in Dunbar the mackar ;[1]
On all the flure thair was nane frackar,
And thair he daunsit the Dirry-dantoun ;
He hoppet lyk a pillie wantoun ;
For luiff of Musgraiffe, men tellis me :
He trippet quhill he tint his pantoun.
A mirrear dance micht na man see.

Than cam in Maistriss Musgraiffe ;
Scho mycht haiff lernit all the laiffe.
Quhen I saw hir sa trimlye dance,
Hir gud convoy and countenance,
Than for hir saik I wissit to be
The grytast erle or duke in France.
A mirrear dance micht na man see.

But neither his dancing nor his solicitations seem to have procured him any considerable preferment. From the strain of his earlier compositions, it is evident that his first hopes were sufficiently sanguine, and from that of his later compositions, that those hopes have been completely frustrated. "Why shouldst thou," says the desponding poet, "be induced to hope for preferment, when an Italian impostor finds means to thrust himself into the chair of an abbot? How the affairs of the church are managed, I know not; but assuredly its benefices are not distributed with an impartial hand. While some priests enjoy seven, I am not possessed of one; and some, unworthy as they are to fill a stable, would fain climb to the rank of cardinal, a bishopric being too mean an object for their ambition."[2] He addressed some stanzas "To the King, quhen mony benefices vakit;" he frequently renewed his petition, and frequently complained that his life was suffered to wear away in poverty and neglect. From his "Prayer that the King war Johne Thomsoun's Man," it would appear that Queen Margaret was

[1] "The Greekes," says Sir Philip Sidney, "called him a poet, which name hath as the most excellent gone thorough other languages. It cometh of this word *poiein*, which is, to make: wherein, I know not whether by lucke or wisedome, wee Englishmen haue mette with the Greekes, in calling him a *maker*; which name, how high and incomparable a title it is, I had rather were knowne by marking the scope of other sciences, then by my partiall allegation." (Apologie for Poetrie, sig. C. Lond. 1595, 4to.)

[2] Dunbar's Dream: Hailes, p. 23. On the Warld's Instabilitie: Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 117.

anxious to promote his interest; the tenor of his prayer is, that the King were more subservient to the wishes of his consort.

My advocat bayth fair and sueit,
The hale rejosing of my spreit,
Wald speid into my errandis thane;
And ye war anis Johne Thomsounis man.[1]

Whether Dunbar's advancement was in any degree retarded by his own imprudence, can only be conjectured. The clergy of that age do not appear to have been generally promoted for their piety or learning; and so very moderate was the ordinary standard of external decency, that it must only have been the most gross and flagrant profligacy that could operate as a disqualification for preferment. It must however be acknowledged that some of his strains are highly reprehensible: his compositions are occasionally tinctured with expressions which we cannot but regard as grossly indecent and profane; one of his addresses to the Queen is such as might offend a modern courtezan; the more solemn observances of the church he has converted into topics of ridicule; the litanies are burlesqued in a parody which is not easily to be paralleled for its profanity.

1 "This," says Mr. Pinkerton, "is a proverbial expression, meaning *a hen-pecked husband*. I have little doubt but the original proverb was *Joan* Thomson's man." There is indeed a ballad entitled John Thomson and the Turk, to which Mr. Motherwell supposes this expression to bear an allusion. "Pinkerton," he remarks, "was ignorant of the existence of the ballad: had he been acquainted with it, he would have saved himself the trouble of writing a foolish conjecture." (Minstrelsy, ancient and modern, intr. app. p. ix. Glasg. 1827, 4to.) But according to this ballad, John Thomson was a Scotch warrior who fought against the Turks; and when his lady forsook him for a Turkish gallant, he inflicted ample vengeance upon both:—

This Turk thee in his castel burnt,
That stood upon yon hill so hie;
John Thomson's gay ladie they took,
And hanged her on yon green-wood tree.

Where then do we find John Thomson's *man*, or the husband complying with the humours of his wife? "Better be John Thomson's man, than Ringand Dinn's, or John Knox's," is a proverb which Kelly has thus explained: "John Thomson's man is he that is complaisant to his wife's humours; Ringand Dinn's is he whom his wife scolds; John Knox's is he whom his wife beats." Collection of Scotish Proverbs, p. 72. Lond. 1721, 8vo.) This explanation, which is irreconcilable with the incident of the ballad, is completely applicable to the prayer of Dunbar's petition. The same proverbial form of expression occurs in various other poets.

To this talking ye should tak tent,
Or afterward ye shall repent:
When ye are made *John Thomson's man*,
Then shall ye brawl, then shall ye ban,
And when remead none finde ye can,
But all with shame ouershent.
ROLLAND'S Seven Sages, Sig. M. 3.

Bedla, with Towcross and Woodhall,
John Thomson's man, plague on them all.
CLELAND'S Poems, p. 43.

But it is more than probable that such indecent levities excited little or no disgust in his contemporaries: the age was not distinguished by any uncommon share of piety, nor had it attained to that degree of refinement which frequently secures a certain ostensible decorum, a decent appearance of virtue, where virtue itself is not to be found. To whatever cause his failure may be attributed, it seems too evident that he never obtained a benefice; but we learn from an authentic record that he was at least indebted to the king for occasional grants of money. On the 24th of December 1512 he received, by the king's command, the sum of forty pounds "for his Martinmas fee;" an expression which might lead us to conjecture that he held some office connected with the royal household, and that this was one of his stated payments. In that case, however, we might have expected his name to occur more frequently in the Treasurer's Accounts; but I am only aware of another entry, which relates to the payment of so small a sum as forty-two shillings, on the first of April 1513.[1] How long he survived this period, has not yet been ascertained; but it is at least certain that he was dead in the year 1530, when Sir David Lindsay composed his Complaynt of the Papingo.[2] He describes himself as having attained to an advanced age; nor does he appear to have been so unwise as to continue his levities to the utmost verge of life; several of his poems are written in a moral and religious strain, not unbecoming an aged priest.

The poems of Dunbar are numerous and miscellaneous, but none of them extends to any considerable length. He evidently unites a brilliant imagination with an elegant taste; nor is he less conspicuous for his skill in the mechanical part of poetry. The elasticity of his mind, and the versatility of his talents, enabled him to arrive at eminence in different departments of composition: his allegorical poems display a rich and

[1] [In the Treasurer's Accounts, as shown by Mr. Laing in his valuable edition of Dunbar's Poems (vol. i. p. 68), there are regular entries of payments to Dunbar of a pension of five pounds half-yearly, from Martinmas 1500 to Whitsunday 1507; then of ten pounds half-yearly, from Martinmas 1507; and lastly of forty pounds half-yearly, from 1510 to 1513. There are several other entries of occasional gifts in money, etc., but none later than the fatal year 1513.]

[2] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 285.

fertile invention; and he is equally distinguished for his powers of description and satirical humour. His diction is often remarkable for its terseness and forcible simplicity; but it is not always free from the vicious and pedantic phraseology with which the English poetry of that period is so deeply infected. Dr. Nott observes that Dunbar, "a poet of a rich and lively fancy, and possessing great natural command of language," was induced to use such pedantic diction as occurs in the opening of his beautiful moral poem, entitled the Goldin Terge.[1] He has employed a great variety of measures; and his versification, when compared with that of his most eminent contemporaries in both kingdoms, will in general appear highly ornamental and poetical.

Mr. Ellis, after having quoted three of his shorter poems, subjoins the following remarks: "In these specimens we see much good sense and sound morality, expressed with force and conciseness. This indeed is Dunbar's peculiar excellence. His style, whether grave or humorous, whether simple or ornamented, is always energetic; and though all his compositions cannot be expected to possess equal merit, we seldom find in them a weak or redundant stanza."[2] The accomplished historian of English poetry likewise mentions him with no faint approbation. "I am of opinion," says Mr. Warton, "that the imagination of Dunbar is not less suited to satirical than to sublime allegory; and that he is the first poet who has appeared with any degree of spirit in this way since Pierce Plowman. His THISTLE AND ROSE, and GOLDEN TERGE, are generally and justly mentioned as his capital works: but the natural complexion of his genius is of the moral and didactic cast."[3] "But this remark," subjoins Mr. Pinkerton, "must not be taken too strictly. The Golden Terge is moral; and so are many of his small pieces; but humour, description, allegory, great poetical genius, and a vast wealth of words, all unite to form the complexion of Dunbar's poetry. He unites in himself, and generally surpasses, the qualities of the chief old English poets; the morals and satire

[1] Nott's Dissertation on the State of English Poetry before the Sixteenth Century, p. cxci.

[2] Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Poets, vol. i. p. 385.

[3] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 109.

of Langland; Chaucer's humour, poetry, and knowledge of life; the allegory of Gower; the description of Lydgate."[1]

But the most striking proofs of his genius are certainly to be found in his two allegorical poems. The Thistle and the Rose was composed in celebration of the nuptials of James the Fourth and Margaret Tudor; an event productive of very important consequences to both kingdoms, inasmuch as it ultimately led to that happy union, which the nature of the territory and the kindred origin of the people rendered so suitable and so desirable. In the plan of this poem, Dunbar displays boldness of invention and beauty of arrangement; and some particular passages are remarkable for their strength and even beauty of colouring.[2] It opens with these picturesque and beautiful stanzas :—

Quhen Merche wes with variand windis past,
And Appryll had, with hir silver shouris,
Tane leif at Nature with ane orient blast,
And lusty May, that muddir is of flouris,
Had maid the birdis to begyn thair houris
Amang the tendir odouris reid and quhyt,
Quhois harmony to heir it wes delyt:

In bed at morrow, sleiping as I lay,
Methocht Aurora, with her cristall ene,
In at the window lukit by the day,
And halsit me with visage paill and grene;
On quhois hand a lark sang fro the splene,
Awalk, luvaris, out of your slomering,
Sé how the lusty morrow dois upspring.

Methocht fresche May befoir my bed upstude,
In weid depaynt of mony diverse hew,

[1] Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. xciv. "It is evident," says Dr. Drake, "that a union of talents of this wide range must necessarily be of rare occurrence; nor can we wonder that a century should elapse before a poet in any high degree approaching the genius of Chaucer madé his appearance in our island. Not indeed until Dunbar arose in the sister kingdom, had we another instance of the combination of first-rate abilities for humour and comic painting, with an equally powerful command over the higher regions of fiction and imagination." (Mornings in Spring, vol. ii. p. 4. Lond. 1828, 2 vols. 8vo.)

[2] Dr. Langhorne, in his poem entitled *Genius and Valour*, has specified this as Dunbar's principal work. (Poetical Works, vol. i. p. 55. Lond. 1804, 2 vols. 8vo.)

Yet still some pleasing monuments remain,
Some marks of genius in each later reign.
In nervous strains Dunbar's bold music flows,
And Time yet spares the Thistle and the Rose.

Sobir, benyng, and full of mansuetude,
In brycht atteir of flouris forgit new,
Hevinly of color, quhyt, reid, broun, and blew,
Balmit in dew, and gilt with Phebus bemys,
Quhyll all the house illumynit of hir lemys.

Slugird, scho said, awalk annone for schame,
And in my honor sumthing thow go wryt:
The lark hes done the mirry day proclame,
To rais up luvaris with confort and delyt;
Yit nocht incressis thy curage to indyt,
Quhois hairt sumtyme hes glaid and blissfull bene,
Sangis to mak undir the levis grene.

The poet excuses himself on account of the ungenial aspect of the spring, which has hitherto been little cheered by the usual songs of the birds, and the wholesome and benign air; Lord Æolus having maintained the ascendency during her season, and blown such boisterous blasts that he had forborne his accustomed walks under the vernal boughs. May, answering with a sober smile, still urges him to do his observance, and to fulfil his promise to describe "the rose of most plesance." He follows her into a delightful garden; and in the meantime the purple sun appears in the east, as bright as an angel:—

The purpour sone, with tendir bemys reid,
In orient bricht as angell did appeir,
Throw goldin skyis putting up his heid,
Quhois gilt tressis schone so wondir cleir,
That all the world tuke confort, fer and neir,
To luke upone his fresche and blissfull face,
Doing all sable fro the hevynis chace.

And, as the blissful soune of cherarchy,
The fowlis sung throw confort of the licht:
The birdis did with oppin vocis cry,
O luvaris fo, away thou dully nicht,
And welcum, day, that confortis every wicht;
Hail May, hail Flora, hail Aurora schene,
Hail princes Nature, hail Venus, Luvis quene.

Dame Nature now presents herself, and enjoins the powers that preside over the water and air to preserve the atmosphere calm and serene. After this preparation, she commands every bird and beast, as well as every herb and flower, to appear in her

presence, and pay their annual homage; the beasts are summoned by the Roe, the birds by the Swallow, and the flowers by the Yarrow.[1] They are all assembled in the twinkling of an eye. The Lion being first called, presents his bold countenance; and here, as Mr. Warton remarks, the poet has adopted "an elegant and ingenious mode of blazoning the Scottish arms, which are a lion with a border, or tressure, adorned with flower de luces. We should remember that heraldry was now a science of high importance and esteem."

This awfull beist full terrible wes of cheir,
Persing of luke, and stout of countenance,
Rycht strong of corpis, of fassoun fair, but feir,
Lusty of shaip, lycht of deliverance,
Reid of his cullour as is the ruby glance;
In feild of gold he stude full mychtily,
With floure-de-Lycis sirculit lustely.

The Lion receives due homage from his subjects, and the Eagle is next crowned King of the Fowls. She admonishes him to extend the same equal justice to curlews and owls as to peacocks, parrots, or cranes, and to apply the same law to the strongest fowls and to wrens; a political lesson which it was not superfluous to inculcate on the mind of an ancient Scotish monarch. In the subsequent passage, the author displays no mean address in recommending to the king the virtue of conjugal fidelity:—

Than callit scho all flouris that grew on feild,
Discryving all their fassiouns and effeirs;
Upon the awfull THRISSILL scho beheld,
And saw him keipit with a busche of speiris:
Considering him so able for the weiris,
A radius croun of rubeis scho him gaif,
And said, In feild go furth, and fend the laif.

And sen thou art a King, thou be discreit,
Herb without vertew thow hald nocht of sic pryce
As herb of vertew and of odor sweit;

[1] "The *yarrow* is *Achillea* or *millefolium*, vulgarly *sneeswort*. I know no reason for selecting this plant to go on the message to all flowers, but that its name has been supposed to be derived from *arrow*, being held a remedy for flesh wounds inflicted by that weapon." (Hailes's Notes on Ancient Scotish Poems, p. 225.)

And lat no nettill vyle and full of vyce
Hir fallow to the gudly flour-de-lyce;
Nor lat no wyld weid full of churlicheness
Compair hir till the lilleis nobilness:

Nor hald no udir flour in sic-denty
As the fresche Rois, of cullour reid and quhyt;
For gif thou dois, hurt is thyne honesty,
Considdering that no flour is so perfyt,
So full of vertew, plesans, and delyt,
So full of blisful angellik bewty,
Imperiall birth, honour and dignite.

Nature now addresses the Rose, and extols its lineage above that of the lily: an oblique method of extolling the house of Tudor above that of Valois. The Rose being crowned in due form, is acknowledged as queen of the other flowers; and the birds raise so general and loud a song of congratulation that the poet is roused from his dream. It is not unusual with our early writers to exert all their energy in embellishing the opening of their poems, and yet to conclude them in a remiss and frigid manner. The first stanzas of the Thistle and the Rose have already been quoted; it concludes with the following couplet:—

And thus I wret as ye haif hard to-forrow,
Off lusty May upone the nynt morrow.

Dunbar's Goldin Terge, which is written in a different stanza, is another allegorical poem of nearly equal merit.[1] The object of this poem is to demonstrate the general ascendency of love over reason: the golden terge, or the shield of reason, is found an insufficient protection against the assaults of the train of love. The opening stanzas are replete with poetical conceptions and poetical imagery:—

Bricht as the sterne of day begouth to schyne,
Quhen gone to bed war Vesper and Lucyne,
I raise, and by a rosier did me rest;
Up sprang the goldin candill matutine,
With cleir depurit bemys cristallyne,

[1] Where now Dunbar? The bard has run his race;
But glitters still the Golden Terge on high,
Nor shall the thunder storm that sweeps the sky,
Nor lightning's flash, the glorious orb deface.

G. Dyer's Poems, p. 89. Lond. 1801, 8vo.

Glading the mery foulis in thair nest:
Or Phebus wes in purpour cape revest,
Up raise the lark, the hevyns menstrall fyne
In May, intill a morrow mirthfullest.

Full angelyk thir birdis sang thair houris
Within thair courtyns grene, in-to thair bouris,
Apperrellit with quhite and reid, with blomes sweit:
Ennamellit was the feild with all cullouris,
The perly droppis schuke in silvir schouris,
Quhyle all in balme did branche and levis fleit
To part fra Phebus, did Aurora greit;
Hir crystall teiris I saw hing on the flouris,
Quhilk he for lufe all drank up with his heit.

For mirth of May, with skippis, and with hoppis
The birdis sang upon the tendir croppis,
With curious nottis, as Venus chapell-clarkis.
The rosis yong, now spreiding of their knoppis,
War powderit bricht with hevinly berial droppis,
Throw bemis reid birnyng as ruby sparkis;
The skyes rang with schouting of the larkis
The purpour hevin owreskailit in silver sloppis
Owregilt the treis, branchis, levis and barkis.

Doun throu the ryce, ane ryvir ran with stremis
So lustily agayn the lykand lemis,
That all the lake as lamp did leme of licht,
Quhilk schaddowit all about with twynkling glemis;
The bewis baithit war in fecound bemis
Throw the reflex of Phebus visage brycht;
On every syde the hegeis raise on hicht,
The bank wes grene, the bruke wes full of bremis,
The stanneris cleir as sternis in frosty nicht.

The crystall air, the sapheir firmament,
The ruby skyis of the orient,
Kest berial bemis on emerant bewis grene;
The rosy garth depaynt and redolent,
With purpour, azure, gold, and goulis gent,
Arrayit wes be Dame Flora the quene
Sa nobilly, that joy wes for to sene
The roche agayn the ryvir resplendent
As low enlumynit all the levis schene.[1]

[1] This, together with several other poems of Dunbar, was printed by Chapman and Millar. Here begynnys ane litil tretie intitulit the Goldyn Terge, compilit be Maister Wilyam Dunbar."

He reposes himself on the mantle of Flora, and is lulled asleep by the singing of the birds, and by the murmuring of the river. In the phantasy of his dream, he perceives a gorgeous ship approaching like "blossom upon the spray," and with its golden mast arriving at the blooming meadows, where it lands a hundred lusty ladies, clothed in green kirtles. To describe this scene, would exceed the ornate style of Homer and the rhetoric of Cicero. Here he sees Nature, Venus, Aurora, Flora, Juno, Latona, and other "michty quenis." May, the queen of mirthful months, is seen walking up and down the garden between her two sisters April and June :—

Thair saw I Nature present till her a goun,
Riche to behald, and noble of renoun,
Of every hew that undir the hevin hes bene
Depainit, and braid be gud proportioun.

Full lustely thir ladeis all in feir
Enterit within this park of maist pleseir,
Quhair that I lay our-helit with levis rank:
The mery fowlis, blisfullest of cheir,
Salust Nature, methocht, in thair maneir,
And every blome on branche, and eik on bank,
Opnit and spred thair balmy levis dank,
Full law inclyneand to thair Quene so cleir,
Quham of thair nobill norising thay thank.

His attention is next attracted by another court, consisting of Cupid the king, Mars, Saturn, and various other divinities, among whom is "Pluto the elrich incubus."

And eviry one of thir in grene arrayit,
On herp or lute full merily thay playit,
And sang ballatis with michty nottis cleir:
Ladeis to daunse full sobirly assayit,
Endlang the lusty ryvir so thay mayit,
Thair observance rycht hevinly wes to heir:
Then crap I throw the levis, and drew neir,
Quhair that I was richt suddaynly affrayit,
All throw a luke, quhilk I haif boucht full deir.

And schortly for to speik, be Luvis Quene
I was espyit, scho bad hir archeris kene
Go me areist, and thay no tyme delayit.

Than ladyes fair lete fall thair mantillis grene,
With bowis big in tressit hairis schene,
All suddenly they had a feild arrayit;
And yit rycht gritly was I nocht affrayit,
The pairty was so plesand for to sene:
A woundir lusty bikkir me assayit.

And first of all, with bow in hand ybent,
Come Dame Bewty, richt as scho wald me schent;
Syne followit all her dameselis yfere,
With mony divers awfull instrument;
Into the preiss Fair-Having with hir went,
Fyne-Portrature, Plesance, and Lusty-Chere:
Than come Ressoun, with Schelde of Gold so clere,
In plait of maill, as Mars armipotent,
Defendit me that noble chevallere.

He is likewise assailed by tender Youth with her young virgins, by green Innocence, humble Obedience, and a long train of combatants; who raise their high banner, and discharge a cloud of arrows, but, after having spent their artillery, are obliged to retreat. When Venus perceives this repulse, she commands Dissimulation to make an attempt to pierce the golden shield; and the archers selected for this service are Presence, Fair-Calling, Cherishing, and Hamelines or Familiarity. Beauty now returns to the charge with all the choice of Venus's chivalry, and another perilous combat ensues.

Thik was the schott of grundin arrowis kene;
Bot Ressoun, with the Scheld of Gold so schene,
Warily defendit quhosoevir assayit:
The awfull stour he manly did sustene,
Quhill Presence kest ane powdir in his ene.

By Presence, as Mr. Warton remarks, "the poet understands that irresistible incentive accruing to the passion of love by society, by being often admitted to the company of the beloved object."[1] When the powder is thus thrown into his eyes, Reason begins to reel like a drunken man. The poet being nearly wounded to death, is taken prisoner by Beauty, who now appears more lovely and engaging, as Reason can no longer assert his proper influence. Dissimulation is assiduous in her

[1] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 102.

attentions; Fair-Calling frequently smiles upon him; Cherishing feeds him with fair words; New-Acquaintance embraces him for a short season, but takes a sudden and final leave. He is at length haunted by Danger, who delivers him into the custody of Grief. The god of the winds now blows his bugle, till the leaves tremble with the blast; and in the twinkling of an eye all the shadowy personages regain the ship.

In twynckling of ane ee to schip thay went,
And swift up saill unto the top thay stent,
And with swift course attour the flude they frak:
Thay fyrit gunnis with powder violent,
Till that the reik raise to the firmament,
The rockis all resoundit with the rak,
For reird it semit that the rane-bow brak:
With spreit afrayit upoun my feit I sprent
Amangis the clewis, sa cairfull wes the crak.

And as I did awalk of this swowning,
The joyfull fowlis mirrily did sing
For mirth of Phebus tendir bemis schene:
Sweit wes the vapouris, and soft the morrowing,
Hailsum the vaill, depaynit with flouris ying,
The air attemperit, sobir, and amene;
In quhyt and reid was all the felde besene,
Throw Naturis nobill fresch ennameling,
In mirthfull May, of every moneth quene.

Before he concludes the poem, he introduces a high encomium on Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, which, as it serves to mark the direction of his poetical studies, it may be proper to transcribe:—

O reverend Chaucere, rose of rethoris all,
As in oure toung ane flour imperiall
That raise in Britane evir, quha reidis richt,
Thou beiris of makars the triumph riall,
Thy fresche ennamallit termes celicall
This matir coud illuminit haif full bricht:
Was thou nocht of our Inglisch all the licht,
Surmounting eviry tong terrestriall,
As far as Mayis morrow dois midnycht?

O morale Gower, and Lidgate laureate,
Your suggarat lippis, and toungis aureate,
Bene to our eiris cause of grete delyte:

Your angel mouthis most mellifluate
Our rude langage hes cleir illumynate,
And faire ouregilt our speiche, that imperfyte
Stude, or your goldin pennis schup to wryt:
This Ile befoir wes bair, and desolate
Of rethorike, or lusty fresche indyte.

Some of his short poems, of a serious character, are likewise to be distinguished from the ordinary compositions of that period. The stanzas bearing the title "Lair is vane without Governance," possess superior merit as a moral descant. His "Meditatioun writtin in Wyntir," is also to be classed among the best of his serious pieces. Some of the stanzas are beautiful and pathetic; and they may all be perused with more than common interest, as the solitary musings of neglected genius.

The following little poem exhibits Dunbar in the character of a lover; a character which he has scarcely assumed on any other occasion:—

Sweit rois of vertew and of gentilnes,
Delytsum lyllie of everie lustynes,
Richest in bontie, and in bewtie cleir,
And every vertew that [to hevin] is deir,
Except onlie that ye ar mercyles.

Into your garthe this day I did persew:
Thair saw I flouris that fresche wer of dew,
Baythe quhyte and reid most lustye wer to seyne,
And halsum herbis upone stalkis grene:
Yet leif nor flour fynd could I nane of rew.[1]

I doute that Merche, with his cauld blastis keyne,
Hes slane this gentill herbe, that I of mene;
Quhois petewous deithe dois to my hart sic pane,
That I wald mak to plant his rute agane,
So confortand his levis unto me bene.

Nor are his satirical less remarkable than his serious productions. His poem entitled the Daunce exhibits many admirable strokes of comic and grotesque description. On the eve of

1 "This is a pretty poem, tho' it turns on a pun, the herb *rew*, and *rue* or pity. The herb rew was, however, also an emblem of pity, and perhaps no pun is meant." (Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 407.)

Lent, the poet falls into a trance, and is presented with a glimpse of heaven and hell. Mahoun, or the Devil,[1] proclaims a dance of those wretches who have died without absolution; he commands them to prepare a mummery, and to "cast up gamountis" of the newest French fashion. The seven Deadly Sins immediately present themselves, and are each accompanied by a select band of votaries. Pride is with evident propriety represented as leading the dance, and is dressed in the first fashion of that period: his hair is thrown back, his bonnet is placed awry, and his gown flows to his heels in ample folds.

Lat sé, quoth he, now quha beginis:
With that the fowll sevin deidly sinis
Begowth to leip at anis.
And first of all in dance wes Pryd,
With hair wyld bak, and bonet on syd,
Lyk to mak vaistie wanis;
And round about him as a quheill,
Hang all in rumpillis to the heill
His kethat for the nanis.
Mony proud trumpour with him trippit;
Throw skaldan fyre ay as they skippit,
They girnd with hyddous granis.

This group is succeeded by holy harlots; but Mahoun and the other fiends are not much entertained till a company of priests present their shaven crowns.

Heilie harlottis in hawtane wyis
Come in with mony sindrie gyis;
Bot yet leuche nevir Mahoun,
Quhill preistis cum with bair schevin nekks;
Than all the feynds lewche, and maid gekks,
Black-belly, and Bawsy-Broun.

[1] Mahoun is evidently Mahomet; whom the ignorance and zeal of our ancestors converted into a demon. Sir David Lindsay, in his Satyre of the three Estaitis, likewise uses the same word as synonymous with the Devil.

I wald the officiaris of the toun,
That suffers sic confusioun,
That thay war harbreit with Mahoun,
Or hangit on ane gallows.

Maumentry is frequently used to denote idolatry, and *Maument* to denote an idol. The Mahometans were regarded as idolaters; and it must have been supposed that they worshipped the founder of their faith.

The fyrst matere of Mawmentry,
That clerkis callis ydolatry.
WINTON'S Cronykil, vol. i. p. 18.

I purpose nocht to mak obedience
To sic mischeant musis, nor Mahumetrie,
Afore tyme usit intill poetrie.
LINDSAY'S Works, vol. ii. p. 332.

Lat Virgil hald his maumentis till him self,
I wourschip nowthir ydole, stok, nor elf.
DOUGLAS'S Virgil, p. 311.

Anger, who next makes his appearance, is very forcibly described in a single couplet:—

> Than Yre come in with sturt and stryfe;
> His hand wes ay upoun his knyfe.

He is attended by a band of ruffians, who follow in pairs, all equipped for war; and as they move along, they frequently wound each other with swords and knives. The train of Anger is followed by that of Envy. "For pryvie hatrent that tratour tryimlit." He is attended by many a dissembler, flatterer, and backbiter, "with rownaris of fals lesingis," or whisperers of lies,[1] from whom the poet cannot avoid expressing his regret that the courts of princes are never free. The next prominent figure in the dance is Avarice, who is accompanied by caitiffs, wretches, usurers, and hoarders of wealth. From their throats they discharge at each other torrents of molten gold; and when this ammunition is exhausted, the fiends replenish them with the same metal:—

> Next him in dans come Cuvatyce,
> Rute of all evill, and grund of vyce,
> That nevir cowd be content;
> Catyvis, wrechis, and ockeraris,
> Hud-pykis, hurdaris, and gadderaris,
> All with that warlo went.
> Out of thair throttis shot on udder
> Hett moltin gold, methocht, a fudder,
> As fyre-flaucht maist fervent:
> Ay as thay tumit thame of schot,
> Feynds fild thame new up to the thrott,
> With gold of allkyn prent.

Sloth, after being twice called, joins unwillingly in the dance, attended by many suitable companions. He drags them along with a chain, and Belial lashes them on the loins; but their motion is nevertheless so tardy, that they are occasionally roused by being scorched in fire. The succeeding group con-

[1] To *roun* or *round* is an old English as well as Scotish verb, signifying to whisper. It occurs in Chaucer and various other writers:

> And nere the feud he drow, as nought ne were,
> Ful prively, and *rouned* in his ere.
> Canterbury Tales, v. 7131.

"Then spake my lord chamberlain unto them in French, declaring my lord cardinal's mind, and then *rounding* him again in the ear." (Cavendish's Life of Cardinal Wolsey, p. 53.)

sists of Lust and his loathsome train: he snorts like a stallion, is led by Idleness, and is attended by many foul associates who have died in their sins. When they engage in the dance, their visages become as red as the turkis-stone. The foul monster Gluttony next presents himself, followed by many a drunkard and prodigal. When they become clamorous for drink, the fiends drench them with melted lead. All these terrific exhibitions might have been expected to satisfy Mahoun himself; but he is nevertheless pleased to close the entertainment with a Highland pageant:—

Than cryd Mahoun for a Heleand padyane:
Syn ran a feynd to fetch Makfadyane,
Far northwart in a nuke:
Be he the correnoch had done schout,
Ersche men so gadderit him about,
In hell grit rume thay tuke.
Thae tarmegantis, with tag and tatter,
Full loud in Ersche begowth to clatter,
And rowp lyk revin and ruke.
The devill sa devit wes with thair yell,
That in the depest pot of hell
He smorit them with smuke.

Dunbar's tale of "The twa maryit Wemen and the Wedo" presents us with the only specimen of blank verse which the ancient Scotish language affords. The rhythm is of that species which the author of Pierce Plowman, or some of his predecessors, borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon poets, and which appears to have derived its origin from a remote era. It was employed by the Islandic as well as by the Anglo-Saxon poets, and was constructed with some degree of nicety.[1] Their lines are generally short, and they do not rigorously confine themselves to a definite number of syllables. Here alliteration supplies the place of rhyme; the corresponding sounds are at the commence-

[1] Wormii Literatura Runica, p. 178. Hafniæ, 1636, 4to. Olafsen om Nordens gamle Digtekonst, dens Grundregler, Versarter, Sprog og Foredragsmaade, S. 57. Kiöbenhavn, 1786, 4to. Rasks Veiledning til det Islandske eller gamle Nordiske Sprog, S. 211. Kiöbenh. 1811, 8vo. Rasks Angelsaksisk Sproglære, S. 108. Stokholm, 1817, 8vo. Hickesii Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica, pp. 195, 217. Bosworth's Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar, p. 215. Lond. 1823, 8vo. Conybeare's Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, p. lxv. Guest's History of English Rhythms, vol. i. p. 140. Percy's Essay on the Metre of Pierce Plowman's Visions: Reliques, vol. ii. p. 298. Whitaker's Introductory Discourse on P. Ploughman, p. x.

ment, not at the termination of words. In two adjacent and connected lines there must be three words beginning with the same letter; and, according to the strictest rule, two of these words ought to occur in the first, and the other ought to begin the second line. It was on such a model that Dunbar and the author of Pierce Plowman constructed their verses, though they have not observed all the niceties of their predecessors. In the editions and indeed in the manuscripts of their respective poems, what is exhibited as a single verse is in reality a distich, and admits of a division without any degree of violence.

This work of Dunbar presents us with a lively though indelicate picture of ancient manners, and is a very curious relique of ancient poetry. Bishop Percy considers it as equal to one of the most humorous productions of Chaucer. The peculiarity of the versification has compelled the author to adopt many uncouth terms; and accordingly the language of this tale is more difficult to be understood, and appears more obsolete than that of his other poems; but his shrewdness of remark and strength of description shine though the mist of obscure phraseology in which they are sometimes involved. Soon after midnight in a morning of June, the poet walks by a goodly garden, and on hearing the sound of voices, is induced to look through the lofty hedge, where he perceives three ladies seated in a green arbour, and regaling themselves with wine: he secretly listens to their conversation, of which he professes to give a faithful report:—

Upon the Midsumer evin, mirriest of nichtis,
I muvit furth alane, quhen as midnicht wes past,
Besyd ane gudlie grene garth full of gay flouris,
Hegeit, of ane huge hicht, with hawthorne treis;
Quhairon ane bird on ane bransche so birst out hir notis,
That never ane blythfullar bird was on the beuche harde.
Quhat throw the sugarat sound of hir sang glaid,
And throw the savour sanative of the sweit flouris,
I drew in derne to the dyke to dirkin eftir myrthis.
The dew donkit the dail, and dynarit the foulis.
I hard, under ane holyn hevinlie grein hewit,
Ane hie speiche at my hand, with hautand wourdis.
With that in haist to the hege so hard I inthrang,
That I was heildit with hawthorne and with heynd leivis:

Throw pykis of the plet thorne I presandlie luikit,
Gif ony persoun wald approche within that plesand garding.
I saw Thre gay Ladeis sit in ane grene arbeir,
All grathit into garlandis of fresche gudelie flouris;
So glitterit as the gowd wer thair glorious gilt tressis,
Quhil all the gressis did gleme of the glaid hewis:
Kemmit was their cleir hair, and curiouslie sched
Attour thair schoulderis doun schyre, schyning full bricht;
With kurches cassin thame abone, of krisp cleir and thin.
Thair mantillis grein war as the gress that grew in May sesoun,
Fastnit with thair quhyt fingaris about thair fair sydis.
Off ferliful fyne favour war thair faceis meik,
All full of flurist fairheid, as flouris in June,
Quhyt, seimlie, and soft, as the sweet lillies,
New upspred upon spray as new spynist rose.
Arrayit ryallie about with mony rich wardour,
That Nature full nobilie annamilit fine with flouris
Of alkin hewis under hewin, that ony heynd knew
Fragrant, all full of fresche odour fynest of smell.[1]

As the wine circulates, they become more communicative; and, at the suggestion of the widow, they successively detail their experience of the married state.

And as thai talkit at the tabil of mony taill funde,
Thay wauchtit at the wicht wyne, and warit out wourdis,
And syne thai spak more spedelie, and sparit no materis.

The sentiments which they utter are as profligate as can well be imagined; and it is to be hoped that Dunbar did not intend this as a general representation of the ladies of his own age and nation. One of them breathes her wishes in the following terms:—

Chenyeis ay ar to eschew, and changes are sweit.
Sic cursit chance till eschew had I my chois anis,
Out of the chenyeis of ane churle I chaip suld for ever.
God gif matrimony wer made to mell for ane yeir!
It war bot monstrous to be mair, bot gif our mindis plesit.
It is againe the law of luif, of kynd, and of nature,
Togidder hartis to strene, that stryvis with uther.
Birdis hes ane better law na bernis be meikill,
That ilk yeir, with new joy, joyis ane maik,
And fangis thame ane fresche feyr, unfulyeit and constant,

[1] Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 44.

And lattis thair sukert feyris flie quhair thai pleis.
Chryst gif sic ane consuetude war in this erth holdin!
Than weill war us wemen, that ever we may be fre,
We suld have feiris as fresche to fang quhen we wald,
And gif all larbaris thair leveis quhan thai lak curage.
Myself suld be full semlie with silkis arrayit;
Gymp, jolie and gent, richt joyous and gentryce,
I suld at fairis be found, new faceis to spy;
At playis, and preichings, and pilgrimages greit,
To schaw my renoun royaly, quhair preis was of folk,
To manifest my makdome to multitude of pepill,
And blaw my bewtie on breid, quhair bernis war mony,
That I micht cheis, and be chosin, and change quhen me lykit.

Among other information which may be gleaned from this poem, we find a splendid account of female dresses. Thus, in the following passage, the widow describes her appearance as the wife of a wealthy merchant:—

He graythit me in gay silk, and gudelie arrayis,
In gounis of engranyt clayth, and greit goldin chenyeis,
In ringis ryallie set with ryche rubie stanis,
Quhill helie rais my renoun amang the rude peipil.

Of her behaviour at church, the widow gives an account which is sufficiently characteristic:—

Quhen that I go to the kirk, cled in cair-weids,
As fox in ane lambis fleise feinyé I my cheir.
Than lay I furth my bricht buik on breid on my kné,
With mony lustie letter illuminit with gold,
And drawis my clouk fordwart our my face quhyt,
That I may spy, unaspyit, ane space be my side.
Full oft I blenk by my buke, and blinnis of devotioun,
To sé quhat berne is best branit, or braidest of schulderis,
Or forgeit is maist forslie, to furneis ane bankat
In Venus chalmer, valiantlie withouttin vane ruse.
And as the new moon all pale, oppressit with change,
Kythis quhillis hir cleir face throw cluddis of sabill,
So keik I throw my clokis, and castis kynd lukis
To knychtis, and to clerkis, and to courtlie persouns.
Quhen freyndis of my husbandis behaldis me on far,
I have my watir sponge for wa, within my wide ronkis,
Than wring I it full wylelie, and weitis my cheikis;
With that watiris my ein, and welteris doun teiris.

After many details of a very peculiar nature, the poet concludes with a pertinent enough question :--

> Of thir Thré Wantoun Wyffis that I have writtin heir,
> Quhilk wald ye waill to your wyf, gif ye suld wed ane ?

Two of his satirical poems relate to a certain Italian, whom James the Fourth had collated to the abbacy of Tungland in Galloway. This adventurer appears to have been an empiric and an impostor, and to have persuaded the king that he had discovered the secret of converting baser metals into gold ; nor is it surprising that Dunbar should feel some degree of indignation on seeing high preferment bestowed upon such a person. The abbot having failed to produce the promised gold, made a still more desperate attempt to maintain his reputation as an adept in science and art ; he provided himself with a pair of wings, and appointed a particular day for taking his flight from the walls of Stirling Castle ; when the day arrived, he indeed plunged from the rampart, but, instead of mounting in the air, he fell to the ground, and broke his thigh-bone. . These anecdotes do not rest on the authority of a satirical poet, for this must commonly be regarded as a very dubious authority ; but they are circumstantially related by Bishop Lesley in his history of that reign ;[1] and the one account may so far be considered as a confirmation of the other, although the poet has added many particulars of ludicrous exaggeration. Thus, according to Dunbar's dream, he slew a friar in Lombardy, in order to obtain possession of his habit ; and having fled to France, he began to practise physic, and in this way committed many new murders. The course of his adventures at length conducted him to Scotland, where he followed his leechcraft with similar success. When raised to the dignity of a prelate, he was not to be seen at mass ; he did not appear at matins in his stole and scarf, but was generally to be found in his laboratory, as sooty as a blacksmith :—

> In leichcraft he was homecyd ;
> He wald haif for a nycht to byd

[1] Leslæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 345. "Eadem tempestate rex (ut hoc quoque, quod vulgo non sine risu hucusque memoratur, dicam) Italum quendam, cujus faceto sermone ingenioque delectatus erat, abbatem Tunglandiæ creavit."

A haiknay and the hurtman's hyd,
So meikle he was of myance.
His yrins was rude as ony rawchtir,
Quhaire he leit blud it was no lawchtir,[1]
Full mony instrument for slawchtir
Was in his gardevyance.

He cowth gif cure for laxative,
To gar a wicht horse want his lyve;
Quha evir assay wald, man or wyve,
Thair hippis yied hiddy-giddy.
His practikis never war put to preif
But suddane deid or grit mischief;
He had purgation to mak a thief
To die without a widdy.

Unto no mess pressit this prelat,
For sound of sacring bell nor skellat;
As blacksmyth brinkit was his pallatt
For battring at the study.
Thocht he come hame a new maid channoun,
He had dispensit with matynis cannoun;
On him come nowthir stole nor fannoun,
For smuking of the smydy.[2]

His unfortunate flight is afterwards related in a very ludicrous manner. The abbot of Tungland has furnished Dunbar with the subject of another poetical dream; which contains one passage remarkable for the strength of its satirical conception:—

He sall ascend as ane horrible griphoun,
Him meit sall in the air ane scho dragoun;
Thir terrible monsteris sall togidder thrist,
And in the cludis gett the Antechrist,
Quhill all the air infeck of their puysoun.

Many of the comic and satirical compositions of Dunbar are valuable memorials of ancient manners; and, if incapable of gratifying the reader of taste, they are at least objects of curiosity to the antiquary. Of this description are the stanzas entitled the Sweirers and the Devill; which strongly evince that our

[1] "Lors que mon frere fut en Escosse, il n'y avoit qu'un medecin, qui estoit medecin de la reyne, et de mon temps en Angleterre, il n'y avoit gueres de medecins. En Escosse un menuisier saignoit, et il y avoit des barbiers qui tondoient seulement." (Scaligerana, p. 223.)

[2] The fenyet Frier of Tungland: Hailes, p. 20.

ancestors were grossly addicted to profane swearing. "It might," as Dr. Ogden remarks, "puzzle a philosopher to trace the *love of swearing* to its original principle, and assign its place in the constitution of man."[1] This vice is now regarded as a characteristic of the vulgar, of those who are truly vulgar in their habits and associations, whatever may be their external circumstances; but during the age of Dunbar it seems to have been practised by all ranks and denominations. To swear like a Scot, was once a proverbial expression.[2] In this general muster of swearers, the priest takes precedence:—

Methocht as he went throw the way,
Ane preist sweirit braid, by God verey,
Quhill at the alter ressavit he:
Thow art my clerk, the devill can say,
Renunce thy God, and cum to me.

Bishop Douglas, who certainly did not fall below the common standard of clerical decorum, has not scrupled to bedeck his compositions with abundance of oaths; which are generally introduced with as much significance as the frequent ejaculations of the ancient classics.[3] The vice of profane swearing at

[1] Ogden's Sermons, vol. ii. p. 78. Cambridge, 1780, 2 vols. 8vo.

[2] "I have never been able to discover," says Lord Hailes, "from what cause our ancestors became so monstrously addicted to profane swearing. I remember Tom Brown somewhere uses, 'swear like a Scotsman,' as a proverbial expression. There certainly must be a tradition upon the Continent, that the inhabitants of the whole island were apt to swear in common conversation; for in Holland, the children, when they see any British people, say, 'there come the G—— dams;' and the Portuguese, when they acquire a smattering of English, say, 'How do you do, Jack, G—— damn you?' Queen Elizabeth was a common swearer." (Notes on Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 241.) Of the truth of one of these remarks, I find a curious confirmation in the collection of Norman *chansons* subjoined to the "Vaux-de-Vire d'Olivier Basselin." Caen, 1821, 8vo.

Mauldicte en soit trestoute la lignye!
Ils ont chargé l'artellerye sus mer,
Force bisquit et chascun ung bydon,
Et par la mer jusq' en Bisquaye aller
Pour couronner leur petit roy *Godon*.
Choix de Chansons Normandes, p. 172.

Their little king G—— *damn* was Henry the Sixth, who succeeded his father at a very tender age. M. du Bois, the editor, has quoted a similar passage from Cretin, a Norman poet who wrote about the beginning of the sixteenth century:

Cryant qui vive aux *Godons* d'Angleterre.

[3] In the biography of the Greek philosophers, the oaths which they were pleased to adopt constitute a frequent subject of inquiry. Socrates, for example, is said to have imitated the Cretan, who swore by the fir, by the plane-tree, by the dog, and by the goose. (Porphyrius de Abstinentia, lib. iii. § 16. Philostratus de Vita Apollonii Tyanæi, p. 257, edit. Olearii.) This practice, as we learn from Hesychius and Suidas, was introduced by Rhadamanthus, who was solicitous that his countrymen should refrain from naming the gods on trivial occasions. We may perhaps suppose Socrates to have been actuated by a similar motive, though some of the fathers have formed a more severe estimate of his conduct. (Tertulliani Apologeticus, cap. xiv. Lactantii Divinæ Institutiones, lib. iii. § 19.) Zeno swore by the tree called κάπαρις, (Diogenes Laertius de Vitis Philosophorum, p. 385, edit. Meibomii.)

length arrived at so scandalous a height as to require the interference of the legislature, and it was found necessary to extend the penalties to the clergy,[1] as well as to the laity: by an act of Queen Mary in 1551, a "prelate of kirk," earl, or lord was to be fined in twelve pence for the first offence committed within the next three months; different penalties were apportioned for different ranks during the first year; and for the fourth offence committed after the expiration of that period, a prelate, earl, or lord was to be banished or imprisoned for the space of a year and a day.[2]

Dunbar has left some examples of a motley species of composition, which at that period was not uncommon, and in which shreds of different languages are fantastically combined. It does not properly come under the denomination of Macaronic poetry, in which Latin are mingled with vernacular words of Latin terminations, and in which the rules of prosody are observed with some degree of care.[3] The earliest macaronic poet

Nor was the common oath of the Pythagoreans less remarkable: they swore in a solemn manner by the founder of their sect; but from a principle of modesty refrained from naming him in direct terms, and only referred to him as the inventor of the *tetractys*. (Jamblichus de Vita Pythagoræ, p. 126, edit. Kusteri):—

Ναὶ μὰ τὸν ἀμετέρᾳ ψυχᾷ παραδόντα τετρακτύν,
Παγὰν ἀενάου φύσεως.

Aurea Carmina, v. 47.

Concerning this oath, however, several very learned writers have adopted a different conjecture: they suppose that the *tetractys* of the Pythagoreans was the identical *tetragrammaton* of the Hebrews, which consists of four letters. (Selden, De Diis Syriis, lib. ii. cap. i. Cudworth's Intellectual System, chap. iv. § xx. Gale's Court of the Gentiles, p. ii. b. ii. c. viii.) According to their notion, the passage now quoted must be explained in the following manner:—"I swear by the *tetragrammaton*, or Jova, who has communicated himself, the fountain of eternal nature, to the human soul." But this opinion, in which it seems very difficult to acquiesce, has been rejected by subsequent inquirers, and among others, by Dr. Burnet. (Archæologiæ Philosophicæ, p. 215, edit. Lond. 1728, 8vo.) The subject of ancient oaths has been treated at some length by Alexander ab Alexandro (Geniales Dies, lib. v. cap. x.), and on consulting his work, the reader will be gratified with much curious information; but it is the perpetual fault of this writer that he neglects to quote his authorities.

[1] Priestes, curse no more,
And not your heartes indure,
Bot on your flocks take cure,
Or God sall curs yow sore.
Booke of Godly Songs, sig. L. 7.

[2] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 485. See likewise p. 482.

[3] Dr. Good has made the subsequent remarks in reference to the English translators of Blainville's Travels through Italy:—"When they tell us that macaronic poetry, which is a mixture of Italian and Latin words, possessing a Latin termination, 'is so called from its being supposed to resemble (as being a mixture) the Italian maccheroni, these being composed of flour, cheese and butter,' they display a woful ignorance of the subject they attempt to elucidate. Maccherone is a term in the Italian language, significative of a blockhead, an ignoramus, or in equivalent English, a *pudding-pated* fellow; and Macchéronèa (Macaronics) are obviously, therefore, burlesque imitations of the unclassical style of such writers." (Memoirs of Geddes, p. 256. Lond. 1803, 8vo.) The style of blockheads must generally be unclassical; but the origin of the term macaronic, as applied to this motley species of composition, is never-

is sometimes supposed to have been Teofilo Folengo, a Benedictine monk, better known by the name of Merlinus Cocaius, who was born near Mantua in the 1491.[1] Of his Macaronics the first complete edition bears the date of 1518; but during the preceding century a work had appeared under the title of "Typhis Odaxii Patavini Carmen Macaronicum de Patavinis quibusdam Arte magica delusis."[2] This model was followed by Folengo, and soon afterwards by Antonius Arena, or Antoine du Sablon, a French lawyer,[3] and these two are the most celebrated poets of this fantastic school. Among the Scotish poets they found a few imitators, particularly Drummond[4] and Dr. Geddes. But Dunbar has not adhered to the same model; without regarding the rules of prosody, he intermingles Latin with Scotish lines, and produces an effect sufficiently ludicrous. Of this particular mode of composition, much earlier specimens are to be found; and Dante himself has written a *canzone* which contains a mixture of three languages: Latin, Romance, and Italian. It concludes with the following lines:—

Chanson, vos pogues ir per tot le mond;
Namque locutus sum in lingua trina,
Ut gravis mea spina

theless very truly explained by the translators. For this explanation we have the authority of Folengo himself; who in the *Apologetica* prefixed to his *Opus Macaronicorum* speaks in the following manner:—"Ars ista poetica nuncupatur ars macaronica, a macaronibus derivata, qui macarones sunt quoddam pulmentum, farina, caseo, botiro compaginatum, grossum, rude et rusticanum; ideo macaronice nil nisi grassedinem, ruditatem, et vocabulazzos debet in se continere." See likewise Menage's Origini della Lingua Italiana, p. 301. A splendid edition of the *Macaronica*, in 2 vols. 4to, was published at Mantua in 1768 and 1771, with the life of the author, by Gianagostino Gradenigo, Bishop of Ceneda. (Roscoe's Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth, vol. iii. p. 234. Liverpool, 1805, 4 vols. 4to.) The first edition bears the date of 1518. Gianagostino Gradenigo, Gravina, i. § 44.

[1] Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vii. p. 1469.

[2] Morellii Bibliotheca Pinelliana, tom. ii. p. 456. Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 1468.

[3] Meygra Entreprisa Catoliqui Imperatoris, quando de anno Domini M.D.XXXVI. veniebat per Provensam bene corrossatus in postam prendere Fransam cum Villis de Provensa, propter grossas et menutas gentes rejohire: per Antonium Arenam bastifausata. Lugduni, 1760, 8vo. This facetious work was first printed at Avignon in 1536. Another writer of the same class is Cæsar Ursinus, or Orsini, who published a little volume under the title of "Magistri Stopini, poetæ Ponzanensis, Capriccia Macaronica." Venetiis, 1653, 16mo. There are several other editions.

[4] Of the *Polemo-Middinia*, Bishop Sage remarks, "it is reprinted here almost every year." (Life of Drummond, p. v.) I have seen various editions without dates; and that of Bishop Gibson, published at Oxford in 1691, was certainly not the earliest that appeared. An English version of this poem was printed under the title of "An Essay upon Polemo-Medinia, or the Midden-Fight, between Vitarva and Neberna." Edinb. 1704, 4to. The translator, J. C., was then a prisoner, and he dedicates his performance to the governor of the jail.

Si saccia per lo mondo, ogn' uomo il senta:
Forse pietà n'avrà chi mi tormenta.[1]

Skelton, the contemporary of Dunbar, has occasionally indulged in this vein of humour; and a poem of the same description occurs among the works of Dr. Arbuthnot, though it has likewise been attributed to Meston.[2] The following stanzas, which form the conclusion of Dunbar's Testament of Kennedy, may be considered as a sufficient specimen :—

I will na preistis for me sing
Dies illa, dies iræ,[3]
Nor yet na bellis for me ring,
Sicut semper solet fieri;
Bot a bag-pyp to play a spring,
Et unum ale-wisp ante me;
Insteid of torchis, for to bring
Quatuor lagenas cervisiæ:

[1] Opere di Dante Alighieri, tom. iv. p. 342, ed. Venezia, 1758, 4 tom. 4to.—Rodrigo de Valdes, a Jesuit, has written a long and extraordinary poem, containing a mixture of Latin and Spanish, and entitled "Poema heroyco Hispano-Latino panegyrico de la Fundacion y Grandezas de la muy noble y leal Ciudad de Lima." Madrid, 1687, 4to.

[2] William Meston, A.M., was born in the parish of Mid-Mar, and county of Aberdeen, about the year 1688. Having completed his education in Marischal College, he was chosen one of the masters of the grammar school, and was afterwards engaged as domestic tutor to the two sons of the Earl Marischal. About the year 1714, he was nominated one of the professors of philosophy in the same college, but this office he did not long enjoy; for in the ensuing rebellion he followed the fortune of the noble family of Keith, and was appointed governor of Dunottar Castle. The hopes of his party having been speedily annihilated, he continued to skulk among the unfrequented wilds till his fears were at length removed by the act of indemnity. He still continued unshaken in his Jacobitical principles, and therefore could no longer hope for preferment. The death of the Countess Marischal having left him without the means of subsistence, he successively opened a school at Elgin, Tureff, Montrose, and Perth; but, as his biographer informs us, "œconomy was none of his talent, for he entertained a most perfect contempt for money." Soon after his last removal, he was employed in the capacity of a tutor in the family of Oliphant of Gask, where he continued for several years. He now fell into a languishing state of health, and retired to Peterhead for the benefit of the mineral waters: at this period he was chiefly supported by the bounty of the Countess of Errol. The remainder of his life was spent among his relations at Aberdeen, where he died in the spring of 1745, before he saw the issue of a final attempt to restore the miserable remnant of a family which the nation had no reason to love or regret. A collection of his poems was afterwards published under the title of "The Poetical Works of the ingenious and learned William Meston, A.M." Edinb. 1767, 12mo. Although the title-page bears the sixth edition, the writer of the biographical sketch observes that "the whole were never before collected into one volume, nor published in an uniform manner." His merits are somewhat partially estimated in a Latin epitaph, written by another northern poet. (Skinner's Works, vol. iii. p. 90.)

[3] This is an allusion to an ancient sequence, known to many English readers from the translations of Drummond and the Earl of Roscommon. It begins in the following manner:—

Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvet seclum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sybilla.

The day of wrath, that dreadful day,
Shall the whole world in ashes lay,
As David and the Sibyls say.

ROSCOMMON'S Poems, p. 56.

Within the graif to set sic thing,
In modum crucis juxta me,
To flé the feyndis, than hardely sing
De terra plasmasti me.

Walter Kennedy, the object of Dunbar's unsparing satire, appears to have been a native of Carrick, a district of Ayrshire, and, like himself, to have belonged to the church; of which, if we admit their mutual representations, they were both very unworthy members. In different passages of the Flyting, he communicates some information respecting himself; but how far we can rely on the authority of such a document, it is not very easy to determine.

Quhare as thou said that I stall hennis and lammys,
I latt thé witt I haue land, store, and stakkis:
Thou wald be fayn to gnaw, lad, with thy gammys
Undir my burde, smoch banis behynd doggis bakkis:
Thou hes a tome purse, I haue stedis and takkis;
Thou tynt culter, I haue culter and pleuch:
For substance and gere thou has a widdy teuch
On Mont Falcone about thy craig to rax. . . .

I am the kingis blude, his trew speciall clerk,
That newir yet ymaginit hym offense,
Constant in myn allegiance, word, and werk,
Only dependand on his excellence,
Traistand to haue of his magnificence
Guerdoun, reward, and benefice bedene,
Quhen that the ravyns sal ryve out bayth thine ene,
And on the rattis salbe thy residence.

The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy is an extraordinary effort of unrefined wit, and is at least sufficient to evince that the ancient Scotish tongue was not deficient in terms of abuse. Lord Hailes is inclined to believe that this altercation may have been a mere play of illiberal fancy, without any real quarrel between the antagonists; and this opinion he supposes to be confirmed by the affectionate manner in which Dunbar afterwards speaks of Kennedy, and of Quintin Shaw, who in this literary duel seems to have acted the part of Kennedy's second. A similar altercation was maintained by Luigi Pulci and Matteo Franco: although for the amusement of their readers they loaded each other with the grossest abuse, yet the intimacy of

their friendship is said to have continued without interruption.[1] The example of Dunbar and Kennedy was followed by James the Fifth and Sir David Lindsay, and at a later period by Montgomery and Hume. It is not to be imagined that a king and one of his courtiers were engaged in actual hostilities; and in the verses prefixed to the "Flyting betwixt Montgomery and Polwart," it is expressly stated that their altercation was not the result of a real quarrel, but an effort of what is there described as generous emulation.

Kennedy appears to have enjoyed a large share of reputation; Douglas and Lindsay have mentioned him among the greatest poets of his country: but very few of his productions have been preserved, or at least are now current under his name. Besides his two invectives against Dunbar, he is the author of a little poem entitled "The Prais of Aige," and of another against *mouth-thankless*. His stanzas in praise of age are written in a more pious strain than Dunbar's delineation of his character would lead us to expect; and although the scanty specimens with which we are acquainted cannot enable us to estimate his general merits as a writer, they at least serve to evince that he was not destitute of poetical spirit, or of talents for versification.

[1] Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol. i. p. 252.

CHAPTER XII.

ANOTHER distinguished poet of that era was Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld; a man illustrious by his birth, and still more illustrious by his talents and virtues. He was the third son of Archibald Earl of Angus, and of Elizabeth the daughter of Robert Lord Boyd, who for some time enjoyed the office of high chamberlain;[1] and he appears to have been born in 1474 or the ensuing year. With the place of his birth or education we are not acquainted, but we may suppose his course of study to have been suitable to his profession. Having entered into holy orders, he was presented to the rectory of Hawick;[2] and as the dormant energies of the human mind are awakened by external objects, his early residence amid the fine pastoral scenery of Teviotdale may have had a strong tendency to cherish in his imagination the seeds of genuine poetry. In the year 1509 we find him described as provost of the collegiate church of St. Giles' in Edinburgh.[3] This preferment was in the gift of the crown: it placed him in a situation of no small dignity and emolument; and he appears to have held it with his other benefice. It was while he filled these less elevated stations, that he composed the very ingenious works which have rendered his name so conspicuous in the literary annals of his country.

His father, who is sometimes denominated the great Earl of

[1] Crawfurd's Lives of the Officers of State, p. 315.

[2] Alexandri Myln Vitæ Episcoporum Dunkeldensium, p. 72. Edinb. 1823, 4to.—Myln was canon and official of Dunkeld, afterwards abbot of Cambuskenneth, and the first president of the College of Justice. His work, recently printed from the MS. in the Advocates' Library, is dedicated to Bishop Douglas and the Chapter of Dunkeld. A work with the following title is dedicated to Myln himself: "Exegesis in Canonem Divi Augustini, recens edita per Fratrem Robertum Richardinum, celebris Ecclesiæ Cambuskennalis Canonicum." Lutetiæ, 1530, 16mo.

[3] Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, by Dr. Russell, p. 93. Edinb. 1824, 8vo.

Angus, and sometimes *Bell-the-cat*, followed the standard of James the Fourth when he invaded England; but finding his prudent counsels disregarded, he excused himself on account of his advanced age, and withdrew from the army.[1] His two eldest sons, George and William, together with about two hundred gentlemen of the name of Douglas, perished in the fatal battle of Floddon-field. This calamity to the nation in general, and to his own family in particular, made so deep an impression on his heart, that having retired to St. Mains, a religious house in Galloway, he died there within the space of twelve months.[2] His title and estates descended to his grandson Archibald, a young nobleman whose personal attractions were so unrivalled that he speedily obtained the tender regard of the widowed queen; and their nuptials were solemnized before she had completed the year of mourning.[3] This precipitate match, which had been concluded without the concurrence of the principal nobility, excited general indignation: the Queen was no longer willingly acknowledged as regent; the pre-eminence of her husband rendered him odious in the eyes of the more powerful subjects; and the house of Douglas was involved in persecutions which arose from this resentful spirit of jealousy.

Among those who perished at Floddon were the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of the Isles, the Abbot of Kilwinning, the Abbot of Inchaffray, and other warlike sons of the church. The Archbishop of St. Andrews, Alexander Stewart, who was the king's natural son, and a young man of very promising talents, had likewise held the abbacies of Aberbrothock and Dunfermline, together with the priory of Coldingham. In a letter addressed to Pope Leo the Tenth, the Queen, after extolling Gavin Douglas as second to none in learning and virtue, earnestly requested that he might be secured in the possession of the abbacy of Aberbrothock, till his singular merits should be rewarded by some more ample benefice.[4]

[1] The Earl of Angus was at that time provost of Edinburgh. From the city records it appears that on the 30th of September 1513 his son Gavin Douglas was chosen a burgess, "pro communi bono villæ, gratis." (Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. i. p. 423.)

[2] Hume's Hist. of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, p. 235. Edinb. 1644, fol.

[3] Buchanani Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 255, edit. Ruddiman.

[4] Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 183. Edinb. 1722-4, 2 tom. 8vo.

After the death of the late primate, William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, had been nominated to the vacant see; but his modesty or infirmities induced him to decline this splendid preferment,[1] and the Queen afterwards attempted to elevate Douglas to the primacy. Confiding in the royal nomination, and in the influence of his own family, he took possession of the archiepiscopal palace; but his claims were disputed by two powerful rivals, John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, and Andrew Foreman, bishop of Moray in Scotland, and archbishop of Bourges in France. Hepburn having prevailed upon the canons to elect him to the see, laid siege to the castle, and after meeting with some resistance, expelled the retainers of his competitor; nor did the Earl of Angus, with a party of two hundred horse, succeed in his attempt to recover the possession of the stronghold.[2] In the meantime, Foreman, who was a person of great influence, found means to obtain from Rome a grant of the archbishopric of St. Andrews, and the other benefices which had been enjoyed by the late primate.[3] Douglas, actuated by a decent spirit of moderation, resolved to abandon the pursuit of this high object of ecclesiastical ambition; but the other competitors seem to have been alike insensible to motives of private virtue and of public decorum. Foreman, being afraid to publish the papal bulls, prevailed upon Lord Hume, by bestowing on his brother the priory of Coldingham, to undertake the support of his cause; and this border chieftain enabled him to appear at Edinburgh, attended by ten thousand men in arms. Having there performed the necessary ceremony, they hastened to St. Andrews in order to complete their pious task, but there they found the prior sufficiently prepared for their reception: he had placed so considerable a garrison in the castle and in the church, that Foreman was unwilling to hazard an attack, and deemed it more prudent to adjust their claims by an amicable negotiation; it was finally stipulated that he should be put in quiet possession of the primacy, that Hepburn should receive a yearly allow-

[1] Boethii Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitæ, f. xxxiii. a. Paris, 1522, 4to. Lesæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 372.

[2] Buchanani Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 256. Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 124.

[3] Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 269.

ance from the bishopric of Moray, and should retain such rents as he had already levied from the archbishopric of St. Andrews.[1]

From this negotiation Douglas derived no advantage; and, to complete the measure of his disappointments, the abbacy of Aberbrothock, which he had regarded as secure, was transferred to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and chancellor of the kingdom.[2] The death of George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld, which occurred in the month of January 1515, presented him with new prospects, and exposed him to new mortifications. The Queen nominated him to the vacant see; and, as is supposed, by the intervention of her brother the King of England, obtained a papal bull in his favour. But in the meantime, the Earl of Athole had induced the canons to postulate his brother Andrew Stewart, prebendary of Craig, who had not yet taken sub-deacon's orders.[3] The enemies of the Queen did not neglect this opportunity of disgracing an individual so nearly allied to her husband: Douglas was cited before the competent judges, and was accused of having violated the laws, by procuring bulls from Rome. Such practices had indeed been prohibited by several statutes, but they had very seldom been enforced. Of this offence he was however convicted; and being committed to the charge of his former rival Hepburn, he was successively confined in the castles of Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Dunbar, and again in that of Edinburgh. Before the period of his trial, the Queen's party had almost entirely lost its influence: the Duke of Albany, who was the grandson of James the Second, and the cousin of the late king, arrived from France on the 10th of May, and within the space of about two months was declared regent of the kingdom. A compromise at length took place between the two factions: Douglas obtained his liberty after an imprisonment of more than twelve months; and his

[1] Buchanan, p. 257. Lindsay's Cronicles of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 291.

[2] Leslæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 381.

[3] It may not be unnecessary to remark that in the Catholic church there are seven orders, namely, those of ostiarii, lectores, exorcistæ, acolyti, sub-deacons, deacons, and priests; and that no person can be regularly elected a bishop, unless he has at least taken sub-deacon's orders. Although he cannot be elected, he may however be postulated by the chapter; and if this postulation is admitted by the pope, he is then considered as elected and confirmed. "Postulatio est ejus, qui eligi non potest, in prælatum concors capituli facta petitio." (Lancellotti Institutiones Juris Canonici, lib. ii. tit. viii.) There are other canonical impediments, which we need not enumerate; for Stewart's disqualification is particularly specified by Myln.

claim to the bishopric was secured by Beaton's mediation with the new regent. He was consecrated at Glasgow by the same prelate, who defrayed the expenses attending this ceremony; and having paid a visit to the metropolitan city of St. Andrews, he proceeded to Dunkeld, where the clergy and laity testified the utmost joy at the arrival of so noble, learned, and decent a bishop. The bulls being with the usual solemnities read at the high altar, he retired to the residence of the dean, George Hepburn, by whom he was suitably entertained. The episcopal palace was still occupied by the retainers of Stewart; and the bishop finding next day that they had likewise seized the tower of the cathedral, was obliged to perform divine service at the deanery. In the afternoon he held a consultation with the nobility, gentry, and clergy, by whom he was attended: but their deliberations were speedily interrupted by the intelligence that Stewart had taken up arms, and was advancing to support his adherents; and at the same time they were alarmed by the commencement of a fire from the palace and the cathedral. Lord Ogilvy, with the eldest son of the Earl of Crawford, and many other friends, including a considerable number of ecclesiastics, with the dean among the rest, immediately began to prepare for action; and messengers having been despatched to the neighbouring districts, his party was next day strengthened by the arrival of a formidable reinforcement of armed men. Stewart, who did not find himself strong enough to hazard an attack, retired into the woods. His retainers, who garrisoned the palace and the cathedral, were now summoned to surrender, under the pain of excommunication; and on their refusing to obey this summons, the bishop's servants, led by a valiant prebendary and by James Carmichael, took possession of the cathedral. Intimidated at this event, those who occupied the palace requested that a truce might be granted, and the sentence of excommunication delayed, for a few hours; but when the stipulated time had elapsed, they still refused to surrender. The interference of the Regent at length enabled Douglas to take possession of his palace without the effusion of blood; a circumstance, as one of his biographers has remarked, "which was certainly very acceptable to the good bishop, who in all

the actions of his life discovered a gentle and merciful disposition, regulating the warlike and heroic spirit of his family by the excellent laws of the Christian religion."[1] After these events, Stewart hastened to court, accompanied by his brother the earl; and Douglas having likewise made his appearance, their respective claims were taken into consideration by the Regent and Council. It was finally agreed that Stewart should relinquish his pretensions to the see of Dunkeld, but should retain such rents as he had already levied, and should be confirmed in the possession of the two benefices of Alyth and Cargill, under the condition of paying the bishop a certain yearly contribution in grain.[2] Although Douglas had so recently been punished for soliciting bulls from Rome, yet the Regent did not scruple to apply to the pope for a ratification of this agreement: in a letter dated on the 28th of September 1516, he entreated his holiness that all informalities might be removed, and the contract rendered valid by his sanction.[3]

Having at length been installed in his cathedral, he was speedily called from the discharge of his episcopal functions. In the ensuing year, an ambassador arrived from France with a proposition for the renewal of the ancient league between the two kingdoms; and it was thought expedient that the Duke of Albany should himself repair to Paris, accompanied by Bishop Douglas, and by Patrick Panter, chancellor of Dunkeld, and secretary of state. The negotiation having been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, the bishop was employed to convey the earliest intelligence to Scotland.[4] His professional duties seem to have been again interrupted during some part of the following year: in the Cotton Library there is an original letter, signed by the Earl of Angus and others, and recommending him to the English king as a proper person for transacting certain affairs in which they were concerned.[5] Though in this manner exposed to occasional distractions, he yet presided over his diocese with exemplary piety. The various troubles in which he was formerly involved had not merely prevented him from

1 Sage's Life of Bishop Douglas, p. 7.
2 Myln Vitæ Episcoporum Dunkeldensium, p. 75.
3 Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 222.
4 Leslæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, i. 385-389. Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, ii. 165.
5 Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. xcv.

accumulating riches, but had even encumbered him with debts; yet the benevolence of his disposition prompted him to perform many acts of charity and munificence.[1] The revenues of this see are represented as ample,[2] and he was again so fortunate as to fix his residence in a delightful part of the country: the situation of Dunkeld, which no intelligent lover of our early literature can visit without recollecting the name of Douglas,[3] has a romantic beauty of which it is difficult to convey an adequate idea.

When the Duke of Albany was preparing to quit the kingdom, he delegated his authority to the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the earls of Arran, Angus, Argyle, and Huntley: but the predominating power of Angus excited the apprehensions of the jealousy of his colleagues; and they determined to unite their strength with the view of circumscribing the influence of so formidable a rival. On the 29th of April 1520, Arran with many others of the Western nobility assembled at Edinburgh in the house of Archbishop Beaton: they formed the resolution of instantly seizing the person of Angus, whose power, they pretended, was so exorbitant that while he continued at liberty, his fellow-subjects could enjoy no security. Aware of their hostile intentions, he requested his uncle, the Bishop of Dunkeld, to mitigate their resentment, and persuade them to adopt a more legal method of redress. He accordingly addressed himself to the archbishop, whom he found in the church belonging to the monastery of the Black Friars, and entreated him to act the part of a peacemaker: the crafty and turbulent prelate protested that he was at once ignorant of their designs, and unable to prevent them from being carried into execution; and to confirm this averment he made a solemn appeal to his conscience, but having too forcibly

[1] Myln Vitæ Episcoporum Dunkeldensium, p. 75.

[2] Winton's Cronykil of Scotland, vol. i. p. 167. Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 127. The bishopric of Dunkeld was reckoned the third see in the kingdom.

[3] Dunkeld, *no* more the heaven-directed chaunt
Within thy sainted walls may sound again,
But thou, as once the muse's favourite haunt,
Shalt live in Douglas' pure Virgilian strain,
While time devours the castle's crumbling wall,
And roofless abbeys pine, low-tottering to their fall.
G. Dyer's Poems, p. 89. Lond. 1801, 8vo.

applied his hand to his breast, he discovered to his indignant companion, that his sacred habit concealed a coat of mail. "My Lord," exclaimed the bishop, "I perceive your conscience is not good, for I hear it *clattering*," that is, telling tales. He next accosted Sir Patrick Hamilton, requesting him to interpose with his brother the Earl of Arran; this gentleman was inclined to peaceable measures, when the earl's natural son Sir James, a man of a ferocious disposition, rudely upbraided him with cowardice. This charge he repelled with indignation: and having drawn his sword, he rushed furiously into the street, where the Earl of Angus had stationed a numerous body of his retainers: perceiving him advance before the other assailants, the earl called aloud to his followers to save Sir Patrick Hamilton's life; but in the heat of battle it is difficult to spare those who are eager to destroy, and he was speedily slain, together with the eldest son of the Earl of Eglintoun. The encounter, which was long and fierce, was at length decided by the interference of some of the citizens, who were favourably disposed to the Queen, and therefore espoused the cause of her husband. Seventy-two of his antagonists perished in the action. During this scene of disgraceful violence, the Bishop of Dunkeld had retired to his chamber, and spent the anxious interval in a manner suitable to his profession; but when the contest was decided, he hastened to prevent the wanton effusion of blood. The archbishop, who appears to have been personally engaged, had taken refuge behind the altar of Blackfriars' church, and the rocket was already torn from his shoulders, when the interposition of Douglas saved his life.[1]

The Duke of Albany, after an absence of upwards of four years, returned to Scotland in 1521; and one of his earliest measures was to reduce the inordinate power of the Douglases. Angus and his principal adherents, having been summoned to answer for their violent proceedings, fled for refuge to the Kirk of Steyle. Bishop Douglas, who was aware of the Regent's con-

[1] Buchanani Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 261. Lindsay's Cronicles of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 285. Hume's Hist. of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, p. 245. Lord Somerville's Memorie of the Somervilles, being a History of the Baronial House of Somerville, vol. i. p. 344. Edinb. 1815, 2 vols. 8vo. Lindsay refers this event to the year 1515, but other historians, with greater probability, add five years to the number. The encounter was long remembered in Edinburgh by the name of *Cleanse the Causey*.

tempt for justice,[1] and who was too nearly connected with the obnoxious earl to consider himself as perfectly secure, hastened to seek an asylum in England.[2] At the court of Henry the Eighth, where his poetical talents had probably found many admirers, he experienced a very gracious reception; and the king provided for his maintenance by the grant of a liberal pension.[3] He now contracted a friendship with Polydore Virgil, who was engaged in composing a history of England. The recent publication of Mair's history of Scotland, in which he ventured to expose the Egyptian fables of his predecessors, had excited the indignation of such of his countrymen as delighted to trace their origin to the daughter of Pharaoh. Douglas was studious to warn his Italian friend against the opinions of this worthy doctor of the Sorbonne;[4] and presented him with a brief commentary, in which he pursued the fabulous line of our ancestry from Athens to Scotland;[5] nor was a poet to be easily induced to relinquish so fine a tissue of romantic narrative. This tract, which was probably written in Latin, seems to have

[1] The Duke of Albany appears to have been a man of a very slender capacity, and even destitute of personal courage. The following extract of a letter from the Earl of Surrey to Cardinal Wolsey reflects some light on his character: "I am also advertised that he is so passionate that and he bee aperte amongis his familiers, and doth here any thing contrarius to his myende and pleasure, his accustomed manner is too take his bonet sodenly of his hed and to throwe it in the fire; and no man dare take it oute, but let it be brent. My Lord Dacre doth affirme that at his last being in Scotland, he did borne above a dozyn bonetts after that maner. And if he be suche a man, with God's grace we shall spede the better with hym." (Ellis's Original Letters illustrative of English History, vol. i. p. 226.) See likewise vol. i. pp. 234, 237.

[2] Leslæus de Rebus gestis Scot. p. 396.

[3] Holinshed's Chronicles, vol. iii. p. 872.

[4] Douglas is one of the interlocutors in a dialogue prefixed to Mair's "Commentarii in primum et secundum Sententiarum." Paris, 1519, fol. It bears this title: "Dialogus de Materia Theologo tractanda." Dialogus inter duos famatos viros, Magistrum Gauuinium Douglaiseum, virum non minus eruditum quam nobilem, Ecclesiæ Beati Ægidii Edinburgensis Præfectum, et Magistrum Davidem Crenstonem, in Sacra Theosophia Baccalareum formatum, optime meritum." To Gavin Douglas and to Robert Cockburn, bishop of Ross, Mair dedicated his "Commentarius in quartum Sententiarum." Of David Cranstoun an account may be found in Dempster's Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 187.

[5] "Nuper enim Gavinus Douglas Doncheldensis episcopus, homo Scotus, virque summa nobilitate et virtute, nescio ob quam causam in Angliam profectus, ubi audivit dedisse me jampridem ad historiam scribendam, nos convenit: amicitiam fecimus: postea summe rogavit, ut ne historiam paulo ante a quodam suo Scoto divulgatam sequerer, in rebus Scoticis explicandis, [pollicitusque est, se intra paucos dies missurum commentariolum de his neutiquam negligendum, id quod et fecit."] Polydori Virgilii Anglica Historia, p. 52, edit. Basil. 1556, fol.) Polydore Virgil, a learned Italian who came to reside in England for the purpose of collecting the papal revenues, was appointed Archdeacon of Wells, and enjoyed this preferment till the accession of Edward the Sixth. Besides his history of England, a work of little estimation, he wrote a treatise *De Prodigiis*, and another *De Rerum Inventoribus*.

shared the common fate of the manuscripts intrusted to Polydore; who, in order to secure the errors of his work from detection, is said to have destroyed many valuable monuments of antiquity.[1] Vossius has stated that Douglas wrote a history of Scotland, consisting of several books;[2] but Bishop Bale, to whose authority he refers, only mentions a single book;[3] and it is evident that the historical work to which both these writers and Dempster allude,[4] is merely the brief commentary quoted by Polydore Virgil.

While the accomplished prelate was thus employed in England, his enemies were not inactive in Scotland. As war had been declared between the two kingdoms, his residence in the English dominions furnished a pretext for accusing him of treason: on the 21st of February 1522 he was declared a traitor, and the revenues of his see were placed in a state of sequestration; the king's subjects were prohibited, under the pain of treason, from affording him any pecuniary assistance, or maintaining with him any correspondence either by letters or messages. An account of these proceedings was transmitted to the pope, accompanied with a remonstrance against the nomination or recommendation of the traitor Gavin Douglas to the archbishopric of St. Andrews and the abbacy of Dunfermline, or to either of those preferments.[5] The extent of his influence had manifestly excited the alarm of Beaton, who was determined at all hazards to secure these ample benefices, recently become vacant by the death of Foreman. Nor were these the only expedients to which he resorted: as chancellor of the kingdom, he addressed a letter to the King of Denmark, entreating him to represent Douglas to the sovereign pontiff as a person altogether unworthy of his favour and protection.[6] Beaton became archbishop of St. Andrews, and Douglas died in exile. He had

[1] Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, p. 51, edit. Lond. 1634, 4to. "He is said to have borrowed books out of the publick library at Oxford, without taking any care to restore them: upon which the university (as they had good reason) declined lending any more, till forced to it by a mandate which he made a shift to procure from the King. In other places he likewise pillaged the libraries at his pleasure; and, at last, sent over a whole ship-load of manuscripts to Rome." (Nicolson's English Historical Library, p. 70.)

[2] Vossius de Historicis Latinis, p. 686.

[3] Balei Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. xiv. p. 218.

[4] Dempsteri Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 221.

[5] Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 328.

[6] Ibid. vol. i. p. 333.

been cited to appear at Rome, and, according to his own declaration, he intended to obey the summons;[1] but in the course of the same year, before he had begun to decline from the vigour of manhood, he was seized with the plague, and speedily fell a victim to its dreadful contagion.[2] He died at London in 1522, and was interred in the Savoy church on the left side of Thomas Halsay, Bishop of Leighlin in Ireland; whose monument also contained a short inscription of Douglas's name and addition.[3] The character which he left behind him was that of "a man learned, wise, and given to all virtue and goodness."[4] To the splendour of his birth and the dignity of his person he united many accomplishments and many virtues. Although he lived in an age of lawless violence, and was connected with a powerful and turbulent family, he was uniformly distinguished by the moderation of his conduct.[5] The fruits produced by the celibacy of the Romish clergy are sufficiently known: Douglas did not remain childless; but whether he became a father after he became an ecclesiastic, we are not informed.[6] It is however

[1] Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 194. In a letter from the bishop of Bath to Cardinal Wolsey, dated at Rome on the 19th of March, the following passage occurs: "The bishope of Dunkell his servant is come; and I doo the best I cane to helpe and assist hyme in his master's causes, accordyng your grace is commandment." (H. Ellis's Original Letters, second Series, vol. i. p. 316. See likewise p. 323.) The Earl of Morton was accused of treason, and, among other grounds, "for the tresonable counsale, help, supportacioun, and assistance, gevin to vmquhile Gawyne, bischop of Dunkeld, in his tresonable passing in Ingland:" but an Act of Parliament, passed in 1524, declared the charge against him, "in all the punctis it contenit, vane, vntrew, and had na veritie." (Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 290.)

[2] Polydori Virgilii Anglica Historia, p. 53. According to Hume's calculation, he had reached the forty-sixth year of his age in 1520. (Hist. of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, p. 246.) Several writers have placed his death in 1521; but this disagreement may have arisen from their different modes of computation, as at that period the year commenced on the 25th day of March. In that case, however, Sage remarks that "he must have been dead fourteen days before Archbishop Beaton wrote against him to the King of Denmark, which is not very probable." But the ordinary intercourse between London and Edinburgh must then have been so slow and uncertain, that there seems to be no improbability in this supposition. Other writers have inadvertently referred his death to the year 1520. (Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the British Churches, p. lv.)

[3] Weever's Ancient Funeral Monuments, p. 446.

[4] Spotiswood's Hist. of Church of Scotland, p. 101. This historian states that "he died of the plague at London in Savoy house."

[5] Buchanan's testimony in favour of a popish prelate cannot be suspected of undue partiality. "Is proximo anno, dum Romam proficiscitur, Londini peste correptus obiit, magno suæ virtutis apud bonos desiderio relicto. Præter enim natalium splendorem et corporis dignitatem, erant in eo multæ, ut illis temporibus, literæ, summa temperantia, et singularis animi moderatio, atque, in rebus turbulentis, inter adversas factiones, perpetua fides et auctoritas. Reliquit et ingenii et doctrinæ non vulgaria monumenta sermone patrio conscriptæ." (Rerum Scoticarum Hist. p. 262.)

[6] "This Gawin had a base daughter, of whom the house of Foulewood (Semple) is descended." (Hume, p. 220.)

to be recollected that transgressions of this nature were so common, that they must almost have ceased to be regarded as criminal: Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, had two sons legitimated in one day, and five daughters in another.[1]

It is the secular learning of Bishop Douglas that has chiefly attracted the attention of posterity; but Myln, who was one of the canons of his cathedral, represents him as eminently skilled in divinity and in the canon law. He was perhaps the most learned of the early Scotish poets. His favourites among the ancient poets were apparently Virgil and Ovid; among the Christian fathers his favourite was St. Augustin, whom he denominates the chief of clerks. Of the Latin language his knowledge was certainly extensive; and as he states that Lord Sinclair had requested him to translate Homer, we may infer that he was likewise acquainted with Greek. It is highly probable that he had completed his education on the Continent, and had thus given his studies a more elegant and classical direction. Nor were his talents less conspicuous than his learning. In all his writings he evinces an excursive fancy, with much of the fervour of genius. His allegorical sketches are efforts of no common ingenuity; but what chiefly renders his works interesting, is the frequent occurrence of those picturesque and characteristic touches which can only be produced by a man capable of accurate observation and original thinking. He exhibits perpetual vestiges of a prolific and even exuberant imagination, and his very faults are those of superabundance rather than deficiency. In his descriptions, which are often admirable, he occasionally distracts the attention by a multiplicity of objects, nor is he sufficiently careful to represent each new circumstance in a definite and appropriate manner.

His style is copious and impetuous, but it cannot be com-

[1] Hailes's Notes on Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 250. In a provincial assembly held at Edinburgh in 1558, we find this worthy bishop maintaining the consistency of his character. They made an act that "it should not be lesum to no kirk-man to vse whordome, quhilk if he did, for the first fault he should pay great sowmes of money, and for the second fault he should lose his benefice. To this act opponed the bischope of Murray, who was ane great whormaister all his dayes, and committed fornicatioun and adulterie, both with maidenis and menis wyffis; saying he would not put away his whoor more nor the bischope of Sanct Andros, and that it was als lesum to him to have a whoore as he." (Lindsay's Cronicles of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 526.)

mended for its purity. In his translation of Virgil he professes to be scrupulous in rejecting Anglicisms, and indeed his diction is often remote from that of the English poets: but he has imported many exotic terms from another quarter; his familiarity with the Latin language betrays itself in almost every page of his writings. His verses, though less smooth and elegant than those of Dunbar, are not unskilfully constructed. When he writes in the heroic-couplet, he does not restrict himself to ten or eleven syllables, but exhibits the same irregularity which may be traced in all the British poets from Chaucer to Surrey. This irregularity could not escape the notice of Mr. Tyrwhitt, to whom the father of English poetry has so many obligations; but in the case of Chaucer, he supposes it is not to be imputed to the poet himself, but to the negligence of transcribers, and to the changes in pronunciation. "The great number of verses," he remarks, "sounding complete even to our ears, which is to be found in all the least corrected copies of his works, authorizes us to conclude that he was not ignorant of the laws of metre. Upon this conclusion it is impossible not to ground a strong presumption, that he intended to observe the same laws in the many other verses which seem to us irregular; and if this was really his intention, what reason can be assigned sufficient to account for his having failed so grossly and repeatedly, as is generally supposed, in an operation which every ballad-monger in our days, man, woman, or child, is known to perform with the most unerring exactness, and without any extraordinary fatigue?"[1] Mr. Tyrwhitt supposes that Chaucer's heroic verse properly consists of eleven syllables; and in order to accommodate the whole of them to this metrical standard, he places his chief reliance on certain canons of pronunciation. But that these rules for the pronunciation of final syllables are liable to many objections, has, I think, been very clearly shown by a late writer, whose labours have reflected new light on the history of English poetry. In the opinion of Dr. Nott, the early system of versification was not metrical but rhythmical; or, in other words, it was more regulated by the cadence, than by a definite number of syllables. After having treated of octo-

[1] Tyrwhitt's Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer, p. 91.

syllabic, Alexandrine, and alliterative verse, he proceeds to remark that these three modes of versification had one common principle. They were all rhythmical and not metrical; that is, they did not consist, as our verses do at present, of a certain number of feet, each foot of two syllables, but they were constructed so as to be recited with a certain rhythmical cadence; for which reason they seem to have been called Verses of Cadence. One of the consequences necessarily resulting from the use of cadence, or rhythm, was, that the number of syllables in each line, were they more or less, so long as the number was not extravagant, produced no real effect upon the verse; for two short syllables occupied no greater time in recitation than one long: so that, to borrow terms from Greek prosody, though it does not appear that our early poets had any knowledge of such artificial arrangements, the anapæst or the dactyl produced on the ear the effect of the spondee; and the tribrachys, that of either the iambic foot or the trochaic. As for the final syllable of each verse, that, without any respect to quantity, was always made long by giving it a strong accent. Verses of seven or eight syllables might be read without any suspension of the voice from one end to the other; at least this seems to have been often the case. But long lines, whether of ten or twelve syllables, or more, had always a cæsura in the middle, where a pause was observed; not as long indeed as that which was observed at the conclusion of the line, but sufficiently so to divide each verse into two distinct hemistichs, each hemistich having a rhythm or cadence of its own."[1] Dr. Nott considers Chaucer's heroic verses as decasyllables, but still retaining some of the old irregularities, and generally depending on the rhythmical cadence. It was in a great measure reserved for the elegant and accomplished Earl of Surrey to introduce a metrical versification, and a variety of pauses; and his learned editor has remarked that "an attentive reader will be surprised to find how little was added afterwards by even Dryden or Pope to the system and perfectness of Surrey's numbers."

Of Douglas's original compositions the longest is the Palice of Honour, an allegorical poem which displays much versatility of

[1] Nott's Dissertation on the State of English Poetry before the Sixteenth Century, p. cl.

fancy, and a ready command of striking imagery. Still however it is to be considered as a Gothic structure, and as exhibiting many of the peculiarities which belong to that order: ancient and modern usages, classical and Christian subjects, are almost constantly blended together; and a nymph of Calliope's train expounds the scheme of human redemption. This poem appears to have been composed in 1501, when the author was twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age. Early in a morning of May, the poet enters a delightful garden, where he falls into a swoon, and is presented with a remarkable vision. He fancies himself conveyed into a dreary forest bordering on a hideous flood, and begins to complain of the cruelty of Fortune; but his attention is speedily attracted by the arrival of a magnificent cavalcade of fair ladies and goodly men. After they have passed in due order, two caitiffs approach, the one mounted on an ass, and the other on a hideous horse: these prove to be the arch-traitors "Achitophel and Sinone." The latter informs him that the cavalcade consists of Minerva and her court; the twelve dames who surround her are Sibyls; and that she is likewise attended by Solomon, Pythagoras, Cicero, and other sages, Jewish, Grecian, and Roman. They are all, says Sinon, faring towards the palace of Honour, and their journey lies through this wilderness. On his inquiring how such caitiffs as themselves are suffered to attend this court, Ahithophel replies that they make their appearance in the same manner as rain, thunder, and earthquakes are sometimes permitted to deform the face of May. He now betakes himself to a thick covert, from which he perceives Actæon pursued by his own dogs, and the court of Diana following at a small distance. The goddess herself is mounted on an elephant, and attended only by the pure votaries of chastity; but the poet archly expresses his surprise at the paucity of her followers. Notwithstanding this sneer, he seems to have entertained a very favourable opinion of the fair sex, and to have shown sufficient inclination to support their claims. Dr. Jortin has remarked that his favourite poet Virgil seems not to have introduced a single female into the happy regions of Elysium, "though the Roman and Grecian history might have furnished him with several who deserved admittance as much

as the best of his heroes."[1] He is now attracted by the most melodious music; but instead of dwelling on the solace of these celestial notes, he enters into a disquisition relative to the conveyance of sound. The court of Venus approaches: the goddess is seated in a gorgeous car, accompanied by her son Cupid, who is represented as a man well-formed, and of square limbs;[2] Mars, her true knight, attends her progress, mounted on a barbed courser; and here also are seen every renowned hero and heroine of scriptural, classic, and romantic story. On beholding their disport and parade, he begins to exclaim against Venus and all her train, but is presently dragged from his retreat and arraigned at her august tribunal: her assessors are Mars and Cupid; the indictment is read by a clerk named Varius, and the trial proceeds in due form. The prisoner pleads that he is an ecclesiastical person, and ought therefore to be remitted to his judge ordinary; but Venus is enraged at this declinature of her jurisdiction, and commands the clerk to record his sentence of condemnation. In the meantime however the court of the Muses makes its appearance, and relieves him from his alarm. This court consists of wise and eloquent fathers, and pleasant ladies of fresh beauty: some are engaged in rehearsing Greek and Latin histories, others in chanting to the lyre Sapphic and elegiac verse. Homer is the only Greek poet enumerated among the attendants of the Muses; but—

> Thair was the greit Latine Virgilius,
> The famous father poeit Ouidius,
> Dictes, Dares, and eik the trew Lucane:
> Thair was Plautus, Poggius, and Persius;
> Thair was Terence, Donate, and Seruius,
> Francis Petrarche, Flaccus Valeriane;[3]
> Thair was Esope, Cato, and Allane;[4]

[1] Jortin's Dissertations, p. 290.

[2] Mr. Douce has remarked "that the blindness of the god of love is not warranted by the authority of any ancient classic author, but appears to have been the invention of some writer of the middle ages." (Illustrations of Shakspere, vol. i. p. 223.) This remark however admits of some modification: the ancient authorities for his blindness do not indeed appear to be numerous; but the subsequent passage in Theocritus, Idyl x. 19, is sufficient to show that the invention is not to be ascribed to any modern writer:

> Μωμᾶσθαι μ' ἄρχῃ τύ, τυφλὸς δ'οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ Πλοῦτος,
> Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφρόντιστος Ἔρως· μηδὲν· μέγα μυθεῦ.

[3] By Flaccus Valeriane, Claudius, and Laurence of the Vale, we are undoubtedly to understand Valerius Flaccus, Claudius Claudianus, and Laurentius Valla.

[4] This is probably Alanus de Insulis, or of

Thair was Gaulteir[1] and Boetius,
Thair was also the greit Quintiliane.

Thair was the satir poet Juuenall,
Thair was the mixt and subtell Martiall:
Of Thebes brute thair was the poet Stace;
Thair was Faustus[2] and Laurence of the Vale,
Pomponius, quhais fame of late sans faill
Is blawin wyde throw euerie realm and place:[3]
Thair was the moral wyse poeit Horace,
With mony uther clerk of greit auaill;
Thair was Brunnell;[4] Claudius, and Bocchace.

Lille, a writer of much celebrity during the middle ages, and known by the name of the Universal Doctor. He was for some time prior of Canterbury, and died in the year 1202. (Oudinus de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, tom. ii. col. 1388. Fabricii Bibliotheca Latina Mediæ et Infimæ Ætatis, tom. i. p. 35, edit. Mansi. Gyraldus de Poetarum Historia, col. 806. Histoire Littéraire de la France, tom. xvi. p. 396.) He is best known in modern times for his poem entitled *Anti-Claudianus*, and his explanation of the prophecies of Merlin, printed under the title of "Prophetia Anglicana et Romana: hoc est, Merlini Ambrosii Britanni, ex incubo olim," etc. Francof, 1603, 8vo. *Ibid.* 1608, 8vo. Of his *Anti-Claudianus*, first printed at Basel, 1536, 8vo, a notice by Le Grand d'Aussy occurs in the Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, tom. v. p. 546. This writer has given a more particular account of a metrical French version, which he supposes to have been executed in the thirteenth century.

[1] Philippe Gualtier de Chatillon, a native of Lille, and a canon of Tournay, flourished about the year 1200. (Fabricius, tom. iii. p. 112. Foppens Bibliotheca Belgica, tom. ii. p. 1038. Histoire Littéraire de la France, tom. xv. p. 100. Warton's Dissertation on the Introduction of Learning into England, p. clxvii.) His principal work is a poem on the exploits of Alexander the Great, entitled *Alexandreidos libri decem*, first printed at Strasburg in octavo in the year 1513. I have seen other two editions. Ingolstad, 1541, 8vo. Lugd. 1558, 8vo. The latter is curiously printed with types which imitate manuscript characters. Gualtier's poem, written in hexameter verse, must be regarded as a very elegant relique of that barbarous age; and it had attained to such popularity in the course of the thirteenth century, that it was read in the grammar schools, to the exclusion of more classical productions. The fifth book contains a verse which is frequently quoted, and which it is probable that few of those by whom it is quoted can refer to its proper author:

Incidis in Scyllam cupiens vitare Carybdin.

[2] An ecclesiastical writer of the name of Faustus flourished during the latter part of the fifth century. Several of his tracts are inserted in the Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum. See Cave, Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria, vol. i. p. 453, and Vossii Historia Pelagiana, p. 33.

[3] Douglas probably alludes to Pomponius Lætus, who without any great effort of talents or learning seems to have obtained a high reputation. See Vossius de Historicis Latinis, p. 613, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651, 4to. He long filled a professor's chair at Rome, but was so far from acquiring riches that he ended his life in an hospital. (Jo. Pierius Valerianus de Litteratorum Infelicitate, p. 376, edit. Menckenii.

[4] The Brunnell mentioned by Douglas I suspect to be, not the name of a poet, but the title of a poem: Brunellus is the name of the ass, which makes the principal figure in the satirical composition, otherwise called *Speculum Stultorum*. The author was Nigellus Wireker, a monk, and precentor of the church of Canterbury, who flourished during the reigns of Henry the Second and Richard the First. (Leyseri Hist. Poetarum Medii Ævi, p. 751. Halæ Magdeb. 1721, 8vo. Fabricii Bibliotheca Latina Mediæ et Infimæ Ætatis, tom. i. p. 285, tom. v. p. 138. Wright, Biographia Britannica Literaria, Anglo-Norman Period, p. 354.) In one edition of this poem, he is called Vigellus: "Brunellus Vigelli, et Vetula Ovidii: seu, Opuscula duo auctorum incertorum," etc. Wolferbyti, 1662, 8vo. The precentor's poem, which is written in elegiac verse, is by no means despicable for the age in which it was produced. Among

Sa greit ane preis of pepill drew us neir,
The hundredth part thair names ar not heir;
Yit saw I thair of Brutus Albyon,
Geffray Chauceir, as a *per se* sans peir
In his vulgare, and moral John Goweir:
Lydgate the monk raid musing him allone.
Of this natioun I knew also anone
Greit Kennedie, and Dunbar yit undeid,
And Quintine with ane huttock on his heid.[1]

Calliope intercedes so effectually in the poet's favour, that he obtains his pardon on the condition of his composing a poem in honour of the offended goddess: he immediately pours forth an unpremeditated lay, and Venus declares she is satisfied. Her court then takes its departure, and leaves him with that of the Muses; Calliope commits him to the charge of a sweet and faithful nymph, and the whole train commences a marvellous journey. They at length reach the Castalian fountain, where he is prevented from drinking by the pressure of the crowd.

The ladyis fair on diuers instrumentis,
Went playand, singand, dansand, ouir the bentis,
Full angellike and heuinlie was their soun.
Quhat creature amid his hart imprentis
The fresche bewtie, the gudelie representis,
The merrie speiche, fair hauingis, hie renown
Of thame, wald set a wise man half in swoun:
Thair womanlines wryithit the elementis,
Stoneist the heuin, and all the eirth adoun.

The warld may not considder nor discriue
The heuinlie joy, the bliss I saw belive,
Sa ineffabill, aboue my wit sa hie:
I will na mair thairon my foirheid riue,
Bot brieflie furth my febill proces drive.
Law in the meid an palyeoun picht I se,
Maist gudliest, and richest that micht be:
My governour ofter than times fiue
Unto that hald to pas commandit me.

other proofs of its popularity, we might mention its being familiarly quoted by Chaucer:

I have wel red in dan Burnel the asse
Among his vers, how that ther was a cok,
That, for a preestes sone yave him a knok
Upon his leg while he was yonge and nice,
He made him for to lese his benefice.
Canterbury Tales, v. 15,318.

1 "This word, which Mr. Pinkerton leaves unexplained, seems to be two French words in disguise—*haute toque*. *Toque* is described by Cotgrave to be 'a (fashion of) bonnet or cap, somewhat like our old courtier's velvet cap, worn ordinarily by scholars, and some old men.'" (Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Poets, vol. i. p. 403.)—The poet who is here ranked with Dunbar and Kennedy is apparently Quintin Shaw.

Swa finallie straicht to that royall steid,
In fellowschip with my leidar I yeid:
We enterit sone, the portar was not thra;
Thair was na stopping, lang demand, nor pleid.
I kneillit law, and unheildit my heid,
And tho I saw our ladyis, twa and twa,
Sittand on deissis; familiars to and fra,
Servand thame fast with ypocras and meid,
Delicait meitis, dainteis seir alswa.

They now enter a rich pavilion; and the discourse turning on love and valour, Calliope commands Ovid, her *Clerk of Register*, to declare "quha war maist worthie of thair handis." He accordingly recounts the deeds of ancient heroes, and also speaks of transfigurations, of the art of love, and of its remedy. He is followed by other poets.

Uprais the greit Virgillius anone,
And playit the sportis of Daphnis and Corydone;
Sine Terence come; and playit the comedy
Of Parmeno, Thrason, and wise Gnatone.
Juuenall, like ane mowar him allone,
Stude scornand euerie man as they yeid by.
Martial was cuik, till roist, seith, farce and fry,
And Poggius stude with mony girne and grone,
On Laurence Valla spittand, and cryand fy!

With mirthis thus and meitis delicate
Thir ladyis feistit according thair estait,
Uprais at last, commandand till tranoynt.
Retreit was blawin loude, and than God wait
Men micht have sene swift horsis haldin hait,
Schynand for sweit, as they had bene anoynt.
Of all that rout was neuer a prik disjoynt,
For all our tary; and I furth with my mait,
Mountit on hors, raid samin in gude point.

Ouir mony gudlie plane we raid bedene,
The vaill of Hebron, the camp Damascene,
Throw Josaphat, and throw the lustie vaill,
Ouir waters wan, throw worthie woddis grene;
And swa at last, on lifting up our ene,
We se the final end of our trauaill,
Amid ane plane a plesand roche to waill,
And euerie wicht, fra we that sicht had sene,
Thankand greit God, thair heidis law deuaill.

With singing, lauching, merines and play,
Unto this roche we ryden furth the way—
Now mair to write for feir trimblis my pen:
The hart may not think nor mannis toung say,
The eir nocht heir, nor yet the eye se may,
It may not be imaginit with men,
The heuinlie blis, the perfite joy to ken,
Quhilk now I saw: the hundredth part all day
I micht not schaw, thocht I had toungis ten.

Thocht all my members toungis war on raw,
I war not able the thousand fauld to schaw,
Quhairfoir I feir ocht farther mair to write:
For quhidder I this in saull or bodie saw,
That wait I nocht; bot he that all dois knaw,
The greit God wait, in euerie thing perfite.
Eik gif I wald this auisioun indite,
Janglaris suld it backbite, and stand nane aw
Cry out on dremis quhilks are not worth an mite.

Having renewed their journey, they at length reach the place of their destination. He perceives a lofty rock, of a hard and slippery appearance, and like glass reflecting the rays of the sun; with many paths winding round it, but only one leading to the summit. The Muses and the rest of their train immediately ascend, leaving the poet and his attendant nymph behind; she leads him by the hand, and encourages him to proceed; but when they have nearly reached the pinnacle, he finds their path crossed by an abominable ditch, as deep as hell, and burning with brimstone, pitch, and lead. Here are seen floating many ghastly wretches; some already suffocated, others still yelling amidst the flames. The nymph informs him that these are individuals who once pretended to pursue the path of honour, but in the sequel, being allured by pleasure or sloth, have stumbled into this dismal lake. Seizing him by the hair, she conveys him to the summit, as Habakkuk was conveyed to Babylon. From this eminence, he beholds the world tossed in a tempest of misery, and many perishing amidst the weltering waves; he perceives a goodly barge labouring against the fury of the storm; and at length, bulging against a sand-bank, some of the crew are swallowed by the waves, while others reach the shore, and begin to ascend the rock. He learns that this vessel

is called the Carvell of the State of Grace; that those who perish are faithless people, and lovers of pleasure; and that those floating ashore on planks are saved by performing good works through Christ. He is next presented with a view of the Palace of Honour, splendid and magnificent beyond description. Within the gate he beholds many stately tournaments and many lusty sports. The nymph then conveys him to a garden, where he finds Venus, seated on a gorgeous throne, with a fair mirror quaintly placed before her; and in this mirror he sees an adumbration of the most remarkable actions recorded in history. Among many other remarkable personages, he discerns—

> Greit Gowmakmorne and Fyn Makcoul, and how
> Thay suld be goddis in Ireland, as thay say.[1]

In this enchanted mirror, he also sees divers tricks of legerdemain performed by Roger Bacon and other necromancers:—

> The nigromansie thair saw I eik anone
> Of Benytas, Bongo, and Frier Bacone,
> With mony subtill point of juglairy;
> Of Flanders peis maid mony precious stone,
> Ane greit laid sadill of a siching bone,
> Of ane nutmeg thay maid a monk in hy,
> Ane paroche kirk of ane penny py:

[1] Here the reader may with some difficulty recognise Gaul the son of Morni, and the redoubtable Fingal himself. See above, p. 170. The same heroes are mentioned by a much earlier poet:—

> He said, Me think, Marthokys son,
> Rycht as Golmakmorn was wone.
> To haiff fra 'Fyngal' his mengne,
> Rycht swa all his fra ws has he.
> BARBOUR'S Bruce, p. 43,
> Jamieson's edit.

Instead of *Fyngal*, the MS. reads *hym all;* but one of the editors remarks, "it appears to me that the transcriber of this MS., not knowing *Fyngal*, has, by mistake, put *hym all;* for the passage is not sense as it stands in the text. The passage also stands as in this note in the Edinburgh edition, 1616, 8vo, the earliest known, and in all the others which the editor has seen." (Barbour's Bruce, by Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 66.) The following passage occurs in one of Sir David Lindsay's interludes (Pinkerton's Scotish Poems reprinted from scarce editions, vol. ii. p. 18):—

> But dowt my deid yone man hes sworne,
> I trow yone be grit Gow Mak Morne.

Colville, a poet of the seventeenth century, introduces an allusion to Fingal, under the less dignified appellation of Finmacoul. (Whigg's Supplication, part ii. p 24. Lond. 1681, 8vo):—

> One man, quoth he, oft-times hath stood,
> And put to flight a multitude,
> Like Sampson, Wallace, and Sir Bewis,
> And Finmacoul beside the Lewis,
> Who in a bucking time of year
> Did rout and chase a herd of deer,
> Till he behind and they before
> Did run a hundred miles and more,
> Which questionless prejudg'd his toes,
> For Red-shanks then did wear no shoes;
> For to this day they wear but calf ones.
> Or, if of older leather, half ones.
> He chased them so furiouslie,
> That they were forc'd to take the sea,
> And swam from Cowel into Arran,
> In which soil, though it be but barren,
> As learned antiquaries say,
> Their off-spring lives unto this day.

And Benytas of ane mussill maid ane aip,
With mony uther subtill mow and jaip.

The nymph at last informs him that the mirror possessed of such wonderful properties, signifies nothing else—

Bot the greit bewtie of thir ladyis facis,
Quhairin louers thinks thay behald all graces.

After he has for some time contemplated these wonders, Venus recognises her former prisoner, and presenting him with a book, which we must suppose to be the Æneid, commands him to translate it into his native tongue. He is next conducted to a station from whence he has an opportunity of observing the multitude that presses for admission into the Palace. He perceives Ahithophel and Sinon endeavouring in vain to scale the walls. Cataline makes a bold effort to enter by a window, but Cicero, armed with a book, repels him with a mighty blow. Many thousands are foiled in their attempts to ascend the lofty walls. The nymph and her ward are admitted by Patience, the portress of King Honour. He enumerates the various officers of this august court, and describes the wonders which now present themselves. His conductress informs him that those, whom he has observed in the court of Honour, are such as during their lives were constantly directed by the laws of truth, equity, and valour; in battle they were found of most prowess, with spear, sword, and dagger; to their promises they always adhered with fidelity and plainness; they abounded in worth, and were illumined by liberality. In these domains, honour differs very widely from what obtains the same appellation among mankind: there, it is only worldly pomp and parade, and conferred with a reference to birth or station; here, it is never bestowed even on princes and prelates, except their claims be founded in virtue. Having descanted on the rewards of virtue and the punishment of vice, the nymph conducts him to a delightful garden, where the Muses are culling the flowers of rhetoric, and where trees bear precious stones instead of fruit; it is surrounded by a deep moat, abounding in fish and aquatic birds, and on the trees which adorn its margin fowls are seen growing by the bill. The access to this garden is by a single tree laid across the ditch; the nymph passes this slender bridge; but in attempting to follow her, he becomes

giddy and falls headlong into the water. Being now awakened from his trance, he composes a lay in praise of Honour, and concludes his poem by inscribing it to his sovereign James the Fourth.

Such is a very imperfect outline of Douglas's Palice of Honour; in which, according to one of his biographers, the author everywhere "discovers a vast and comprehensive genius, an exuberant fancy, and extraordinary learning, for the time he lived in. He seems to have taken the plan of it from the palace of happiness, described in the Picture of Cebes; and it is not improbable that his countryman, Florentius Volusenus, hath had in his view and improv'd his design, in his admirable (but too little known) book, *De Tranquillitate Animi*."[1] Between the respective plans of Cebes and Douglas, the resemblance is not perhaps very close and striking. The dialogue of Florence Wilson, on tranquillity of mind, was published in 1543;[2] the Palice of Honour is supposed to have been first printed in 1553; but there is nothing improbable in the supposition of its having been extensively circulated in manuscript. It has likewise been surmised that Douglas's poem is probably founded on the *Sejour d'Honneur*[3] of Octavien de St. Gelais.[4] The titles have indeed an obvious resemblance to each other, but there is little or no affinity in the plan and execution of the two works. The successive appearance of the different courts described in the Palice of Honour, may possibly remind some readers of the Triumphs of Petrarch, in which various shadowy trains succeed each other in a somewhat similar manner; but notwithstanding these different suggestions, Douglas's poem must still be regarded as entitled to the praise which belongs to an original design.

King Hart, another allegorical poem of the same author, exhibits a very ingenious adumbration of the progress of human life. It is a singular composition, and may remind the reader of Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island;* a work which furnishes a

[1] Sage's Life of Douglas, p. 15.

[2] De Animi Tranquillitate Dialogus, Florentio Voluseno autore. Lugduni apud Gryphium, 1543, 4to.

[3] Le Sejour d'Honneur, composé par reuerend pere en Dieu Messire Octouien de Sainct Gelaiz, Euesque d'Angoulesme, nouuellement imprimé. Paris, 1519, 8vo.

[4] Pinkerton's Scotish Poems, vol. i. p. xiv. Ellis's Specimens, vol. i. p. 392.

striking example of the misapplication of fine poetical talents. From several incorrect passages, it has been supposed to be one of Douglas's earliest performances. Incorrect passages we may expect to find in all the vernacular poetry of that age; and the versification appears to me superior to that of the Palice of Honour. As he has not enumerated it among his early works, we may perhaps venture to conclude that it was written after his translation of Virgil. The Heart, being the fountain of vital motion, is here personified as man himself, and is conducted through a great variety of adventures. This mystical King is at first represented with all the fervour of youth, and surrounded by Strength, Wantonness, and many other gay companions.

King Hart into his cumlie castell strang,
  Closit about with craft and meikill ure,
So seimlie was he set his folk amang,
  That he nó dout had of misaventure;
  So proudlie wes he polist, plaine, and pure,
With youtheid and his lustie levis grene;
  So fair, so fresche, so liklie to endure,
And als so blyth as bird in symmer schene.

For wes he never yit with schouris schot,
  Nor yit our-run with ronk or ony rayne;
In all his lusty lecam nocht ane spot,
  Na never had experience into payne,
  But alway into lyking mocht to layne;
Onlie to love, and verrie gentilnes,
  He wes inclynit cleinlie to remane,
And woun under the wyng of wantownes.

Yit was this wourthy wicht king under ward,
  For wes he nocht at fredome utterlie:
Nature had lymmit folk, for thair reward,
  This gudlie king to governe and to gy;
  For so thai kest thair tyme to occupy:
In welthis for to wyne for thai him teitchit,
  All lustis for to love and underly,
So prevelie thai preis him and him preitchit.[1]

In order to defend him against treason, five of his vassals, the senses, are stationed at the outworks of his castle, but are sometimes guilty of betraying their master. Honour arrives at the

[1] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. i. p. 3.

king's gate, but is refused admittance by these watchmen, who inform him that the *laird* is seated at a feast: he however forces a passage, and ascends the great tower.

So strang this king him thocht his castel stude,
With moni toure and turrat crounit hie:
About the wall their ran ane water voud,
Blak, stinkand, sour, and salt as is the sey,
That on the wallis wiskit, gre by gre,
Rolding to ryis the castell to confound;
Bot thai within maid sa grit melodie,
That for thair reird thai micht not heir the sound.

With feistis fell, and full of jolitee,
This cumlie court thair king thai kest to keip,
That noy hes none, but newlie novaltie,
And is nocht wount for wo to woun and weip,
Full sendill sad, or soundlie set to sleip,
No wandrethe wait, ay wenis welthe endure,
Behaldis nocht nor luikis nocht the deip,
As thame to keip fra all misaventure.

At a small distance from this castle stands the delightful palace of Plesance, which is "parald all about with pryd." This fair Queen is constantly attended by a troop of lovely nymphs, among whom are Beauty, Freedom, Gentleness, Kindness, and Mirth.

Happenit this wourthie Quene upon ane day,
With hir fresche court arrayit weill at richt,
Hunting to ryd hir, to desport and play,
With mony ane lustie ladie fair and bricht;
Hir baner schene displayit and on hicht,
Wes sene abone their heidis quhayr thai rayd:
The grene ground was illuminyt of the licht;
Fresche Bewtie had the vangarde and wes gyde.

This formidable array approaches the castle of King Hart: alarmed at the unusual appearance, the day-watchers hasten to inform their master; and after several of his messengers have been seized and detained, he rushes to the war with all his comely host. Plesance arranges her forces in proper order: the troops of the king being defeated, he is himself taken prisoner, and delivered to Beauty, in order to be cured of the wound which he has received from the Queen; but the

more she applies herself to its cure, the more his malady increases.

King Hart his castell levit hes full waist,
And Hevenes maid capitane it to keip.
Radour ran hame, full fleyit and forchaist,
Him for to hyde crap in the dungeoun deip:
Langour he lay upon the walls but sleip,
But meit or drink; the watche horne he blew:
Ire was the portour, that full sair can weip,
And Jelousy ran out;—he wes never trew.

Jealousy having followed his master to the castle of Plesance, perceives Lust in fetters, and love with a block about his neck: Youth roams at large; Desire lies in the stocks at the door of a dungeon; Honesty has the power of preserving him from harm, but Prodigality constantly attends him. This court is crowded with many other personages, whom it would be tedious to enumerate.

Discretioun wes as then bot young of age;
He sleipit with Lust quhairevir he micht him find,
And he agane wes crabbit at the page:
Ane ladill full of luif, stude him behind,
He suakit in his ene, and made him blinde.

Pity having at length released King Hart and his attendants, they assault the Queen, and make themselves masters of the fortress; but she throws herself upon his courtesy, and he is deeply smitten with her charms.

Freschlie to feist thir amouris folk ar went:
Blythnes wes first brocht bodwart to the hall;
Dame Chastetie, that selie innocent,
For wo yeid wode, and flaw out owr the wall.

Thé lustie Quene scho sat in mid the deis,
Befoir hir stude the nobil wourthy King:
Servit thai war of mony dyvers meis,
Full sawris sueit and swyth thai culd thame bring;
Thus thai maid ane [richt] mirrie marschalling;
Beutie and Love ane hait burde hes begun:
In werschip of that lustie feist so ding,
Dame Plesance has gart perce Dame Venus' tun.

Quha is at eis, quhen bayth ar now in blis,
Bot fresche King Hart, that cleirlie is above,
And wantis nocht in warld that he wald wis,
And traistis nocht that evir he sall remove?
Scoir yeirs and moir, Schir Lyking and Schir Luif
Off him thai have the cure and governance,
Quhill at the last befell and sua behuif
Ane changing new, that grevit Dame Plesance.

A morowing tyde, quhen at the sone so schene
Out raschit had his bemis frome the sky,
Ane auld gude man befoir the yet wes sene,
Apone ane steid that raid full easilie.
He rappit at the yet, but curtaslie;
Yit at the straik the grit dungeoun can din:
In at the last he schowted fellonlie,
And bad thame rys, and said he wald cum in.

Wantonness having hailed him from the battlements, the stranger announces that his name is Age, and that he must enter the castle: Wantonness hastens to convey this intelligence to the king, who begins to murmur at the early arrival of so unwelcome a guest. Youth immediately craves his dismission and reward; and having warned his brethren Disport and Wantonness to prepare for their departure, they all retreat by a postern-gate without taking any formal leave; while Age, attended by five hundred score of unlovely companions, enters the castle, and shocks the delicate feelings of Dame Plesance. Scarcely has he arrived, when Conscience appears before the walls, and testifies his indignation at being so long excluded. Terrified at the boldness of Conscience in proceeding to acts of violence in the presence of more than five hundred of the king's retainers, Folly and Vice conceal themselves in a corner, and several other wicked counsellors likewise make their retreat. While Conscience is employed in chiding the king, Wisdom and Reason begin to knock very loudly at the gate, and to demand instant admittance: upon this occasion, Conscience acts as porter; Reason immediately runs to Discretion, and removes the films that have long obscured his sight. After various incidents, Plesance begins to manifest the inconstancy of her natural disposition; and the King is persuaded by his new

associates to regain his own castle. But the formidable host of Decrepitude soon assaults this fortress, and takes it after a regular siege; the most redoubtable of his champions being Head-ache, Cough, and Palsy. He inflicts a mortal wound on King Hart, who immediately prepares for death by making his last will and testament.

But the most remarkable of Douglas's works is perhaps his translation of the Æneid. In the original poems which accompany it, he has fortunately specified the origin and progress of this undertaking: he there informs us that it was begun at the request of his cousin,[1] Lord Sinclair, whom he represents as a zealous collector of books, and protector of science and literature; and that it was the labour of only sixteen months, being completed on the 22d day of July 1513, about twelve years after he had composed the Palice of Honour. This task must apparently be understood to comprehend, not merely a version of Virgil's twelve books, but likewise of the supplementary book of Mapheus Vegius,[2] together with the original poems which he has interspersed in the volume. Whether we consider the state of British literature at that period, or the rapidity with which he executed so extensive a work, it is impossible to withhold from the translator a large share of our approbation. In either of the sister languages few translations of classical authors had hitherto been attempted: it has been remarked that even in England no metrical version of a classic had yet appeared; except of Boethius, who scarcely merits that appellation.[3] On the destruction of Troy, Caxton had published a kind of prose romance, which he professes to have translated from the French; and the English reader was taught to consider this motley composition as a translation of the Æneid. Douglas bestows severe castigation on Caxton for his perversion of the classical story; and affirms that his work no more

[1] Gawane zour cousing, Provest of Sanct Geill.

DOUGLAS'S Virgil, p. 481.

[2] Mapheus Vegius, a native of Italy, flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century. Paulus Jovius observes, in hyperbolical terms, that he excelled almost every poet who had flourished during the space of a thousand years. (Elogia Virorum Literis illustrium, p. 196.) L. Gregorius Gyraldus has formed a more moderate estimate of his poetical character. (De Poetis suorum Temporum, col. 530.)

[3] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 112.

resembles Virgil than the devil resembles St. Austin. He has however fallen into one error which he exposes in his precursor; proper names are often so completely disfigured in his translation, that they cannot be recognised without some degree of difficulty. In various instances, he has been guilty of modernizing the notions of this original: the Sibyl for example, is converted into a nun, and admonishes Æneas, the Trojan baron, to persist in counting his beads.[1] This plan of reducing every ancient notion to a modern standard, has been adopted by much later writers: many preposterous instances occur in Dr. Blackwell's Memoirs of the Court of Augustus; and Dr. Middleton, who, if not a more learned, is certainly a more judicious writer, has in his Life of Cicero been repeatedly betrayed into the same species of affectation. Balbus was general of the *artillery* to Cæsar; Cicero procured a *regiment* for Curtius; Tedius took the body of Clodius into his *chaise;* Cælius was a young *gentleman* of equestrian rank. In the following passage, which is Dr. Doig's translation of a quotation from the scholiast on Pindar, we encounter *ladies* at a very early period in the history of society, inasmuch as they are found in the very act of discovering the use of petticoats: "The same *ladies,* too, from a sense of decency, invented garments made of the bark of trees.[2] A late historian of Greece speaks of a *bill* being proposed in the Athenian assembly, and of the light *dragoons* of Alexander the Great.[3]

Douglas's translation of Virgil is certainly executed with no mean ability: it is the effort of a bold and energetic writer, whose knowledge of the original language, and prompt command of a copious and variegated phraseology, qualified him for the performance of so arduous a task.[4] It is indeed to be

[1] Henryson, in his Testament of Cresseid, exhibits the same incongruity of ideas:

He hath maruayl so long on grouse ye lye,
And sayth your *beedes* both to longe somdele:

The goddes wote al your entent full wele. See Chaucer's Workes, f. 214, b. edit. Lond. 1542, fol. In the edition of Henryson's poem printed by H. Charteris in 1593, we meet with a different reading:—

And sayis your *prayers* bene to lang sum deill.

[2] Encyclopædia Britannica (art. *Philology*), vol. xiv. p. 583.

[3] Gillies's Hist. of Ancient Greece, vol. ii. p. 243; vol. iv. p. 259.

[4] The learned Francis Junius, in a letter to Dugdale, has made some remarks on Douglas's version. "For a chaunge, I took your archpoet Chaucer in hand; and though I thinke that in manie places he is not to bee understood without the help of old ms. copies, which England can affordo manie, yet doe I perswade my selfe to have met with innume-

regretted that he did not devote a much longer time to this undertaking: he might thus have been enabled to render his versification more terse and finished; but the work, in its present state, is a singular monument of his genius and industry. One of his principal objects was to write in plain and intelligible language, so that his favourite poet might be readily understood by his countrymen; and by keeping this object constantly in view he has frequently attained to less elevation of style than might have been expected. His translation possesses one merit which he probably did not contemplate; as a version of a well-known classic, it presents an ample fund of philological information; and Ruddiman's excellent glossary has long recommended it to all those who have paid particular attention to the etymology of the Scotish language. The felicity of this translation has been very warmly commended by another Scotish prelate, Dr. Lesley, the celebrated Bishop of Ross; who, in enumerating its various excellencies, has stated that it always renders one verse by another.[1] But this regularity of correspondence, for which it is likewise praised by Dempster, must not be too literally understood: and it may be proper to recollect that the verses of the two poets, although they might be equal in number, could not be equal in length; as a hexameter line may consist of seventeen, and cannot consist of fewer than thirteen syllables.

The Bishop of Dunkeld's version of the Æneid seems to have

rable places, hitherto misunderstood, or not understood at all, which I can illustrate. To which work I hold the Bishop of Dunkel his Virgilian translation to be very much conducing, and in my perusing of this prelate his book (to say so much by the way) I stumbled upon manie passages wherein this wittie Gawin doth grossly mistake Virgil, and is much ledd out of the way by the infection of a monkish ignorance then prevailing in church and common wealth; yet is there verie good use to be made of him." (The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale, edited by William Hamper, Esq. p. 383. Lond. 1827, 4to.) It is however evident that in those passages which depart most widely from the original, Douglas has not been misled by his ignorance of the language, but by his adherence to the prevalent taste of his own time.

[1] "Nostram linguam multis eruditionis suæ monumentis illustravit; in quibus illud fuerat ingenii sui signum longe præclarissimum, quod Virgilii Æneida nostro idiomate donavit, ea dexteritate, ut singulis Latinis versibus singuli Scotici respondeant; eo sententiarum pondere, ut nostræ linguæ si intelligas vim occultam, mireris; ea denique felicitate, ut nullam ego antiquorum poetarum lauream cum ejus in hoc genere laude facile comparem: quippe quo videtur nostra lingua asperior, ac ab ea copia, quæ Latinam commendat, alienior, eo fuit Douglasii laus reliquis Latinis poetis illustrior, quod in Virgilio vertendo versuum suavitatem, sententiarum pondera, verborum significationes, ac singulorum pene apicum vim nostra lingua plene enucleateque expresserit." (Leslæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 396.)

suggested a similar plan to the Earl of Surrey, who translated the second and fourth books into English. In this translation he has exhibited the earliest specimen of blank verse that occurs in the history of English poetry. Dr. Nott has remarked that "we meet with so many expressions which Surrey has evidently borrowed, with so many lines adopted with hardly any other alteration than that which the difference of the dialect and of the measure made necessary, and so many taken without any alteration at all, that all doubt ceases. It becomes a matter of certainty that Surrey must have read and studied the Scottish translation before he began his own."[1] This assertion he has verified by a long series of parallel passages, which it is impossible to read without acquiescing in his opinion. The annals of Scotish literature present us with only two complete translations of Virgil, namely, those of John Ogilby and the Earl of Lauderdale. The name of Ogilby, who appears to have been an industrious and worthy person, is too well known to the readers of Pope.[2] Lauderdale's version was communicated in manuscript to Dryden, who has mentioned it with commendation, and has given a further proof of his approbation by adopting a considerable number of the lines. "Having this manuscript in my hands," he remarks in his dedication of the Æneis, "I consulted it as often as I doubted of my author's sense; for no man understood Virgil better than that learned

[1] Nott's Dissertation on the state of English Poetry before the Sixteenth Century, p. cciv.

[2] John Ogilby was born in or near Edinburgh in the year 1600. He belonged to a genteel family, but his father having spent his estate, was imprisoned in the King's Bench, and the son was obliged to maintain himself by his own exertions: it must be recorded to this poet's honour, that his industry enabled him to release his father from prison. He followed the occupation of a dancing-master in London till he received a severe sprain in his leg by "his high dancing and cutting of capers:" he afterwards became a trooper in the Earl of Strafford's guard in Ireland, and was appointed master of the revels in that kingdom. The civil war compelled him to return to England, where he now embraced the trade of authorship, and published many large and splendid works, chiefly historical and poetical. Having assiduously resumed the study of the Latin language, he at length produced "The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro, translated by John Ogilby." Lond. 1650, 8vo. Lond. 1654, fol. By his unwearied diligence, he "did learn the Greek tongue of one of his country-men called David Whitford—and being in a manner master of it," he published "Homer his Iliads translated, adorn'd with sculpture, and illustrated with annotations." Lond. 1660, fol. He died on the 4th of September 1676. (Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii. col. 740.)

His Greek preceptor, David Whitford, A.M. student of Christ Church, Oxford, was a son of Dr. Walter Whitford, bishop of Brechin. Having been deprived of his student's place in 1648, he became usher to James Shirley the poet, when he kept a school in Whitefriars: he was reinstated after the restora-

nobleman." This translation was afterwards published, and it reached a second edition.[1]

The several books of Douglas's translation are introduced by prologues, which, in the opinion of Warton, are often highly poetical, and show that his proper walk was original poetry. They have likewise received warm commendation from Hume of Godscroft, who was himself a scholar and a poet. "In his prologues before every book," he remarks, "where he hath his liberty, he showeth a natural and ample vein of poesy, so pure, pleasant, and judicious, that I believe there is none that hath written before or since, but cometh short of him. And in my opinion, there is not such a piece to be found as his prologue to the eighth book, beginning *Of drevilling and Dreams*, etc., at least in our language."[2] This poem, which he admires so highly, is written in the same stanza as the romances ascribed to Sir Hugh Eglintoun. Of this mode of composition, alliteration seems to have been regarded as an essential ingredient; and Douglas has on other occasions shown a considerable predilection for the same species of ornament. The following passage is from his prologue to the seventh book:—

Bank, bray, and boddum blanschit wox and bare,
For gourl weddir growit beistis hare,
The wynd maid waif the rede wede on the dyk,
Bedowin in donkis depe was euery sike:
Ouer craggis and the frontis of rochys sere
Hang grete yse-shokkillis lang as ony spere:
The grund stude barrane, widderit, dosk and gray,
Herbis, flouris and gerssis wallowit away:

tion, and was appointed chaplain to the Duke of Lauderdale. He died at Oxford in the year 1674. (Wood, vol. iii. col. 1017.) He was a man of literature, and published "Musæi, Moschi et Bionis, quæ extant omnia; quibus accessere quædam selectiora Theocriti Eidyllia: impressa majore charactere, sculptura adornata, Latinoque camine reddita, Græcis e regione appositis, autore Davide Whitfordo." Lond. 1659, 4to.

[1] Richard Maitland, the fourth Earl of Lauderdale, was born on the 20th of June 1653. Among other offices, he obtained that of Lord Justice-General, but all his prospects were ruined by the revolution; for he had embraced the Catholic religion, and was so weak as to follow the fortunes of King James, by whom he was very ungenerously treated during his exile. He died at Paris in the year 1695, leaving no issue by his lady, a daughter of the unfortunate Earl of Argyle. (Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 72. Shiels's Lives of the Poets, vol. v. p. 143.) His translation of Virgil has likewise been commended by Dr. Trapp, who remarks that "he shows a true spirit, and in many places is very beautiful." A curious notice of the noble poet may be found in Lord Fountainhall's *Chronological Notes of Scottish Affairs*, p. 215. Edinb. 1822, 4to.

[2] Hume's Hist. of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, p. 220.

Woddis, forestis with naket bewis blout
Stude stripit of thare wede in euery hout:
Sa bustouslie Boreas his bugill blew,
The dere full derne doun in the dalis drew:
Small birdis flockand throw thik ronnys thrang,
In chirmynge and with cheping changit thare sang,
Sekand hidlis and hirnys thame to hyde
Fra ferefull thuddis of the tempestuus tyde:
The wattir-lynnys rowtis, and euery lynd
Quhislit and brayit of the souchand wynd:
Pure lauboraris and byssy husband-men
Went weet and wery, draglit in the fen.

His prologues to the seventh and twelfth books display an admirable view of descriptive poetry; and they have been recommended to the English reader by the elegant version of Mr. Fawkes.[1] The prologue to the supplementary book of Mapheus Vegius contains a poetical description of an evening in June. In some of these original poems, Douglas has exhibited occasional specimens of his talent for description; nor did Bishop Warburton himself extract deeper mysteries from the account of Æneas's descent to the infernal regions. He appears to have consulted the commentary of Servius and the Saturnalia of Macrobius; among other writers of a more recent period, he refers to Boccaccio, Laurentius Valla, and Jo. Badius Ascensius; and it may be presumed that, in the progress of his undertaking, he had recourse to many other critics and mythologists, whose names he has not thought it necessary to mention.

These are the only works of Bishop Douglas with which we are now acquainted. On concluding his translation of Virgil, he avowed a resolution to devote his future days to the service of the commonwealth and the glory of God.

Now is my werk al finist and complete,
Quhom Jouis yre nor fyris birnand hete,
Nor trenscheand swerd sal defays nor doun thring,
Nor lang proces of age, consumes all thing:
Quhen that vnknawin day sal him addres
Quhilk not but on this body power has,
And endis the date of myne vncertane eild,
The bettir part of me sal be vpheild

[1] Original Poems and Translations, by Francis Fawkes, A.M., p. 225. Lond. 1761, 8vo.

Aboue the sternis perpetualy to ring,
And here my name remane, but emparing:
Throw-out the yle yclepit Albione
Red sal I be, and soung with mony one.[1]
Thus vp my pen and instrumentis ful zore
On Virgillis post I fix for euermore,
Neuir from thens sic matteris to discriue:
My muse sal now be clene contemplatiue,
And solitare, as doith the bird in cage;
Sen fer by-worne all is my chyldis age,
And of my dayis nere passit the half date,
That nature suld me granting, wele I wate.
Thus sen I feile doun sweyand the ballance,
Here I resigne up zounkeris obseruance,
And wyil direk my labouris euermoir
Vnto the commoun welth and Goddis gloir.

He elsewhere hints a suspicion of being too much captivated by secular learning, and too negligent of divine studies; and, to increase his apprehensions, the story of St. Jerome intrudes itself on his remembrance,

Qhow he was doung and beft into his slepe,
For he to Gentilis bukis gaif sic kepe.[2]

He might however have derived some consolation from recollecting that, if Jerome was warned in a vision against the perusal of profane authors, Dionysius of Alexandria was admonished by a voice from heaven to study them without restraint.[3]

The earliest of Douglas's performances appears to have been a translation of Ovid *De Remedio Amoris;* but of this trans-

[1] Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira nec ignis
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.
Cum volet illa dies, quæ nil nisi corporis hujus
Jus habet, incerti spatium mihi finiat ævi;
Parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis
Astra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum.
Quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
Ore legar populi, perque omnia sæcula fama,
Si quid habent veri vatum præsagia, vivam.
Ovidii Metamorp. xv. 871.

[2] Douglas's Virgil, p. 451, v. 17.

[3] See Dr. Middleton's Free Inquiry, p. 106. —Tyrie the Jesuit was favoured with a divine vision of the same complexion. "Nocte quadam apparuit illi Sanctus P. N. Ignatius, et graviter increpitum, quod plus literis quam pietati acquirendæ se impenderet, paterne hortatus est ut literis quidem operam daret, sed non tanto ardore, ut spiritus exinde maneret oppressus. Quæ admonitio ita infixa per totam vitam ejus inhæsit memoriæ, ut magno ei semper stimulo fuerit ad omnem perfectionem." (Stovelli Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu, p. 890, b. Romæ, 1676, fol.)

lation no copy is known to be extant. He mentions it in the following terms :—

> Lo thus, followand the floure of poetry,
> The battellis and the man translate haue I,
> Quhilk zore ago in myne undantit youth,
> Unfructuous idilnes fleand, as I couth,
> Of Ovideis Lufe the Remede did translate,
> And syne of hie Honour the Palice wrate.

Bale mentions another of his compositions under the title of "Aureæ Narrationes;"[1] which Sage supposes to be the short commentary noticed in the concluding address to Lord Sinclair :—

> I haue also ane schorte commend compyld,
> To expone strange historiis and termes wylde ;
> And gif ocht lakis mare, quhen that is done,
> At zoure desir it sall be writtin sone.

This comment, as the same biographer conjectures, may have been merely a brief explanation of the classical mythology. If we may rely on the authority of Bale and Dempster,[2] he likewise composed comedies ; but both these writers are apt to multiply books as well as authors. Another biographer is inclined to suppose that he may have written the Flowers of the Forest, a song which displays no small portion of pathetic simplicity. "It may be conjectured," says Mr. Scott, "that he was the author of that celebrated elegiac song, which describes the devastation occasioned by the battle of Flowdon, in that part of the country with which he had long been well acquainted."[3] It was published by Mr. Lambe in the year 1774, and is described by him as an old Scotish song ;[4] and Mr. Ritson, who thought it "as sweet and natural a piece of elegiac poetry as any language can boast," had no hesitation in believing it to have been composed immediately after the battle of Floddon-field ;[5] a decision which sufficiently evinces that, notwithstanding his confidence in his own judgment, and

[1] Balei Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. xiv. p. 218.

[2] Dempsteri Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 221.

[3] J. Scott's Life of Douglas (p. xxvi.) prefixed to his Select Works. Perth, 1787, 12mo.

[4] History of the Battle of Flodden, with notes by Robert Lambe, Vicar of Norham-upon-Tweed, app. p. 129. Berwick-upon-Tweed, 1774, 12mo.

[5] Ritson's Ancient Songs, p. 117.

his undisguised contempt for almost all his predecessors, his critical opinions on such subjects were very far from being infallible. According to a more authentic account, the tune and two detached verses of this song are ancient; and all the others were composed by a lady connected with the county of Roxburgh.[1] The language and versification are evidently of a more recent date than the year 1513; nor could such a composition be safely referred to any period preceding the last century.

[1] Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. iii. p. 127.—This lady is elsewhere said to have been Jane Elliot, who was born at Minto in the year 1726.

CHAPTER XIII.

A COMIC tale, entitled the Freirs of Berwik, and possessing a large fund of genuine humour, seems to have been composed about the period to which our researches have now descended. Mr. Pinkerton supposes it to have been written by Dunbar; but this opinion is founded on no historical evidence, nor can the internal evidence of style and manner be considered as very striking or satisfactory. "But this tale," he remarks, "cannot at any rate be above thirteen years later than Dunbar, who must have died about 1525. In 1482, Berwick was wrested from Scotland, and was ever after in the possession of the English. Now this poem speaks of all the monasteries as actually standing and flourishing while it was written; and it is well known that in 1535, Henry VIII. suppressed the lesser monasteries, and in 1539, the greater. It follows that this tale must, at all events, have been written before 1539."[1] The poet's description of Berwick, with its castle, monasteries, and other public buildings, is contained in the subsequent lines:—

As it befell, and hapint upon deid,
Upon ane rever the quhilk is callit Tweid:
At Tweidis mouth thair stands ane noble toun,
Quhair mony lords hes bene of grit renoune,
And mony wourthy ladeis fair of face,
Quhair mony fresche lusty galand was.
Into this toune, the quhilk is callit Berwik,
Apon the sey, thair standis nane it lyk,
For it is wallit weill about with stane,
And dowbil stankis castin mony ane.
And syne the castell is so strang and wicht,
With staitelie towrs, and turrats hé on hicht,

[1] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. ii. p. 394.

With kirnalis wrocht craftelie with-all ;
The porteulis most subtellie to fall,
Quhen that thame list to draw thame upon hicht,
That it may be into na mannis micht,
To win that hous by craft or subtiltie.
Thairto it is maist fair alluterrlie ;
Into my tyme, quhairever I have bein,
Most fair, most gudelie, most plesand to be sene :
The toun, the castel, and the plesand land,
The sea wallis upon the uther hand,
The grit Croce kirk, and eik the Masondew ;[1]
The freirs of Jacobinis, quhyt of hew,
The Carmelites, Augustins, Minors eik,
The four ordours of freiris war nocht to seik.[2]

From the conclusion of this passage it is easy to perceive that the poet, whoever he may have been, does not speak of the monasteries of Berwick as actually flourishing when he composed his tale : what he avers is merely this ; when the adventures took place, friars of these different orders were not to seek, but were dwelling in the town. It is therefore evident that this chronological argument is by no means satisfactory, and that the tale may have been written after the suppression of the English monasteries.

Allan and Robert, two White or Jacobine friars of Berwick, returning from a visit to some of their brethren in the country, are overtaken by the twilight, and stop at the house of Simon Lauder, a gay *ostleir* or innkeeper. They begin to make tolerable cheer, and linger till the gates of the abbey are closed :—

The freirs woxe blyth, and mirrie tales culd tell,
And ewin so thai hard the prayar bell
Of that abbay ; and than thai war agast,
Becaus thai wist the yetts war lokit fast,

[1] *Masondew* is evidently a corruption of *Maison de Dieu*, which signifies an hospital. An account of Berwick was published by a physician, who long resided in it ; but here the reader will search in vain for its ecclesiastical antiquities. (Fuller's Hist. of Berwick-upon-Tweed. Edinb. 1799, 8vo.)

[2] In quoting the Freirs of Berwik, I have chiefly adhered to the edition which occurs among the Maitland Poems, but have borrowed several readings from Bannatyne's MS. Of this poem there were at least two early editions, but all the copies seem to have perished. At the end of his edition of the Priests of Peblis, Robert Charteris acquaints the reader that he has "printit sindrie uther delectabill discourses undernamit, sic as are David Lindesayes Play, Philotus, Freirs of Berwick, and Bilbo." In 1622, "The merie Historie of the thrie Freirs of Berwick" was printed at Aberdeen by Edward Raban. (Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. ci.) *Bilbo* is a production altogether unknown.

That thai micht nocht fra thyn get entérie :
The gudwyf than thai pray, for charité,
To grant thame harborie thair for that nicht.

Dame Alèsoun, however, protests that a regard for her reputation will not suffer her to harbour friars during her husband's absence ; but Allan, whose age and infirmities render him unwilling to venture abróad at so late an hour, persists in his entreaties, and at length makes some impression on the hostess. "The gudwyf luikit at the freyris tuay." She declares that the only bed she can promise them is a truss of straw in the barn : they gladly accept even of this accommodation ; with manifest impatience she urges them to retire, and they accordingly take refuge in the hay-loft.

Freyr Allane liggis doun as he best micht :
Freyr Robert sayd, "I oucht to walk this nicht ;
Quha wait perchance sum sport I may espy ?"
Thus in the loft I lat the freyris ly,
And of this fayr wyff I will tellyne mair.
Scho was full blyth that thai war closin thair,
For sho had made ane tryst, that samyn nicht,
Freyr Johne hir luffis supper for to dicht,
Thairfoir scho wald nane uther cumpany,
Becaus Freyr Johne all nicht with hir wald ly ;
Quhilk duelland was within that nobill toun ;
Ane gray freyr he was of greit renoun.
He governit all the haly abbasy :
Silver and gold he had aboundantlie.
He had ane previe postroun of his awin,
That he micht usché, quhen him list, unknawin.
Thus in the toun I will him leven still,
Bydand his tyme ; and turne agane I will
To this fayr wyf, how scho the fyre culd beit :
Scho thrangis on fat capouns on the speit ;
And fat cunyngs to the fyre can lay,
And bade hir madin, in all haste scho may,
To flame, and turne, and tost thame tendyrlie ;
Syn till hir chalmer scho is went in hie.
Scho castis on ane kirtil of fyne reid,
Ane quhyte curchey scho cast upon hir heid.
Hir kyrtil belt was silk and silver fyne,
With ane proud purs, and keyis gingling syne.
On ilkane fyngar scho wars ringis tuo :
Scho was als pround as ony papingo.

And of ane burde of silk, richt costlie grein,
Hir tusché was, with silver weil besene.
And but scho come into the hall anone,
And syn scho went to se gif ony come.
And ewin so Freyr Johne knokt at the yet,
His knok scho knew, and in scho culd him lat.

She welcomes this Franciscan friar with sufficient cordiality, and they proceed to caress each other without reserve.[1] In the meantime, Robert, a young and sly brother, is not much inclined to sleep; he suspects there must be some very particular reason for excluding them; and having with the help of his bodkin, made a hole in the thin partition which separates the barn from the dwelling-house, he amuses himself with observing their motions. Their supper is by no means despicable; for Alesoun furnishes rabbits, capons, and wild-fowl, in addition to the store provided by the amorous friar, which consists of a couple of partridges, with plenty of claret and bread of main; but it is scarcely placed on the table when they are alarmed by the unexpected arrival of the husband, who loudly knocks and calls at the gate. Friar John is thrown into a state of no small trepidation, and, as he finds it impossible to escape, is fain to shelter himself under a large kneading-trough: Alesoun orders her maid to remove every vestige of the supper, and hastens to bed, when Simon, wearied with calling to his faithful wife, comes round to the window of her bed-chamber, and at length gains admittance. He sits down to a tolerable supper, and begins to wish for some good companion:—

He sittis doun, and sweiris, "Be Allhallow,
I fayr richt weill, had I but ane gud fallow.[2]

[1] Æneas Sylvius, afterwards known by the name of Pius the Second, made the following remarks on the people of Scotland:—"Viros statura parvos, et audaces, feminas albas, et venustas, atque in venerem proclives: basationes feminarum minoris illic esse, quam manus in Italia tractationes." (Commentarii Rerum memorabilium quæ Temporibus suis contigerunt, p. 4, edit. France, 1614, fol.)

[2] Cardan, who had himself visited Scotland, has commemorated the exemplary hospitality of the natives:—"Est vero inter amicitiæ fœdera non vulgare, hospitii jus quod invidia vacet, quale apud Scotos: nam apud nos rarius est, et omnes jam ad cauponas divertunt. Argumentum id est, nos factos deteriores majoribus nostris." (De Utilitate ex Adversis capienda, p. 41.) This singular person had been invited to Scotland by Archbishop Hamilton; who endeavoured by the temptation of an ample stipend, to retain him as his domestic physician. (Cardanus de propria Vita, p. 193, edit. Nandiæ.) Cardan has preserved a letter of the archbishop, written in Latin, and dated at Edinburgh, on the 4th of February 1552. (Liber de Libris propriis, p. 176. Lud. 1557, 8vo.)

Dame eit with me, and drink gif that ye may."
The gudwyf answert meiklie, " Hop I nay.
It war mair tyme into your bed to be,
Than now to sit desyrand cumpanie."
The freyris tua, that in the loft can ly,
They hard him weill desyrand cumpany.
Freyr Robert said, " Allane, gud brother deir,
I wald the gudman wist that we war heir.
Quha wait perchance the better we may fayr ?
For sickerlie my hart will ewir be sair
Gif yon scheip's heid with Symon birneist be,
And thair so gud meit in yon almorie."
And with that wourd he gave ane hoist anone.
The gudman heird, and speirit, " Quha is yon ?
Methink that thair is men into yon loft."
The gudwyf answerit with wourdis soft,
" Yon are your awin freyris brether tuay."
" I pray the, dame, tell me what freyrs are thay ? "
" Yon is Freyr Robert, and sillie Freyr Allane,
That all this day has gane with meikle pane.
Be thay war hier it was sa verray lait,
Houris was roung, and closit was the yet,
And in yon loft I gave thame harborye."
The gudman said, " Sa God have part of me,
Thay freiris, tua ar hartlie wylcum hidder ;
Gar call thame doun, that we may drink togidder."
The gudwyf said, " I reid yow lat thame ly :
Thay had lever sleip nor be in laudery.
To drink and dot, it ganis nocht for thame."
" Lat be, fair dame ; thay wourdis are in vane :
I will thame have, be Goddis dignité ;
Mak no delay, bot bring thame doun to me."

Allan and Robert accordingly descend from the hay-loft, and meet their jolly host with due cordiality. When Allan begins to commend the fare, Simon protests that he would give a golden crown for something more suitable to his wishes ; Robert, who had cast a wistful eye on the supper intended for the grey-friar, undertakes to procure, by the aid of a certain art which he had acquired at Paris, a richer supply of provisions, with wine of Gascony ; and the mention of such a power, whether science, necromancy, or art, excites the eager curiosity of Simon :—

Than Symon said, " Freyr Robert, I yow pray,
For my saik that science ye wald assay,

To mak us sport." And than the freyr uprais,
And tuke his buik, and to the flure he gayis,
And turnis our, and reidis on ane space ;
And in the eist he turnit ewin his face,
And maid ane croce ; and than the freyr cuth lout,
And in the west he turnit him ewin about,
Than in the north he turnt, and lowtit doun,
And tuke his buke and said ane orisone ;
And ay his e was on the almerie,
And on the trouche, quhar that the freyr cuth ly.
He sit him doun and kaist abak his heid,
He girnt, he glourt, he gapt as he war weid,
And quhylum sat still in ane studying,
And quhylum on his buik he was reyding,
And quhylum bayth his handis he wald clap,
And uther quhyls he wald bayth glour and gaip ;
And on this wyse he yeid the hous about,
Weil twys or thrys ; and ay the freyr cuth lout
Quhen that he came ocht neir the almerye—
Thairat our dame had wounder grit invy.

After his spells have arrived at the proper point, he commands Alesoun to open the cupboard, and to display the dainty cheer which his art has procured. The artful hostess, who strongly suspects the real origin of his magic, makes a virtue of necessity, and, with pretended astonishment, produces the supper and wine which she had destined for her favourite friar. Simon was not a little surprised at the effects of Friar Robert's enchantments, but has no hesitation in partaking of the comfortable cheer which he has thus provided. After they have regaled themselves during the greater part of the night, Simon cannot refrain from alluding to the wonderful science of his guest ; and the roguish friar promises to gratify his curiosity so far as to conjure up his ministering spirit, but not in his proper form :—

Freyr Robert said, "Sen that your will is so,
Tell onto me, withouttin wourdis mo,
Into quhat stait ye list that he appeir."
Than Symon said, "In lyknes of ane freyr,
In quhyte habite, sic as yourself can weir ;
For colour quhyt it will to no man deir,
And ewill spreitts quhyte colour ay will fle."
Freyr Robert said, "I say it may nocht be,

That he appeir intil our habite quhyt;
For till our ordour it war grit dispyt,
That ony sic unwourthy wicht as he
Into our habite ony man suld se.
Bot sen it plesis yow that now is here,
Ye sall him se in lyknes of ane freyr,
In gray habite, as is his kynd to weir,
Into sic wys that he sall no man deir,
Sua that ye do as I sall you devys,
To hald you clois, and rewle you on this wys;
Quhat sua it be that outher ye se or heir
Ye speik nothing, nor yit ye mak no steir,
Bot hald ye clois quhil I have done my cuir.
And, Symon, ye man be upo the flure
Neir besyd me; I sall be your warrand,
Have ye no dreid, bot still be me ye stand."
Than Symon said, "I consent it be sua."
Than up he stert, and tuik ane libberlay
Intill his hand, and on the flure he stert,
Sumthing effrayt, thoch stalwart was his hart.

Friar Robert, unwilling to expose the holy culprit to utter disgrace, conducts his operations in such a manner as to suffer him to escape without detection, but not without a little wholesome castigation. Resuming his book, and turning towards the kneading-trough, he thus addresses the reputed spirit:—

"How, Hurlbasie! anone I conjure thee,
That up thow ryse, and syne to us appeir
In gray habite in lyknes of ane freyr.
Out fra the trouche, quhair that thow can ly,
Thow rax thee sone, and mak us na tary:
Thow turne our the trouche, that we may see,
And syn till us thow schaw thé openlie;
And in this place se na man that thow greif,
Bot draw thy handis bayth into thy sleif,
And pow thy cowl down owttour thy face,
For thow sall byd na langar in this place."
With that the freyr under the trouche that lay,
No wounder thoch his hart was in effray:
Than off the trouche he tumblit sone anone,
And to the dure he schapis him to gone,
With ewill cheyr and dreyrie countynance,
For never befoir him happint sic ane chance.
Bot quhen Freyr Robert him saw gangand by,
Than on Symon he cryis hastelie,

"Stryk hardelie, for now is tyme to the."
With that Symon ane felloun flap leit flie ;
With his burdoun he hit him in the nek,
He was so fers he fell attour ane fek,
And brak his heid upon the mustarde stone.
Be that the freyr attour the stair was gone,
In sic ane wys he missit hes the trap,
He fell in ane meikil myre, as wes his hap,
Was fourtie fute on breid, under the stayr,
And thus his pairt was nathing wounder fayr
Into that tyme, considdering how it stude.
Out of the myre full smertlie at he woude,[1]
And on the wall he clame full haistely,
Was maid about, and all with stanis dry,
And of that 'schape in hart he wes full fane ;
Now he sall be richt layth to come agane.

Every reader acquainted with the poems of Allan Ramsay must here recognise the original of the Monk and the Miller's Wife; and I will venture to add that the ancient is greatly superior to the modern tale. Ramsay's tale, says Lord Woodhouselee, "would of itself be his passport to immortality, as a comic poet. In this capacity he might enter the lists with Chaucer and Boccaccio, with no great risk of discomfiture. Though far their inferior in acquired address, his native strength was perhaps not widely disproportionate. Of this admirable tale, I conceive he has the merit of the invention; as the story is not to be found in any of the older writers, as Sachetti, Boccaccio, or in the *Cento Novelle antiche.* In a few circumstances there is indeed a small resemblance to the 73d of the *Cent nouvelles Nouvelles,* entitled 'L'Oiseau en la Cage,' which barely affords a presumption that Ramsay may have read that story; but in all the material circumstances, his Monk and the Miller's Wife is original. A story of more festive humour could not have been devised. The characters are sustained with consummate propriety; the manners are true to nature; and poetic

[1] This expression, says Mr. Pinkerton, "is not clear, or rather it is nonsense: *that he would* forms neither grammar nor meaning." But *woude* is the preterite of the verb to wade; and "to wade at" signifies to wade with perseverance. Similar expressions may be found in other early poets. In the following passage of the ancient ballad of Chevy-Chase, "he rode att" signifies he continued to ride.

The dougheti Dogglas on a stede
He rode att his men beforne.

PERCY'S Reliques, vol. i. p. 7.

justice is most strictly observed in the winding up of the piece."[1] But whatever merit this comic tale may possess, it is evident that the praise of invention does not belong to Ramsay: he had doubtless read the old Scotish tale in Bannatyne's MS., from which he transcribed other poems less likely to attract his attention. It may scarcely be worth while to remark that the ecclesiastic whom he introduces is a secular, a parish-priest, and is therefore very improperly described as a monk.[2] That the author of the Freirs of Berwik was likewise indebted to some preceding poet, may perhaps be considered as highly probable. In the collection of Le Grand there is a *fabliau* which exhibits some lineaments of the story. A poor clerk, after having studied at Paris, is returning homewards without any money in his pocket, and, on the approach of night, calls at a solitary house to entreat a lodging; but the farmer's wife very unceremoniously refuses to shelter him during the absence of her husband. As he is quitting the house, he observes a servant bringing some wine in a basket; and at the same time the maid places in a cupboard a cake which she has just made, together with a piece of fresh pork which she has taken out of the pot. A priest, wrapped up in his cope, soon afterwards passes the clerk in silence, and glides into the house. The wayfaring scholar, overwhelmed with fatigue, and dying of hunger, seats himself by the road-side: there he is found by the farmer, who happens to return sooner than he was expected; and they procure admittance after the priest has found a place of refuge in the stable, which seems to occupy the ground floor under the family dwelling. While the maid is preparing some refreshment, the *laboureur* proposes that the clerk should either sing a song or tell a story: he declares that he knows neither song nor story, but offers to relate an adventure which happened to him in the morning; and by detailing this supposed adventure,

[1] Woodhouselee's Remarks on the Genius and Writings of Ramsay (p. cvii.) prefixed to his Poems. Lond. 1800, 2 vols. 8vo.

[2] We are so far removed from the pale of the Romish church, that some of our writers, more learned than Allan Ramsay, have committed similar errors. Lord Woodhouselee, for example, has stated in reference to Petrarch that "he was only a secular clergyman, and never entered into the order of priesthood." (Essay on the Life and Character of Petrarch, p. 39. Edinb. 1810, 8vo.) In the canon law, a secular is an ecclesiastic who does not belong to any of the regular, or monastic orders; but this is evidently very different from the meaning which the learned writer intended to convey.

he very dexterously contrives to take his revenge on the farmer's wife. As he was traversing a wood, he saw a numerous herd of swine: some of them were large, others small, some white, others black, in a word, they were of all sizes and of all colours; but above all he admired the leader of this band; he was fat, shining, plump—in a word, just such another as must have been that of which Catherine lately took a morsel from the pot. The clerk prosecutes his tale with the same arch simplicity, and contrives to reveal the secret of the wine, the cake, and finally of the priest concealed in the stable. The enraged farmer, having seized a cudgel, chastises his wife; and the priest, anticipating the same discipline, makes an attempt to escape, but is unmercifully beaten, stripped naked, and in this condition turned out of the house, leaving the clerk to enjoy this joke, together with the supper and wine intended for another guest.[1] This is certainly not the identical story of the Freirs of Berwik; several of the incidents are essentially the same, but the comic scene of the pretended conjuration is wanting. Still however the Scotish tale may have been borrowed from some preceding writer. A story not materially different occurs in a French collection published in 1665, and probably in many others: the scene is laid in Granada; the unfortunate gallant is an advocate, and the pretended magician a soldier.[2] This publication is indeed of a recent date: but such a tale is too pungent and characteristic to have been devised by the obscure compiler of the collection; and it is sufficiently probable that this tale and the Freirs of Berwik were both derived from one common source.[3] Many stories, both tragic and humorous, seem to have passed with rapidity from language to language, even at a period when the different nations of Europe are generally supposed to have

[1] Le Grand, Fabliaux ou Contes du XII^e. et du XIII^e. Siècle, tom. iv. p. 1, edit. Paris, 1781, 5 tom. 12mo.

[2] Les Recréations Françoises; ou nouveau Recueil de Contes à rire; pour servir de divertissement aux mélancholiques, et de joyeux entretien dans les cours, les cercles, et les ruelles, part i. p. 178. A Rouen, chez David Berthelin, dans la Cour du Palais, 1665, 2 part, 8vo. The compiler, whose name is Nipe, professes to have gleaned from all the ancient and modern books of tales, and to have added new stories of his own invention, "plus capable de faire mourir de rire, que de faire dormir de bout."

[3] A similar incident occurs in Ravenscroft's London Cuckolds, a Comedy, act ii. scene ii. Lond. 1688, 4to. In reference to this scene, Langbaine has remarked that "Loveday's discovering Eugenia's intrigue, and pretending to conjure for a supper, is borrowed from *Les Contes d'Ouville*; part 2, p. 295." (Account of the English Dramatick Poets, p. 421. Lond. 1691, 8vo.)

maintained but little intercourse with each other. In many instances it is by no means easy to account for this early transmission; but there were some peculiar circumstances which may be supposed to have had considerable influence; as, for example, pilgrimages to remote countries; the various missions and visitations of the clergy; the extensive journeys of merchants and their attendants; and the association of people of different nations in the same military service, particularly in the successive crusades. The original stock of materials is much more scanty than is commonly imagined;[1] and the most distinguished writers of tales, whether in verse or prose, have very frequently been content to borrow the entire skeleton of a story, but from them it still derives its flesh and blood, its life and spirit; for in most instances the chief merit consists in the mode of telling the story, and not in the story itself.

"The thrie Tailes of the thrie Priests of Peblis"[2] are supposed by Mr. Pinkerton to have been written before the year 1492, because they mention Grenada as being still a heathen kingdom.[3] John, one of the three priests, is described as a "Master in Arte" who had visited the five kingdoms of Spain, four Christian and one Heathen; but the period when the author wrote, and the period when he supposes the three priests to have held their meeting, are not necessarily the same. He begins his poem by stating that three priests happened "sum tyme" to meet at Peebles on the first of February: he there-

[1] The Earl of Orford professes to have derived the dreadful plot of his Mysterious Mother from an English tradition, though he afterwards discovered the supposed origin of this tradition in the novels of the Queen of Navarre. A similar story, under the title of *La mayor Confusion*, occurs among the novels of Perez de Montalvan. (Sucesos y Prodigios de Amor, en ocho Novelas exemplares, f. 38. Sevilla, 1633, 4to.) The scene is laid in Madrid; and Bishop Taylor has quoted from Cornilolus its exact parallel in "a strange and rare case happening in Venice." (Ductor Dubitantium, or the Rule of Conscience, vol. i. p. 118. Lond. 1660, 2 vols. fol.)

Among other works, "el Doctor Juan Perez de Montalvan, natural de Madrid, y Notario del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion," published an edifying account of St. Patrick and his Purgatory. It was reprinted at Lisbon: "Vida y Purgatorio de S. Patricio." Lisboa, 1646, 16mo.

[2] The thrie Tailes of the thrie Priests of Peblis: contayning many notabill examples and sentences, and (that the paper sould not be voide) supplyit with sundrie merie Tailes, very pleasant to the reader, and mair exactlie corrected than the former impression. Imprinted at Edinburgh be Robert Charteris, 1603, 4to.—"The *merie Tales* mentioned in title-page," says Mr. Pinkerton, "are in prose, and printed in a small letter on the margin: they are taken from George Peele's Tales." The poem is reprinted in Pinkerton's Scotish Poems, vol. i., and in Laing's Early Metrical Tales.

[3] Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. c. Scotish Poems, vol. i. p. xiv.

fore fixes the day of the month, but leaves the year altogether doubtful. Another writer is disposed to conclude that it must have been composed about the year 1540. The poem, as he conceives, abounds with allusions to the state of the kingdom during the latter part of the reign of James the Fifth;[1] and it is sufficiently obvious that many of the allusions are at least capable of such an application; but it was the misfortune of Scotland that this was not the only reign which afforded abundant scope for similar animadversions. Another argument of the same writer is extremely feeble: because the poem contains some allusions to passages of Scripture, he concludes that it could not have been written till after the publication of an English version of the Psalms and New Testament. In order to render this argument available, it would be necessary to prove that the poet had adopted the peculiar phraseology of some English translation: but his quotations are merely such as the Vulgate would have supplied to any person who had a moderate knowledge of Latin; and the Bible had at an early period been translated into English by Wickliffe, of whose manuscript version many copies were doubtless in circulation. These tales were at least composed as early as the year 1548;[2] nor is it perhaps to be considered as very probable that they were composed much earlier than that period.

The three priests of Peebles, having met on St. Bride's day for the purpose of regaling themselves, agree that each in his turn shall endeavour to entertain the others by relating a story. Their tales have a moral tendency, but are not infested by the dulness which characterizes many early compositions of the same class.[3] The first tale introduces a certain king, who in full parliament proposes an appropriate question to each of the three estates. His first question is, Why the family of a wealthy burgess never thrives to the third generation? He next in-

[1] Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. ii. p. 227.

[2] Complaynt of Scotland, p. 223.

[3] The solemnity with which the priests thank each other for their excellent tales, makes some approach to the ludicrous:—

And than spak al that fellowship but fail,
God and Sanct Martyne quyte yow of your tail.

And than spak al the fallowship thus syne,
God quyte yow, Sir, of your tail, and Sant Martyne.

And than speiks the tother twa full tyte,
This gude tale, Sir, I trow God will yow quyte.

quires, how it happens that the present race of nobility have so much degenerated from their ancestors; and lastly, how the clergy are no longer endowed with the power of working miracles. In the answers successively delivered by the three estates, there are some gleanings of curious information. The gradual progress of a successful trader is thus detailed:—

Becaus thair fathers purely can begin,
With hap, and halfpenny, and a lamb's skin;
And purely ran fra toun to toun on feit,
And than richt oft wetshod, werie, and weit;
Quhilk, at the last, of mony smals couth mak
This bonie pedder ane gude fute pak:
At ilkane fair this chapman ay was fund,
Quhil that his pak was wirth fourtie pund.
To beir his pak, quhen that he faillit force,
He bocht ful sone ane mekil stalwart horse,
And at the last so worthelie up wan,
He bocht ane cart to carie pot and pan,
Baith Flanders coffers, with counters and kist;
He wox a grand rich man of anie wist:
And syne unto the town, to sel and by,
He held a chop to sel his chaffery.
Than bocht he wol, and wyselie couth it wey,
And efter that sone saylit he the sey:
Than come he hame a verie potent man,
And spousit syne a michtie wyfe richt than.
He sailit over the sey sa oft and oft,
Quhil at the last ane semelie ship he coft,
And waxe sa ful of warldis welth and win,
His hands he wish in ane silver basin:
Foroutin gold or silver into hurde,
Wirth thrie thousand pund was his copburde.
Riche was his gounis with uther garments gay;
For sonday silk, for ilk day grene and gray.
His wyfe was cumlie cled in scarlet reid;
Scho had na dout of derth of ail nor breid.
And efter that, within a twentie yeir,
His sone gat up ane stalwart man and steir.

In the subsequent passage we find some information respecting the history of ecclesiastical preferments:—

The bishops cums in at the north window,
And not in at the dur, nor yit at the yet,
Bot over waine and quheil in wil he get.

And he cummis not in at the dur,
God's pleuch may never hald the fur
He is na hird to keip thay sely sheip,
Nocht bot ane tod in ane lambskin to creip.
How sould he kyth mirakil, and he sa evil?
Never bot by the dysmel, or the devil.
For now on dayes is nouther riche nor pure
Sal get ane kirk, al throw his literature:
For science, for vertew, or for blude,
Gets nane the kirk, bot baith for gold and gude.
Thus, greit excellent king, the Haly Gaist
Out of your men of gude away is chaist:
And war not that, doutles I yow declair
That now, as than, wald hail baith seik and sair.
Sic wickednes this world is within,
That symonie is countit now na sin.
And this is the caus, baith al and sum,
Quhy blind men sicht, na heiring gets na dum;[1]
And thus is the caus, the suith to say,
Quhy halines fra kirkmen is away.

The tale of the second priest relates the various lessons which a certain king received from a learned clerk, who disguised himself as a fool, and in that capacity was placed upon the household establishment. Some of the incidents contained in this part of the poem may have suggested the plan of a strange

[1] Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and other eminent divines of the same period, were of opinion that if a truly pious Christian were to undertake the conversion of heathen nations, he might still hope to be endowed with the gift of tongues, and the power of working miracles. "I think it still very credible, that if persons of sincere minds did go to preach the pure Christian religion, free from those errors and superstitions which have crept into it, to infidel nations, that God would still enable such persons to work miracles, without which there would be little or no probability of success." (Tillotson's Sermons, vol. x. p. 4452.) It was still the current opinion, even among Protestants, that a miraculous power continued for several centuries to reside in the Christian church: when Dr. Middleton controverted this opinion in his Free Inquiry, he encountered the most vehement and acrimonious opposition; and many of the clergy, with Archbishop Secker at their head, thought themselves warranted in representing this miraculous power as an article of faith. But the progress of reason, though slow, is commonly certain; and the present respectable bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Kaye, has ventured to express himself in the following terms: "My conclusion then is, that the power of working miracles was not extended beyond the disciples, upon whom the apostles conferred it by the imposition of their hands." (Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian, p. 98. Cambridge, 1826, 8vo.) As the character of Middleton has been exposed to much obloquy, it may not here be improper to produce the testimony of a writer who had sufficient opportunities of information: "His conversation always appeared to be truly Christian, and no man led a more exemplary life, nor in his practice paid a greater regard to religious ordinances and institutions." (Masters's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Baker, B.D., p. 112. Cambridge, 1784, 8vo.)

production entitled, "The witty and entertaining Exploits of George Buchanan." The tale of the third priest is allegorical. It relates that a great king sent an officer to summon one of his subjects before him without delay: this individual successively applied to two most intimate friends, in the hope of prevailing upon them to accompany him to the king's court; but finding his entreaties unavailing, he was under the necessity of having recourse to the support of another friend, whom he had too much neglected. The allegory is thus explained: the king is the governor of the universe; the man's intimate friends are wealth, and earthly ties of blood and friendship; and the neglected friend by whom he is finally countenanced is charity. With respect to the officer who delivers the summons:—

This officer but dout is callit Deid:
Is nane his power agane may repleid,
Is nane sa wicht, na wyse, na of sik wit,
Agane his summond suithly that may sit.
Suppose 'thow' be als wicht as ony wall,
Thow man ga with him to his lordis hall.
Is na wisdome, riches, na yit science,
Aganis this officer may mak defence:
Is neyther castell, torret, nor yit tour,
May scar him anis the moment of ane hour.

CHAPTER XIV.

WE are now arrived at a period which was fertile in Scotish verse; and the poet who next presents himself has likewise left some excellent specimens of Scotish prose. This poet is John Bellenden, a dignitary of the church, whose personal history is still involved in some degree of obscurity. It is, however, evident that several writers have confounded him with Sir John Bellenden of Auchinoul; the names are indeed the same, but this is the only circumstance to support their identity; and the judge appears to have survived the poet for so long a period as twenty-seven years. Dr. Bellenden was probably educated in the University of St. Andrews; a student of the same name, and described as belonging to the Lothian nation, was matriculated in 1508;[1] and this date agrees with the known chronology of his life. As Bale refers his birth to the eastern part of the kingdom, he may have been born in the county of Haddington or Berwick. His education is represented as uncommonly liberal; and as he took the degree of doctor of divinity in the University of Paris, his course of academical study must have been very complete.[2] Dr. Campbell has remarked that his phraseology occasionally savours of a French education:[3] it must however be recollected that the poets of this age were too generally disposed to adopt terms of a French as well as Latin origin; and that the practice cannot be considered as peculiar to those who had been educated in France. It was probably

1 Maitland's Biographical Introduction to Bellenden, p. xxxvi.

2 "Interea Musarum memoriæ fœliciter litabat Joannes Balantyn, archidiaconus Moraviensis, accuratissima sedulitate in literis a puero usque educatus." (Gray, Oratio de illustribus Scotiæ Scriptoribus, p. xxx.)

3 Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 572, 2d edit.

after his return to Scotland that he began to acquire distinction as a poet: Sir David Lindsay mentions him in the following terms:—

Bot now of late is start up haistelie
Ane cunnyng clark, quhilk wrytith craftelie,
Ane plant of poetis, callit Ballendyne,
Quhose ornat warkis my wit can nocht defyne:
Get he into the courte auctoritie,
He will precell Quintyn and Kennedie.[1]

The literary merit of Bellenden does not seem to have been disregarded by the court, but he experienced the precarious fortune which so frequently attends courtiers. For this information we are partly indebted to his poem entitled the Proheme of the Cosmographé:—

And fyrst occurrit to my remembring
How that I wes in seruice with the kyng,
Put to his grace in zeris tenderest,
Clerk of his comptis, thoucht I wes inding,
With hart and hand and euery othir thing
That mycht hym pleis in ony maner best,
Quhill hie inuy me from his seruice kest,
Be thaym that had the court in gouerning,
As bird but plumes heryit of the rest.

In the epistle subjoined to his translation of Boyce's history, he likewise states that he had been in the service of the king, from his Majesty's early infancy. It has been supposed that he was employed in superintending the young monarch's education; but he makes no allusion to such an appointment, of which it would have been very natural to remind the king, if they had ever stood in the relation of tutor and pupil; and he very clearly informs us that his place in the royal household was that of clerk of accompts. James's preceptor was Gavin Dunbar, afterwards promoted to the Archbishopric of Glasgow. Being dismissed from the king's service, as he states in the verses already quoted, Bellenden is supposed to have entered into that of Archibald Earl of Angus, who had married the Queen Dowager; certain at least it is, that a person of the same name was the Earl's secretary in the year 1528. In

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 287.

the course of that year, Angus and two of his relations were accused of treason; and John Ballentyne, who is described as his secretary, appeared in parliament as his accredited agent. On the fourth of September he presented a written protest in the name of the Earl of Angus, his brother George Douglas, and his uncle Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, stating the reasons why they ought not to be compelled to answer to the charge of treason, which had been preferred against them; and in the afternoon of the same day, the secretary again made his appearance, probably because they found such a protest altogether unavailing, and explained the conditions on which the Earl was willing to surrender to his trial.[1] But in an affair of this nature we should expect to find him employing a lawyer rather than a clergyman; and accordingly we are informed by Hume, that the individual who thus appeared for the Douglases was "Sir John Ballandine, who was then one of their dependers, and afterwards justice-clerk."[2] Whatever may have been Bellenden's employment at this period, it is certain that he was soon afterwards an attendant at court; and that, at the request of the king, he undertook a translation of the Roman History of Livy, and the Scotish History of Boyce.[3] In this formidable task he appears to have been engaged in 1530, and the three ensuing years. The Treasurer's Accounts contain various entries respecting the remuneration of his labours; the sum-total which he is there stated to have received, amounts to £114; namely, £78 for the translation of Boyce, and £36 for that of Livy. But this was

[1] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 322, 324.

[2] Hume's Hist. of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, p. 258.

[3] It is not to be supposed that the king was able to read a Latin author with much facility. Lindsay mentions that he was taken from school at the age of twelve (vol. i. p. 259); and the metrical paraphrast of Boyce's history has more particularly described the state of his knowledge:—

The kingis grace I knaw is nocht perfyte
In Latin toung.

We cannot however suppose that the king was entirely ignorant of the Latin language. It may perhaps be considered as a proof of his knowledge that he urged Buchanan to write against the Franciscan friars, and to render his satire more poignant. "Igitur acrius in eos jussus scribere, eam silvam, quæ nunc sub titulo Franciscani est edita, inchoatam regi tradidit." (Buchanani Vita.) Sir David Lindsay, in a poem composed about this period, exhorts James to study the chronicles of Scotland; and it might possibly be his intention to refer him to Bellenden's translation. (Works, vol. i. p. 302):—

The cronikillis to knaw I the exhort,
Quhilk may be mirrour to thy majestie;
Thare sall thou find baith gude and evill report,
Of everilk prince efter his qualitie:
Thocht thay be deid, thair deidis sall nocht dee.
Traist weill thow sal be stylit in that storie
As thow deservis, put in memorie.

not the only reward which he obtained. The Archdeaconry of Moray had become vacant during the vacancy of the see; and two clergymen, Duncan and Harvey, having solicited the pope in favour of James Douglas, were convicted of treason, and their property escheated to the king. The annual emoluments arising from the pensions and benefices of John Duncan, who was parson of Glasgow, and from all the property belonging to Alexander Harvey, for the two successive years 1536 and 1537, were bestowed upon Bellenden. For the first grant he paid a composition of 350 marks, and for the second, of £300.[1] It must have been upon the present occasion that he was promoted to the archdeaconry, which had lapsed to the crown in consequence of the vacancy in the bishopric; it was perhaps about the same period that he was appointed a canon of Ross; and this appears to have been the full extent of his preferment in the church, while many worthless and illiterate men were enjoying its highest dignities and emoluments.

His translation of Hector Boyce's history of Scotland is said to have been printed in the year 1536.[2] Neither the title-page nor the colophon exhibits the year of the impression; so that the date here assigned, if it is not a mere conjecture, must have been ascertained from some other document. The book was printed by Thomas Davidson, who styles himself printer to the king.[3] On the 26th of July 1533, a sum of money was paid to Bellenden "for ane new Cronikle given to the kingis grace;" but this must have been in manuscript. The printed book describes the translator as Archdeacon of Moray, and canon of Ross; the bishopric did not become vacant till the year 1534,[4] and, as we have already seen, the archdeaconry was vacated at a later period. Under the date of April 1538, when he obtained a grant of the two clergymen's emoluments for the preceding year,

[1] Maitland's Biographical Introduction, p. xl.

[2] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers.

[3] Heir beginnis the Hystory and Croniklis of Scotland. Fol.—It was "imprentit in Edinburgh be me Thomas Dauidson, prenter to the kyngis nobyll grace." On the reverse of the title Davidson has inserted an address, consisting of five stanzas, and entitled "The Excusation of the Prentar." In the library of the University of Edinburgh, and in that of the Duke of Hamilton, there are splendid copies of this work printed on vellum. Bellenden's work has lately been reprinted under the superintendence of Thomas Maitland, Esq., who has prefixed biographical notices of the original historian, as well as of the translator.

[4] Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, p. 150.

he was not described as a dignitary. It has likewise been stated that the work was reprinted in 1541.[1] Such copies as I have had an opportunity of inspecting, seem all to belong to one edition; and if different copies should occasionally be found to exhibit a variation in the orthography of the same passages, this variation is perhaps to be ascribed to the changes which were introduced while the edition was proceeding through the press. It was Bellenden's intention to execute a complete version of Livy, but he did not advance beyond the first five books, nor was his translation printed till the year 1822.[2] He is reported to have continued the history of Scotland for one hundred years subsequent to the period at which the printed narrative closes;[3] and a passage in his Proheme of the History seems to imply that he had at least formed such a project:—

Bring nobyll dedis of mony yeris gone
  Als fresche and recent to our memorie
As thay war bot in-to our dayis done,
  That nobyll men may haue baith laud and glorie
  For thair excellent brut of victorie.
And yit becaus my tyme hes bene so schort,
  I thynk, quhen I haue oportunite,
To ring thair bell in-to ane othir sort.[4]

These two works exhibit the most ample specimen of ancient Scotish prose that has descended to our times, and are distinguished beyond most others by their fluency and neatness of style. He frequently surprises a modern reader by the happy vivacity of his expressions; nor can we peruse these translations without being convinced that his learning and talents had qualified him for original composition. In his version of the Scotish historian he does not adhere very scrupulously to his author; he has assumed the liberty of adding, as well as of re-

[1] Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 1474.

[2] The first five Books of the Roman History: translated from the Latin of Titus Livius, by John Bellenden. Edinb. 1822, 4to. This work was published by Mr. Maitland from a MS. in the Advocates' Library.

[3] Balei Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. xiv. p. 223.

[4] The same metaphor is to be found in other Scotish poets. It is repeatedly used by the bishop of Dunkeld:—

Ane nothir wyse that bell sall now be roung,
Than euer was to-fore herd in our toung.
DOUGLAS'S Virgil, p. 38.

For quhy? the bell of rethorick bene roung
Be Chaweer, Gower, and Lidgate laureat.
LINDSAY'S Works, vol. i. p. 281.

trenching, and may therefore be considered as having exceeded the proper limits of a translation. He has at all events produced a very curious, and, to those who have a competent knowledge of the language, a very entertaining work. To his version of Boyce's history he has subjoined an epistle, addressed to James the Fifth, and written in a strain of manly freedom: of the distinction between a king and a tyrant, and of the miseries to which wicked princes have generally been exposed, he speaks in bold and unequivocal terms, which may excite some degree of surprise, but which cannot fail of exciting a high degree of respect for his character.[1] Bellenden was then a dignitary of the church, and might still hope for preferment; and in all ages ambitious churchmen have been sufficiently disposed to encourage sovereigns in their most flagrant attempts to encroach on the liberties of their subjects: but the conduct of this worthy archdeacon, and of some other beneficed clergymen of the ancient Scotish church, must completely exempt them from this censure. John Mair, who was provost of St. Salvator's College, and treasurer of the chapel-royal, and Hector Boyce, who was principal of King's College, canon of Aberdeen, and rector of Tyrie, have each written the history of their native country, and have each evinced a laudable zeal in vindicating the inalienable rights of the people. If such sentiments were cherished by some of the Catholic clergy, it is not surprising that they should animate the breast of Buchanan, who had never been accustomed to pace in the trammels of the church, and who had more completely imbibed the spirit of classical antiquity.

Whatever might be the liberality of his political sentiments, Bellenden seems to have been unprepared for any change in the national religion.[2] Stern and resolute virtue is not on all

[1] In the Proheme of the History, Bellenden takes occasion to suggest that it is impossible for a king to possess at once the hearts and the goods of his barons:—

Schaw mony reasonis how na king micht haif
His baronis hartis and thair geir atanis.

[2] It however appears from the following stanza of the same Proheme, that he was not insensible to the vicious lives of the clergy:

Schaw how of kirkis the superflew rent
Is ennime to gud religion,
And makis preistis more sleuthfull than fervent
In pietuus werkis and devotion,
And not allanerly perdition
Of commoun weill be bullis sumptuus,
Bot to evill prelatis gret occasion
To rage in lust and life maist vicius.

occasions to be expected among mankind: truths which threaten the extinction of dignity and emoluments cannot so easily be admitted; nor must we forget the invincible force of prejudices, admitted in early youth, and cherished through a lengthened life. The archdeacon of Moray is represented as a strenuous opponent of the Reformation, which he did not live to see completed.[1] He is said to have visited Rome, and there to have terminated his career in 1550.[2] The particular object of his journey has not been recorded; nor are we better informed with respect to his age; but if he was entered at the university in 1508, and died in 1550, we may conjecture that he had scarcely exceeded his sixtieth year. In this academical record, however, we are only guided by the identity of names, without the aid of any additional evidence.

Beside the works already enumerated, Bellenden is said to have composed a tract on the Pythagorean letter, "De Litera Pythagoræ;" nor is it necessary to adopt Dr. Mackenzie's emendation, and substitute *Vita* for *Litera:* the letter of Pythagoras was upsilon, which he had selected as his favourite in consequence of certain emblematical properties indicated by its form. Vossius has mentioned Bellenden as the author of a work on cosmography,[3] but this is evidently his translation of Boyce's preliminary description of Scotland. It was stated by Dr. Campbell that many of his writings were then in the possession of persons of distinction in Scotland; and he particularly mentions that several of his poems were in the possession of Laurence Dundas, apparently the professor of Humanity at Edinburgh.[4] It is not however improbable that all these were merely the works with which we are still acquainted, and that the poems to which he alludes were modern transcripts.

Bellenden has been extolled as a master of every branch of divine and human learning;[5] and his attainments have even

[1] "Jacobus Balandenus Moraviensis ecclesiæ archidiaconus, in celebri Sorbonæ schola magistri laurea donatus, summo studio popularium suorum animos heresi laborantes, cum scribendo tum disputando conatus est liberare." (Conæus de duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos, p. 167.) Both Conn and Dempster have erroneously given him the name of James.

[2] "Romæ tandem obiisse dicitur." Bale, cent. xiv. p. 223. "Obiit Romæ, anno, ut puto, 1550." Dempster, 107. The former writer speaks with some degree of hesitation respecting the place, and the latter respecting the date.

[3] Vossius de Scientiis Mathematicis, p. 252.

[4] Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 573.

[5] "Laboriosa cura et incredibili studio

extorted applause from the zealous Bishop of Ossory, who has so frequently treated the Papists with unrelenting severity.[1] In his poetical remains, which are not numerous, he frequently displays an excursive fancy, with considerable taste and skill as a versifier; and it is therefore to be regretted that so few of his compositions have been preserved. The most poetical of his works is the Proheme of the Cosmographé: the principal incidents are borrowed from the ancient fiction of the choice of Hercules,[2] but he has imparted to his copy the characteristic features of an original. The subsequent quotation from the speech of Virtue exhibits a favourable specimen of his manner:

As caruell tycht fast tendyng throw the see,
Leuis na prent amang the wallis hie;
  As birdis swift with mony besy plume
Peirsis the air, and wait nocht quhair thay fle;
Siclik our lyfe, without actiuite,
  Gyffis na frut, howbeit ane schado blume.
  Quhay dois thair lyfe in-to this erd consume
Without virtew, thair fame and memorie
  Sall vanis soner than the reky fume.

As watter purgis and makis bodyis fair;
As fire be nature ascendis in the aire,
  And purifyis with heitis vehement;
As floure dois smell, as frute is nurisare,
As precius balme reuertis thingis sare,
  And makis thaym of rot impacient;
  As spice maist swete, as ros maist redolent;
As stern of day be mouing circulare
  Chacis the nycht with bemis resplendent;

Siclik my werk perfitis euery wycht
In feruent luf of maist excellent lycht,
  And makis man in-to this erd but peir;
And dois the saule fra all corruption dycht
With odoure dulce, and makis it more brycht
  Than Diane full or yit Appollo cleir;
  Syne rasis it vnto the hiest speir,

artes omnes humanas atque etiam divinas percepit." (Dempsteri Hist. Ecclesiast. Gent. Scotor. p. 107.)

[1] Bishop Bale has in his turn been treated by the Papists with equal severity. Bishop Gardiner, for example, classes him among "the deuil's lymmes." (Detection of the Deuyl's Sophistrie wherwith he robbeth the vnlearned People of the true Belefe in the moost blessed Sacrament of the Aulte, f. lxxxiiii. b. Lond. 1546, 8vo.)

[2] Xenophontis Memorabilia, lib. ii. § 21.

Immortaly to schyne in Goddis sycht
As chosin spous and creature most deir.

The following descant on nobility is extracted from his Proheme of the History:—

For nobylnes sum tyme the louyng is,
That cumis be meritis of our eldaris gone,
As Aristotyll writis in his Rethorikis:
Amang nobillis quhay castin thaym, repone
Mon dres thair life and dedis one be one,
To mak thaym worthy to haue memoré,
For honour to thair prince or nation,
To be in glore to thair posterité.[1]

Ane othir kynd thair is of nobylnes,
That cumis be infusion naturall,
And makis ane man sa full of gentylnes,
Sa curtes, plesand, and sa lyberall,
That euery man dois hym ane nobyll call.
The lyon is sa nobyll, as men tellis,
He can not rage aganis the bestis small,
Bot on thaym quhilkis his maiesté rebellis.

The awfull churle is of ane othir strynd:
Thoucht he be borne to vilest seruitude,
Thair may na gentrice sink in-to his mynd,
To help his freind or nichtbour with his gud.
The bludy wolf is of the samyn stude:
He feris gret beistis and ragis on the small,
And leiffis in slouchter, tyranny and blud,
Bot ony mercy, quhare he may ouirthrall.

This man is born ane nobyl, thow wyll say,
And geuyn to sleuth and lust immoderat:
All that his eldaris wan he puttis away,
And fra thair virtew is degenerat.
The more his eldaris fame is eleuat,
The more thair lyfe to honour to approche,
Thair fame and louying ay interminat,
The more is ay vnto his vice reproche.

[1] "Et vulgaris ista nobilitas quid aliud est, nisi opinio quædam præstantiæ majorum ex oblivione nata? . . . . Hanc si avitæ pararunt divitiæ, quid nobile habere potest id, cujus origo tam vilis est, et cum sordibus, fraude, injuria, atque omni indignitate plurimum conjuncta? Si majorum hanc peperere runt virtutes, ut illæ meæ non sunt (non enim propagatione generis, sed industria propria virtus paratur) ita nec majorum nobilitas. Necesse est nobilitatem, ut mea sit, ex mea esse virtute, et non ex aliena." (Volusenus de Animi Tranquillitate, p. 118, edit. Edinb. 1751, 8vo.)

Amang the oist of Grekis, as we hard,
Two knichtis war, Achylles and Tersete;
That ane maist vailyeand, this othir maist coward.
Better to be, sayis Juuinall the poete,
Tersetis son, hauand Achylles sprete,
With manly force his purpos to fulfyll,
Than to be lord of euery land and strete,
And syne maist cowart, cumyn of Achill.

Man callit ay maist nobyll creature
Becaus his lyfe maist reason dois assay,
Ay sekand honour with his besy cure,
And is na noble quhen honour is away:
Thairfore he is maist nobyll man, thou say,
Of all estatis, vnder reverence,
That vailyeantly doith close the latter day,
Of natyue cuntré deand in defence.

The glore of armis and of forcy dedis,
Quhen thay ar worthy to be memoryall,
Na les be wyt than manheid ay proceidis.
As Plinius wrait in story naturall,
Ane herd of hertis is more strong at all,
Hauand ane lyon aganis the houndis soure,
Than herd of lyonis arrayit in battall,
Hauand ane hert to be thair gouernoure.

Quhen fers Achilles was be Paris slane,
Amang the Grekis began ane subtell plede,
Quhay wes maist nobyll and prudent capitane,
In-to his place and armour to succede,
Quhay couth thaym best in euery dangeir lede,
And saif thair honour, as he did afore;
The vailyeand Aiax wan not for his manhede,
Quhen wise Ulisses bure away the glore.

Manhede but prudence is ane fury blynd,
And bringis ane man to schame and indegence:
Prudence but manhede cumis oft behynd,
Howbeit it haue na les intelligence
Of thingis to cum than gone, be sapience.
Thairfore quhen wit and manhede doith concurre,
Hie honour risis with magnificence:
For glore to nobilis is ane groundin spurre.

Sen thow contenis mo vailyeand men and wyse
Than euir was red in ony buke but doubt,
Gif ony churle or velane thé dispyse,
Byd hence hym, harlot! he is not of this rout;
For heir ar kingis and mony nobillis stout,
And nane of thaym pertenand to his clan.
Thou art so full of nobylnes per tout,
I wald nane red thé bot ane nobyll man.

These two poems, as well as the metrical prologue to his translation of Livy, bear internal evidence of having been composed for the instruction of the young monarch. Two copies of his unpublished prolusion on the conception of Christ are to be found in Bannatyne's MS. It opens with the subsequent stanzas :—

Quhen goldin Phebus movit fra the ram,
Into the bull to mak his mansioun,
And hornit Diane in the virgine cam,
With visage paill in hir ascensioun;
Approchand till hir opposicioun:
Quhen donk Aurora with hir misty schouris,
Fleand of skyis the bricht reflexioun,
Hir siluer hewis skalit on the flouris;

The sesoun quhen the grete Octauïan
Baith erd and seis had in governance,
With diademe as roy Cesariane
In maist excellent honor and plesaunce,
With everye glore that mycht his fame avaunce,
Quhen he the croun of his triumphe had worne,
Be quhais pece and riall ordinance
The furious Mars wes blawin to the horne;

The samyne tyme quhen God omnipotent
Beheld of man the grete calamitie,
And thocht the tyme was than expedient
Man to redeme fra thrall captiuité,
And to reduce him to felicité,
With bodye and saull to be glorificate,
Quhilk wes condempnit in the lymb to be,
Fra he wes first in syn prevaricate;

Befoir the fader Mercye than apperis,
With flude of teris ranand fra hir ene;
Said, Man hes berle in hell five thousand yeris,
Sen he was maid in feild of Damascene,

And cruell tormentis daylie dois sustene
But ony confort, cryand for mercye.
How may thi grace nocht with thi pietie mene,
Off thy awne werk the grete infirmitie?

While Bellenden was engaged in translating Boyce's history into prose, another individual was engaged in the more formidable task of translating it into verse. A copy of this metrical version, containing about 70,000 lines, is preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge; a leaf seems to be wanting at the beginning, and the manuscript has suffered some other mutilations. The name of the versifier does not appear, nor has it been ascertained from any other document; but we learn from the prologue that his labours, like those of Bellenden, were intended for the benefit of the young monarch.[1] His verses are not distinguished by any considerable degree of energy or elegance, and their author is chiefly to be commended for his perseverance. The prologue, which is unfortunately mutilated, contains an account of his motives for engaging in this tedious undertaking: it is conducted in the form of a dialogue between the translator and a certain lady, who is probably some allegorical personage. The following is perhaps the most curious passage which it contains:—

Bot yit, scho said, I dreid in my intent
That to his grace it be ovir eloquent;
For quhy the termis poleist ar perfyte
Of eloquence, in rycht plesand indyte,
In Latene toung sententiouslie and schort,
Quhilk for to heir is plesand and confort.
Madame, I said, quha wes it drew that storie?
Ane man, scho said, of sic hie laud and glorie,
In Albione sen stories wes begun,
Wes nevir nane sic amang our poetis fun.
Madame, I said, quhat is that mannis name?
Ane Hector Boyis, said scho, of nobill fame,
Maister in art, doctor in theologie,
In all science ane profound clerk is he.[2]

[1] Of some portions of this manuscript a copy was lately procured by Henry Petrie, Esq., Keeper of the Records in the Tower: by him it was communicated to Mr. Thomson, who has very politely afforded me an opportunity of perusing it, and of making such extracts as might be desirable for the present work.

[2] Hector Boyce, D.D., was a native of Dundee, and was the descendant of a family

Madame, I said, now tell me or ye ga,
Quhat is the caus that ye commend it sua.
That sall I do, quoth scho, and yow wald heir:
Our old storeis befoir thir mony yeir,
Tha war distroyit all with Inglismen
In Wallace weir, as it is eith to ken:
Syne efterwart quhen that tha wreit the storie,
Ald eldaris deidis to put into memorie,
Tha maid tha bukis, thair tractatis, and thair tabilis,
Part be ges, and part be fenzeit fabillis,
Part tha fand in ald bladis of bukis,
Part in lous quairis, liand wer in nukis:
Tha tuke sic cuir sic thingis to considder,
Syne in ane volume pat thame altogidder,
Without ordour, fassoun, or effect;
Mekill wantit, and all the lave suspect.
Madame, said I, now gar me vnderstand
Into quhat place that he tha stories fand.
That sall I do, than said scho, with gud will.
Intill ane place callit Ecolumkill,
Ane abbai sumtyme of authoritie,
In Iona yle, within the occident se,

which for several generations had possessed the barony of Balbride. (Scotorum Historia, f. cccxxxv. a.) He completed his studies in the University of Paris, where he became a professor of philosophy in the College of Montaign. He had distinguished himself by his talents and attainments, when King's College, Aberdeen, was founded by the munificence of William Elphinstone, bishop of that diocese. The papal bull for the erection of a university had been obtained in 1494, but the buildings were not completed, nor did the lectures commence till about the year 1500. Of this college, Boyce, not without some degree of hesitation, accepted the office of principal. His brother Arthur Boyce was appointed the first professor of the canon law: he was a doctor of this faculty, and licentiate of the civil law. Hector Boyce took the degree of doctor of divinity at Aberdeen in the year 1528; and on this occasion the magistrates voted him a present of a ton of wine, when the new wines should arrive, or twenty pounds to purchase a new bonnet. (Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. ii. p. 367.) His first publication is entitled "Episcoporum Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Vitæ." Paris, 1522, 4to. This work, formerly of great rarity, has lately been reprinted for the use of the Bannatyne Club. Edinb. 1825, 4to. He afterwards published "Scotorum Historiæ a prima Gentis Origine, cum aliarum et Rerum et Gentium Illustratione non vulgari [libri XVII.]" Paris, 1527, fol. The title and colophon have no date, but the commendatory epistle by Alexander Lyon, precentor of the Cathedral of Elgin, bears the fifteenth of March 1527. An edition, containing the eighteenth book and a fragment of the nineteenth, was published by Ferrerius, who has added an appendix of thirty-five pages. Paris, 1574, fol. Though published at Paris, this edition appears from the colophon to have been printed at Lausanne. Boyce was a canon of Aberdeen; and soon after the completion of his history, he obtained an annual pension of fifty pounds. Two years afterwards, 26th July 1529, we find a "precept for a lettre to Mr. Hector Boys, professor of theology, of a pension of £50 Scots yearly, until the king promote him to a benefice of 100 merks Scots of yearly value." (Maitland's Biographical Introduction, p. xxiii.) The payment of this pension is to be traced in the records till the year 1534, when we may suppose him to have been presented to the rectory of Tyrie in the county of Aberdeen. On the 22d of November 1536, the king presented another individual to this living, then "vacant by the death of the late Mr. Hector Boiss."

Quhilk oft syis had of kingis corps the cuir;
Lang of the ald thair wes thair sepultuir:
And thair wes keipit thair stòreis and buikis,
As in this libell yow sall se quhen yow luikis:
And in that place thair wes thir stories fand,
Sum in lows quairis, and uther sum weill band,
As Beid, Turgot, and Weremund alsua,
Corneill, Campbell, and mony uther ma,[1]
All tell and fynd ane fassoun and effect,[2]
In ornat spech, and nothing to suspect.
And for this caus I haif socht to ye heir:
Hartlie as now thairof, I ye requeir,
Translait this libell in our mother toung,
And preis ye nocht my purpois to impugn.
The kingis grace I know is nocht perfyte
In Latyn toung, and namelie in sic dyte;
It wil be tedious, that dar I tak on hand,
To reid the thing he can not vnderstand:
War it translatid in our vulgar toung,
Out throw that realme the rumor [sould be roung].

As a specimen of the author's narrative, I subjoin a passage which relates to the marriage of Douglas with a daughter of Robert the Second:—

Of his deidis the honour and the fame
Commendit wes so after he come hame,
Geving to him so greit loving and gloir,
With everie man he wes lovit thairfoir.
This king Robert than had ane dochter deir,
Eufamea, of pulchritude but peir

[1] Boyce professes to have obtained from the monastery of Icolmkill, through the good offices of the Earl of Argyle and his brother the treasurer, certain original historians of Scotland, and among the rest Veremundus and Campbell, of whose writings not a single vestige is now to be traced. Of the former historian he gives the following account in his dedication to the king: "Veremundus archidiaconus S. Andreæ, natione Hispanus, qui ab exordio gentis historiam Latine usque ad Malcolmi Tertii, cognomento Cammoir, tempora, cui et ipsum opus dicavit, contexuit." According to Bishop Stillingfleet, whose opinion has been adopted by many other writers, these historians never existed except in Boyce's fertile imagination. (Antiquities of the British Churches, p. 255.) From this charge of downright fabrication, he has been ably and plausibly vindicated by Mr. Maitland; but it must be admitted that if he did not devise, he at least repeated many fables. His propensity to the marvellous was at a very early period exposed in the subsequent tetrastich of Leland, which Dempster has erroneously ascribed to Humphrey Lhuyd:—

Hectoris historici tot quot mendacia scripsit,
Si vis ut numerem, lector amice, tibi,
Me jubeas etiam fluctus numerare marinos,
Et liquidi stellas connumerare poli.

[2] This line, which is scarcely intelligible, ought perhaps to have stood thus:

All hail and fyne in fassoun and effect.

Of ony vther that I hard of tell,
Bot gif it war fair Cresseid hir awin sell:
Hir plesand prent, hir perfit portrature,
Exceidit far all vther creatur.
Of hir wes said, as my author me tald,
Wes nane that doucht hir bewtie to behald,
Without that he richt sone with luifis dart
War woundit soir at the ruitis of his hart.
This ilk lady, than saikles of all blame,
Than quhen scho hard of this ilk Douglas fame,
Of him that tyme scho had so grit desyre,
That in hir breist the heit of luifis fyre
Ay moir and moir bownit with sic ane blast,
With sic desyre, that scho micht nocht tak rest.
The king hir father, quhilk that knew full weill
All hir desyre, quhairof he had ane feill,
Kennand hir mynd wes set to him so far,
Or dreid efter rycht sone it sould be war,
Of siclike dour as efferit to haif,
With this ladie in matrimony he gaif,
This ladie, quhilk of fairnes had no peir,
Of pulchritude withoutin ony feir.
As previt weill, as scho had than sic chance
Be gude Charlis the nobill king of France:
Quhilk that he hard of this ladie the name,
Of grit bewtie, of sic fairnes and fame,
Ane paynter sent, quhilk wes ane perfite man,
To counterfit, als craftie as he can,
Of this lady the prent and pulchritude:
And so he did than, schortlie to conclude,
With sic perfectioun and speciositie,
That wonder wes till ony man to se
Sic mycht be done with manlie governance;
Syne had it hame onto the king of France,
And schew to him that pictour, wes so perfyte,
Quhairof he tuke sic plesur and delyte,
That he had levar had this ladie brycht,
Nor all the gold, the riches, and the mycht,
Into Ewrope and all [the] landis neist,
The fyre of lufe so brynt into his breist.
Quhairfoir richte sone in Scotland he hes send
To King Robert, his mynd for to mak kend,
For this ladie, wes of sic tender age,
Desyrand hir as quene in mariage.
And on this send, come fra the king of France,
In Scotland come of adventure ane chance,

As I haif said, bot schort quhile than gone by,
The young Douglas had weddit that lady.

This quotation forms an episode, introduced by the translator; for the fact of the marriage is very briefly and plainly recorded by the original historian.[1] Other passages have been found to exhibit similar amplifications. The author concludes his long labour with the subsequent lines, which have the merit of stating that he began his task in April 1531, and finished it in September 1535.

Thankit be God now and his moder deir,
My lang laubour at this tyme endis heir;
Quhilk wes begun richt mony da ago,
With greit travell syne endit wes also.
Quhen of oure Lord completit wes, but weir,
Ane thousand threttie and fyve hundreth yeir,
And ane also for to subscrive thairtill,
The auchtane day quhilk wes of Apryle,
That same tyme this ilk wark I begould,
And syne proceidit dalie as I culd,
Quhill efterwart the fyve and threttie yeir
Compleitit wes this wark present heir,
Of September the nyne and twentie da.
Adew, fair weill; I haif no moir to sa.
I pray to Jesu, for his voundis fyffe,
Send ws grace heir into this present lyfe,
To gyde ws heir, syne efter with the King,
In joy and blis eternallie to ring,
Into that gloir that nevir sall be gane,
Singand with sanctis, osanna, amen.

James Inglis, abbot of Culross, was another poet who frequented the court of James the Fifth,[2] and who enjoyed a con-

1. "Ob quam benevolentiam Robertus filiam suam, quam primam ex legitima uxore susceperat, nomine Eufemiam, Jacobo Douglas ejus filio primogenito despondit." (Boethii Scotorum Historiæ, f. cccxl. a.)

2 "This Sir James Inglis was surely the same who had been secretary to Queen Margaret, as mentioned in the transactions of 1515. In a charter of 19th Sept. 1527, he is styled chancellor of the royal chapel at Stirling. Scotst. Cal." (Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 310.) In the Treasurer's Accounts we find a record of certain articles of clothing delivered to Sir James Inglis on the twelfth of September 1515, "for the kingis grace, and for my lord duke his brother." Under the date of 19th December 1526, the following entry occurs: "Item to Sir James Inglis, to by play coitis, agane zule, be the kingis precept, xl li." It however appears, that there must then have been two ecclesiastics of this name. According to Bishop Lesley, the Abbot of Culross was murdered in 1531; and the subsequent entry appears in the Treasurer's Accounts under the date of 1532: "Item to Sir James Inglis, cheplane, that singis for the kingis saule at Banakburne, xiij li. vj s. viij d."

siderable share of reputation. He is mentioned in terms of commendation by Sir David Lindsay, who however insinuates that his advancement to an abbacy had withdrawn his attention from his poetical studies:

> Quha can say mair than Schir James Inglis sayis
> In ballatis, farsis, and in plesand playis?
> Bot Culross haith his pen maid impotent.[1]

James the Fourth, in a letter addressed to a person of the same name, probably the same individual, acknowledges his attention in offering to furnish him with some recondite books of alchemy.[2] Dr. Mackenzie, whose life of Inglis is inaccurate even to ridicule, asserts that he was knighted on account of his military services, and that he died at Culross in the year 1554. It is evident that he received the title of *Sir* as an ecclesiastic; and he was murdered by the Baron of Tulliallan and his retainers on the 1st of March 1531. Tulliallan is situated within a short distance of Culross; nor is it improbable that some dispute respecting their temporal rights may have exposed the abbot to the vengeance of his ferocious neighbour. His murderers did not however escape with impunity: the principal criminal and some of his accomplices, among whom was a priest named William Lothian, were executed at Edinburgh on the 28th of August.[3]

It is not a little to be regretted that the works of Inglis have almost entirely perished. The term *farce* did not at that period denote a dramatic performance, but we may venture to suppose that the abbot's "plesand playis" were intended for representation; and so few reliques of the early drama have resisted the wasting stream of time, that this must be regarded as more than a common loss. A poem of sixteen stanzas, entitled "A general Satyre," is in Maitland's collection ascribed to Inglis, but in Bannatyne's to Dunbar. It contains some curious suggestions respecting the morals and manners of that age: whether

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 286.

[2] "Animi tui benevolentiam gratanter accepimus, qua datis ad nos literis reconditos alchemiæ sanioris philosophiæ libros apud te esse significas; quos etsi viri dignissimi abs te peterent, ad nostros tamen usus difficilius servas, quia nos eo artis studio teneri audieras. Gratias tibi agimus, relaturi cum res postulaverit." (Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 118.)

[3] Leslæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 433.

written by Inglis or Dunbar, it was at all events written by a churchman; and the author has contributed his share of information with regard to the necessity of a reformation in the church.

Sic pryd with prellattis, so few till preiche and pray,
Sic hant of harlottis with thame bayth nicht and day,
That sowld haif ay thair God afore thair ene,
So nice array, so strange to thair abbay,
Within this land was nevir hard nor sene.

So mony preistis cled up in secular weid,
With blasing breistis casting thair claiths on breid,
It is no neid to tell of quhome I mene,
To quhome the Psalme and Testament to reid
Within this land was nevir hard nor sene.

So mony maisteris, so mony guckit clerkis,
So mony westaris, to God and all his warkis,
So fyry sparkis of dispyt fro the splene,[1]
Sic losin sarkis, so mony glengour markis,
Within this land was nevir hard nor sene.[2]

Inglis has sometimes been represented as the author of a curious specimen of Scotish prose, entitled *The Complaynt of Scotland;* but his claim rests upon the unsupported and very suspicious assertion of Dr. Mackenzie. We have already seen that Inglis was assassinated in 1531, and this work his biographer mentions as having been printed in 1548. Of this publication it is evident that he must have seen a copy, for he has given some account of its contents; but as his notions of historical fidelity were very far from being rigid, there is no improbability in supposing him to have ascribed it to Inglis on no better authority than that of his own unacknowledged conjecture. Only four copies of the original edition are known to be extant; and none of them contains the title-page entire. In the cata-

[1] "Fro the *splene*" is equivalent to "from the heart." The term seems to have been a favourite with the early Scotish poets.

On quhois hand, a lark sang fro the splene.
DUNBAR'S Thistle and Rose, st. 2.

Out tak the mery nychtyngale Philomene,
That on the thorne sat syngand fro the splene.
DOUGLAS'S Virgil, p. 450.

Some prayit to Venus frome the splene,
That thay thair luffis nicht obtene.
LINDSAY'S Works, vol. iii. p. 6.

May caussis curage frome the splene.
SCOTT'S Poems, p. 37.

Nay, hold, my spleen; do not burst yet—
How this same lady hath abus'd my favour,
Escap'd, no man knows how.
Marciano, or the Discovery, Act v. sc. 1.

[2] Hailes's Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 42.

logue of Lord Oxford's library the following article occurs:— "Vedderburn's Complainte of Scotlande, vyth ane exortatione to the thre estaits to be vigilante in the deffens of their public veil, 1549."[1] The same title occurs in a subsequent entry; and in order to diminish the credit of this document, a late writer avers that the two titles differ considerably from each other.[2] But the difference merely consists in this; the Scotish orthography is not so scrupulously copied in the latter entry, which besides omits the article before the word "defence." In every essential particular however the titles are precisely the same: the book is attributed to the same author; the date of the printing is in both entries the same: and with the variations already stated, the words convey the very same meaning. A person who undertakes to insert the title of a book in any catalogue, will more commonly trust to his eye than to his memory or invention; but what degree of confidence can be reposed in a writer who ventures to fabricate history like Dr. Mackenzie? It may be considered as highly probable that the compiler of the Harleian catalogue copied the title of a book lying before him; and that he there found the author's name as he has exhibited it in both entries. But, says Herbert, "might not both Mackenzie and the compiler of the Harleian catalogue transcribe from written title-pages, or perhaps from tradition?"[3] Mackenzie's copy may have wanted the title: but in a catalogue of books intended for sale, it is usual to describe such a mutilation; and with respect to written title-pages, it is to be recollected that a person who undertakes to transcribe them, must commonly have printed titles before his eyes. To transcribe from tradition is an expression somewhat difficult to be understood; but if the compiler of the catalogue had derived his knowledge of the author's name from some casual source, it is certainly to be presumed that he would have written that name in its usual form of Wedderburn, instead of adopting the obsolete orthography of Vedderburn. Whether the Complaynt is to be ascribed to any of the Wedderburns of Dundee, it seems impossible to

[1] Catalogus Bibliothecæ Harleianæ, i. p. 481.
[2] Leyden's Dissertation on the Complaynt of Scotland, p. 9.
[3] Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 1481.

ascertain. An edition of this work was published by the late Dr. Leyden, who has added a copious introduction and an elaborate glossary: the introduction contains a variety of curious information, conveyed in a somewhat desultory manner; and many pages of it are very idly employed in an attempt to prove that the Complaynt of Scotland must have been written by Sir David Lindsay.[1]

Alexander Barclay, who was an English poet of considerable celebrity, appears to have been a native of Scotland, and may therefore claim some share of attention, although our inquiries are professedly confined to the progress of Scotish poetry. The place of his birth has indeed been disputed: but Bishop Bale, in a work published during Barclay's lifetime, mentions him as a Scotishman;[2] and, according to Dr. Bulleyn, another contemporary writer, he "was born beyond the cold river of Tweed." On the other hand, Pitts, who wrote at a more recent period, avers that he was an Englishman, and that his native district was probably Devonshire; but this averment is apparently founded on the mere circumstance of his having obtained preferment in that county.[3] Wood, adopting a similar opinion, designates him Alexander *de* Barklay, and suggests that he "seems to have been born at, or near a town so called in Somersetshire."[4] It is however to be remarked that the poet's name is altered to suit this hypothesis, and that there is no such town or village in the county of Somerset. Berkeley is the name of a place in the county of Gloucester, but Berkeley and Barclay are not the same; and I adhere to the opinion of Ritson that "both his name of baptism and the orthography of his surname seem to prove that he was of Scotish extraction."[5] It is however certain that he spent most of his life in England. He is said to

[1] The Complaynt of Scotland, written in 1548: with a preliminary Dissertation, and [a] Glossary. Edinb. 1801, 8vo.

[2] "Alexander Barkeley, Scotus, rhetor ac poeta insignis." (Balei Illustrium Majoris Britanniæ Scriptorum Summarium, f. 254, b. Gippeswici, 1548, 4to.) In a more recent publication, he mentions Barclay as a person "quem alii Scotum, alii Anglum fuisse contendunt." (Scriptorum illustrium Majoris Britanniæ Catalogus, p. 723. Basileæ, 1559, fol.)

[3] "Quibusdam Scotus fuisse videtur, sed Anglus vere fuit, patria, ut probabile est, Devoniensis. *Nam* ibi ad S. Mariam de Otery presbyter primum fuit." (Pitseus de illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 745. Paris, 1619, 4to.)

[4] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i. col. 205.

[5] Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica, p. 46.

have been partly educated in the University of Oxford, and is conjectured to have belonged to Oriel College; but this account is apparently to be received with some degree of caution, and may rest on no better foundation than the fact of his having dedicated the "Ship of Fooles" to Dr. Cornish, provost of that college, and suffragan bishop of Tyne in the diocese of Bath. He describes himself as the bishop's humble chaplain, but this may perhaps be considered as merely a courteous form of speech; for in the poem itself he represents himself as the "chaplayne and bedeman" of "my master Kyrkham." Barclay appears to have taken the degree of doctor of divinity. On one occasion he makes an allusion to what he had observed at Cambridge; and it seems equally probable that he may have been a student in that university. There is reason to believe that both the universities were frequented by Scotish students: many particular names are to be traced in their annals; nor is it altogether irrelevant to mention that Chaucer's young clerks of Cambridge, who played such tricks to the miller of Trompington, are described as coming from the north, and as speaking the Scotish language:—

> John highte that on, and Alein highte that other,
> Of o toun were they born that highte Strother,
> Fer in the North, I cannot tellen where.[1]

It may be considered as highly probable that Barclay completed his studies in one of those universities, and that the connexions which he thus had an opportunity of forming, induced him to fix his residence in the South; and when we suppose him to have enjoyed the benefit of an English education, it need not appear peculiarly "strange, that in those days, a Scot should obtain so great reputation in England."[2] From his first eclogue, we learn that he spent some of his earlier days at Croydon in Surrey; and in the year 1508, we find him a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Mary Ottery in Devonshire. He afterwards became a Benedictine monk of the monastery of Ely, and at length assumed the habit of St. Francis at Canterbury. Having survived the dissolution of the monasteries, he became successively vicar of Much-Badew in Essex, and, in 1546, of

[1] Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, v. 4011. [2] Biographia Britannica, vol. 1. p. 586.

Wokey in Somersetshire; and was finally presented by the dean and chapter of Canterbury to the rectory of All Saints in Lombard Street. As he retained some of his preferments in the reign of Edward the Sixth, it is presumed that he must have complied with the changes of the times. Having reached a very advanced age, he died in the year 1552, and was interred at Croydon.

Barclay wrote at a period when the standard of English poetry was extremely low; and, as excellence is always comparative, this circumstance may partly enable us to account for the high reputation which he enjoyed among his contemporaries. If not entitled to the name of a poet, he is at least a copious versifier. His most conspicuous performance is the Ship of Fooles, first printed in the year 1509. The original design and many of the details were derived from Sebastian Brandt, a civilian of Strasburg,[1] who in 1494 published a poem entitled *Das Narren Schiff*,[2] which was so well adapted to the taste of the age that a Latin and a French version appeared in 1497, and another French version in 1498. Barclay professes to have translated "oute of Latin, French, and Duch;" but to the original cargo he has added many fools of English growth. Under the representation of a Ship freighted with Fools of various denominations, the poet exposes the prevalent vices and follies of the age; and although, as Warton remarks, the poem is destitute of plot, and the voyage of adventures,[3] the general design was found to possess many attractions. As a specimen of the English poem, which upon the whole we must admit to be feeble and languid, I shall insert a passage that contains a zealous panegyric on James the Fourth; and this passage may

[1] Sebastian Brandt, doctor of laws, was born at Strasburg about the year 1458. He studied in the University of Basel; and after having publicly taught there, as well as in his native city, he became syndic of Strasburg, where he died in the year 1520. (Adami Vitæ Germanorum Jureconsultorum et Politicorum, p. 5, edit. Franc. ad Moen. 1706, fol.) He is extolled by his contemporary Trithemius as "utriusque juris professor insignis, et tam in divinis Scripturis quam aliis sæcularis literaturæ disciplinis egregie doctus, poeticam non mediocriter callens, ingenio subtilis, eloquio disertus, consilio ac actione præcipuus." (De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, f. ccii. a. edit. Paris, 1512, 4to.) His writings embrace a considerable variety of subjects. I have one of his professional works, entitled "Titulorum omnium Juris tam Civilis quam Canonici Expositiones." Lugduni, 1608, 8vo.

[2] See Dr. Ebert's Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexikon, 1 Band, S. 230.

[3] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 74.

be considered as a proof that Barclay had not entirely forgotten his native country.

> And, ye Christen princes, whosoever ye be,
> If ye be destitute of a noble captayne,
> Take James of Scotland for his audacitie
> And proved manhode, if ye will laude attayne:
> Let him have the forewarde: have ye no disdayne,
> Nor indignation; for never king was borne
> That of ought of warre can shewe the unicorn.
>
> For if that he take once his speare in hande,
> Agaynst these Turkes strongly with it to ride,
> None shall be able his stroke for to withstande,
> Nor before his face so hardy to abide.
> Yet this his manhode increaseth not his pride;
> But ever sheweth he meknes and humilitie
> In worde or dede to hye or lowe degree.[1]

Another publication of Barclay is the Mirrour of good Manners, translated from the poem of Mancine *De quatuor Virtutibus*. His Eglogues chiefly excite curiosity as the earliest specimen of pastoral poetry that appeared in the English language, but their other attractions are not very powerful. They are of a more recent date, and certainly very inferior in poetical merit to Henryson's Robene and Makyne. Among his prose works we find a version of Sallust's History of the War with Jugurtha: it was twice printed by Pinson, and is an early specimen of translation from the classical historians.

[1] [Ship of Fooles, f. 206, a.]

CHAPTER XV.

It is not unworthy of remark, that the votaries of polite learning have often evinced a strong and efficacious attachment to the cause of religious liberty. The Reformation, which constitutes one of the great eras in the history of mankind, will be found to have been promoted in every country where it has yet prevailed, by individuals conspicuous for their love of elegant letters; and on some occasions the ridicule of the poet was not less formidable than the arguments of the theologian. In the catalogue of the Scotish reformers we discover the names of Buchanan and Lindsay: the former has earned a reputation that can only decay with literature itself; and the latter, though of inferior fame, is confessedly entitled to a very respectable station in the early annals of Scotish poetry.

Sir David Lindsay, descended from a younger branch of the family of Lord Lindsay of Byres, was the eldest son of David Lindsay, who possessed the estate of Garmylton, in the county of Haddington, and that of the Mount in the county of Fife. The honour of the poet's birth belongs to Fifeshire,[1] but the date has not hitherto been ascertained. It appears that a student of the same name was admitted at St. Andrews in the year 1505; if we suppose this to be the same individual, and further suppose him to be admitted at the age of fifteen, his birth is thus referred to the year 1490. This youth, whoever he might be, was still a member of the university in 1508. Lindsay's father was then dead, and had left five sons. One of his biographers has sent him, after completing his academical studies, to prosecute his travels through England, France, Italy, and Germany;[2] but this

[1] Andrew Robertson, in the preface to the Danish translation of Lindsay's poems, informs us that he was born in the county of Fife. "Hand vaar födt i Skotland vde Fyff Stict."

[2] Mackenzie, vol. iii. p. 36.

account seems to rest upon mere conjecture, rather than historical evidence. He himself informs us that he had travelled through divers countries,[1] and he particularly mentions the appearance of the ladies in Italy;[2] but that he had visited those countries in his youth, is neither stated by himself nor by any early writer with whom I am acquainted. When first employed in the king's household, he appears to have been still a very young man; in a poem addressed to James the Fifth, he takes occasion to state that he had entered into his Majesty's service on the very day of his nativity, that is, on the 12th of April 1512.[3] In the following year we find him described as a "special servant" to that prince's father; whom he attended at Linlithgow, when an apparition warned the devoted monarch of his approaching fate. Of this singular occurrence, the following simple narrative, borrowed from Lindsay of Pitscottie, may not be unacceptable:— "Att this tyme the king came to Lithgow, quhair he was at the counsall verrie sad and dollorous, makand his prayeris to God to send him ane guid succes in his voyage; and thair cam ane man clad in ane blew gowne, belted about him with ane roll of lining, and ane pair of brottikins on his feitt, and all vther thingis conforme thairto; bot he had nothing on his head, bot syd hair to his shoulderis, and bald befoir. He seemed to be ane man of fiftie yeires, and cam fast fordwardis, crying, among the lordis, and speciallie for the king, saying that he desired to speak with him, quhill at the last he cam to the dask quhair the king was at his prayeris. Bot when he saw the king, he gave him no due reverence nor salutatioun, but leined him doun grufflingis vpoun the dask, and said, 'Sir King, my mother has send me to the, desiring the not to goe quhair thow art purposed, quhilk if thow doe, thow sall not fair weill in thy jorney, nor non that is with the. Fardder, shoe forbad the not to mell nor vse the counsell of vomen, quhilk if thow doe, thow wilbe confoundit and brought to shame.' By this man had spokin thir wordis to the king, the evin song was neir done, and the king paused on thir wordis, studieing to give him ane answer; bot in the mean tyme, befoir the kingis eyis, and in presence of the wholl lordis that war about him for the tyme,

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. p. 337. [2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 200. [3] Ibid. vol. i. p. 253.

this man evanisched away, and could be no more seine. I heard, Sir David Lindsay, lyon-herald, and Johne Inglis the marchell, who war at that tyme young men, and speciall servandis to the kingis grace, thought to have takin this man, bot they could not, that they might have speired farther tidingis at him, bot they could not touch him."[1] This alarming figure was certainly composed of something more substantial than either a spectre or a phantasm of the brain; nor can it be doubted that some of the nobility, or the queen herself, had recourse to the aid of such a ghostly visitant in order to deter the king from his fatal project of invading England. When Brutus fancied he saw a hideous apparition, he was sitting alone in his pavilion at the dead of night,[2] and might easily be deluded by his own sombre imagination; but James was surrounded by his courtiers, and the figure was visible to others as well as to himself. That such an incident actually happened at Linlithgow, cannot reasonably be disputed: Buchanan has related it on the authority of Sir David Lindsay, whom he extols as a man of unblemished integrity.[3]

The tutor of the young king was Gavin Dunbar, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow,[4] and chancellor of the kingdom, whom the same historian has commemorated as a learned and worthy man.[5] The situation of Lindsay was that of an attendant; and Bellenden, another poet, likewise belonged to the household establishment, in the capacity of clerk of accompts. Lindsay is first described as usher to the prince, afterwards, for several successive years, as the king's master usher. His wife, Janet Douglas, had for many years the charge of the king's apparel. In the dedication of his Dreme, he reminds James of the faithful services which he had rendered him in the tender years of his infancy:—

[1] Lindsay's Chronicles of Scotland, vol. i. p. 264.

[2] Plutarchi Opera, vol. v. p. 408, edit. Reiske.

[3] "In iis fuit David Lindesius Montanus, homo spectatæ fidei et probitatis, nec a literarum studiis alienus, et cujus totus vitæ tenor longissime a mentiendo aberat: a quo nisi ego hæc, ut tradidi, pro certis accepissem, ut vulgatam vanis rumoribus fabulam omissurus eram." (Buchanani Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 251.)

[4] King James, in a letter which is still preserved, recommended Archbishop Dunbar to the good offices of the king of England:—"Derrest Oncle, we pray yow hartly ye be not be your wrytyngs to the papis halynes aganys the archebyschop of Glasgw, the quhylk was our preceptor and servitor, and als remanis daly on our parson," etc. (Ellis's Original Letters, vol. i. p. 252.)

[5] Buchanani Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 270, Epigrammata, lib. i. 43.

Quhen thou wes young, I bure the in myne arme
Full tenderlye, till thow begouth to gang,
And in the bed oft happit the full warme,
With lute in hand syne softlye to the sang;
Sumtyme in dansing feirelie I flang,
And sumtyme playand farsis on the fliire,
And sumtyme on myne office takand cure.[1]

And in the "Complaynt directit to the Kingis Grace," he prosecutes the same topics :—

How as ane chapman beris his pack,
I bure thy grace upon my back,
And sumtymes stridlingis on my nek,
Dansand with mony bend and bek.
The first sillabis that thow did mute,
Was Pa, Da Lyn, upon the lute:[2]
Than playit I twentie springis perqueir,
Quhilk was greit plesour for to heir;
Fra play thow leit me never rest,
Bot Gynkertoun thow luffit ay best;
And ay, quhen thow come fra the scule,[3]
Than I behuffit to play the fule;
As I at lenth, into my Dreme,
My sundry seruyce did expreme,
Thocht it bene better, as sayis the wyse,
Hap to the court nor gud servyse.
I wat thow luffit me better than,
Nor now sum wyfe dois hir gud-man;
Than men till uther did record
That Lyndesay wald be maid ane lord :—
Thow hes maid lordis, Schir, be Sanct Geill,
Of sum that hes nocht servit so weill.[4]

Lindsay was afterwards dismissed from his office; and this event is supposed to have taken place in the year 1524, when

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 186.

[2] That is, as I understand the passage, "play, David Lindsay, upon the lute." Sir Walter Scott, Notes to Marmion, p. 451, interprets it differently: "Where's David Lindsay?" and proposes to amend the punctuation thus :—

Was Pa, Da Lyn. Upon the lute
Than playit I twentie springis perqueir.

But this correction certainly leaves the passage without any proper coherence. Play David Lindsay, upon the lute—then I played twenty different tunes—are expressions which bear an obvious relation to each other; but the question, "Where is David Lindsay?" does not naturally introduce an account of his playing on the lute. The manner in which the line is printed by Mr. Chalmers, "Pa, da, lyn," clearly shows that he could form no conception of its meaning.

[3] The subsequent entry occurs in the Treasurer's Accounts, 28th August 1517: "Item to Maister Gawan Dunbar, the kingis maister, for expensis maid be him in reparating of the chalmer in the quhilk the king levis now in the castell, iij *li.*"

[4] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 257.

the Earl of Angus regained his influence at court, and introduced such changes as were most conducive to his private views. His former services were not however forgotten, for he acknowledges that his pension continued to be regularly paid.[1] Not satisfied with such a remuneration, he takes occasion to bring his merits under the king's review, and to acquaint him with his disposition to accept of any better preferment. We have already seen that he contrived to convey a hint how a peerage might be very suitably bestowed. It is therefore sufficiently evident that this poet was not deaf to the calls of ambition, and that any addition to his rank or fortune would have been very acceptable. As he seems to have inherited a competent estate, and was not burdened with the charge of a numerous offspring, it is not easy to feel any deep sympathy for his disappointments or mortifications. The wants of a courtier, placed in such circumstances, are of so artificial and factitious a nature, that he must generally be left to bewail his own misfortunes. His remonstrances were not however ineffectual: he at length obtained an office of some dignity and emolument, that of chief herald, quaintly denominated lion king at arms;[2] and it was perhaps about the same period that he received the honour of knighthood. Whether he was connected with the herald office before he reached this highest preferment, may perhaps be considered as doubtful.[3] In his

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 266.

[2] "I find in ane old record belonging to Thomsone, Iylla herauld, about 14th James 5th, that the same king gave to Sr. David Lindsay, his lyon king of armes, of Month, in proper heretadge to him and his aires the feis dowties of Luthrie, extending to 4 chalders 9 bolls victuall, for his ordinarie fee." (Balfour's Account of the Office of Herauld, p. 38. MS. fol. Adv. Lib.) The fourteenth of James the Fifth was 1527.

[3] In a letter written at Antwerp on the 23d of August 1531, Lindsay describes himself as herald to our sovereign lord: "he was therefore," says Mr. Chalmers, "lion king before he set out for Flanders in April 1531." (Life of Lindsay, p. 11.) And in the subsequent page he refers to this document as containing Lindsay's own acknowledgment that he was lion king at this particular date. But herald to the king, and the king's chief herald, do not seem to be precisely the same thing; and it is at least bad logic to aver that Lindsay speaks of himself as lion herald, when he merely speaks of himself as a herald. I formerly supposed him to be installed in the year 1542; because I found this date annexed to his name and arms in the manuscript collection of his Blazonings, and, at the end of the same volume, a more recent addition of the names of four of his successors with the dates of their respective appointments: Sir William Stewart, 1567; Sir David Lindsay of Rathellet, 1568; Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1592; and Sir Jeremy Lindsay of Annitland, 1621. These four dates can be verified from other sources of information. The notice respecting the author of the Blazonings is this: "The armes of Sr. David Lindesay of the Mont, knycht, alias lion king of armes, autor of this present buke.

new capacity of a herald, he was connected with various embassies. In the year 1531, he was employed in a mission to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, whom he found residing at Brussels: this mission had a reference to the commercial intercourse between Scotland and the Netherlands.[1] When the king afterwards became anxious to find a suitable consort, Lindsay repeatedly visited the Continent: in 1535, he was connected with one embassy, which solicited a princess of the imperial family, and in the ensuing year with another, which solicited a daughter of the Duke of Vendôme, but neither of those negotiations was followed by a treaty of marriage. The young and handsome prince next visited France as the bearer of his own proposals; and having soon attracted the warm regard of the king's daughter Magdalene, he married this sickly princess, who died within forty days after her arrival in Scotland.[2] The public joy was thus converted into public mourning; and on this melancholy event Lindsay composed a poem entitled "The Deploratioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene." She died on the 7th of July 1537, and after an interval of eleven months James received another wife from the same country: Mary, a daughter of the Duke of Guise, landed at Fifeness on the 10th of June 1538, and was conducted to St. Andrews with great pomp.

The Reformation was now advancing with gradual steps; and Sir David Lindsay may certainly be classed among those who contributed to accelerate its progress: his writings tended to prepare the public mind for a systematic attempt to overthrow the papal superstition, and to introduce a more pure and rational form of worship. A species of devotion which rather engages the senses than the understanding, and which substitutes unmeaning observances for the vital power of religion,

Anno dom. 1542." It is however evident that this date must refer, not to his appointment, but to the period of his completing these Blazonings.

[1] Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 310.

[2] The expensis debursate upoun the Quenis Saullmes and Dirige, quhom God assoilye.

Item to Sir Thomas Cragy and ane uther with him for making of iiij dosane of armes, ... iiij *li.*

Item to the bellman, ... xviij *d.*

Item to the powpenny deliverit to David Lindesay, lyoun herald, ane croun of wecht, ... xx *s.*

Item to chaiplanis being at the dirige and saullmes the tyme of the obsequyis, ilk chaiplane havand ij *s*, extending to vij xx x, summa, ... xv *li.*

must always be regarded as having proceeded through a polluted channel. But the lives of the ecclesiastics were not less exposed to animadversion than their creed; nor was Lindsay destitute of skill in selecting proper topics of ridicule. His satire, and particularly his dramatic satire, must have had no inconsiderable effect in fostering the rising spirit of contempt for the clergy and their doctrines; and the Papists were long disposed to number him among their most formidable enemies.[1] Nor was his ridicule entirely confined to his compositions. The king being one day surrounded by a numerous train of nobility and prelates, Lindsay declared himself a candidate for an office that had lately become vacant. "I have," said he, "servit your grace lang, and luik to be rewardit as others are; and now your maister taylor, at the pleasure of God, is departit; wherefore I wald desire of your grace to bestow this little benefite upon me." The king replied that he was amazed at such an application from a person who could neither shape nor sew. "Sir," rejoined the poet, "that maks nae matter; for you have given bishoprics and benefices to mony standing here about you, and yet they can nouther teach nor preach; and why may not I as weill be your taylor, thocht I can nouther shape nor sew, seeing teaching and preaching are nae less requisite to their vocation than shaping and sewing to ane taylor." James immediately perceived the object of his application, and did not scruple to amuse himself at the expense of the indignant prelates.[2]

Of the king he always speaks in terms of affection, though his admonitions are sometimes not very ceremonious. He was one of the few courtiers who witnessed the melancholy termination of James's short career:[3] oppressed by that sickness of heart which arises from a consciousness of fatal misconduct, he expired in the royal palace of Falkland on the 14th of Decem-

[1] "Knoxii, Lindsayi, Buchanani, Villoxii, aliorum, impia scripta incautorum manibus teruntur: opus erat antidoto, ne latius venenum serperet." (Dempsteri Scotia illustrior, p. 54. Lugd. Bat. [1620], 8vo.

[2] H. Charteris's Pref. to the Warkis of the famous and worthie knicht Sir Dauid Lyndsay, of the Mont, alias Lyoun King of Armes. Edinb. 1582, 4to.—Of this very rare edition there is a copy in the Advocates' Library. It was "imprentit at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris," and contains the same poems as the edition of 1592. The table of contents on the reverse of the title includes the Historie of Squyer Meldrum, which is not however to be found in the volume.

[3] Lindsay's Hist. of Scotland, p. 177.

ber 1542, when he had only attained the thirty-first year of his age. The Earl of Arran was soon afterwards appointed regent of the kingdom; and Lindsay is enumerated among those who adhered to him while he continued to act in conformity to the principles which they avowed.[1] He was a member of parliament for the borough of Cupar in 1543 and the three succeeding years; and in 1544 he was again sent on an embassy to the Emperor, for the purpose of delivering into his hands the insignia and statutes of the order of the Golden Fleece, which had been conferred on the late king. After an interval of four years, we find him employed on an embassy to Christian King of Denmark. One of his biographers avers that at Copenhagen he became acquainted with his countryman, Dr. Machabæus, and other men of learning;[2] nor is the supposition destitute of probability; but it is always dangerous and always reprehensible to substitute mere conjecture for historical evidence.

Sir David Lindsay had decidedly espoused the cause of the reformers before they had become very formidable to the Government; and it may perhaps be considered as remarkable that he escaped every species of persecution.[3] In the year

[1] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, pp. 73, 97.

[2] Chalmers's Life of Lindsay, p. 37.—The name of Machabæus is otherwise connected with that of Lindsay. Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour, off the miserabyll Estait of the Warld: compylit be Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the Mont, Knycht, alias Lyone Kynge of Armes, and is deuidit in foure partis, as efter followis, etc., and imprentit at the command and expensis off Doctor Machabevs, in Copmanhouin, 1552, 4to. This first edition of the poem is supposed to have been printed, not at Copenhagen, but at St. Andrews by John Scott. John Machabæus, whose family name was Macalpine, was driven from Scotland by the persecution (Knox, p. 20), and having sought a refuge in Germany, he prosecuted his studies at Wittemberg and Cologne. At the suggestion of Melanchthon, he adopted the name of Machabæus Alpinas. He took the degree of bachelor of divinity at Cologne; and on being appointed professor of divinity at Copenhagen in 1542, he took the degree of doctor. Here he died in the year 1557. (Worms Forsög til et Lexicon over Danske, Norske og Islandske lærde Mænd, ii. Bind. S. 2. Kiöbenhavn, 1771-84, 8 Bind. 8vo. Nyerups Almindeligt Litteraturlexicon for Danmark, Norge, og Island, S. 367. Kiöbenhavn, 1820, 4to.) He was respected for his learning, and is the author of some professional tracts, which are enumerated in this very useful and elaborate dictionary of Danish literature. His son Christian Machabæus, born at Wittemberg in 1541, published several Latin works in prose and verse. His last preferment was a prebend at Lund, where he died in 1598.

[3] "Although James v. was led by motives of interest to persecute the reformers, he hated the popish clergy, and despised their ceremonies. It was he who employed Buchanan to write against the Franciscan friars. . . . James v. connived, and possibly more than connived at the poignant satire of Sir David Lindesay." (Hailes's Specimen of Notes on the Statute Law of Scotland, part ii. p. 10.)

1546, Cardinal Beaton, a prelate whose glaring vices were redeemed by very few virtues, was murdered in his own castle by a band of conspirators, who were partly instigated by private animosity, partly by public spirit, and who must all have been accustomed to contemplate without compunction this desperate method of inflicting punishment or perpetrating revenge. They were possessed of sufficient resources to garrison the castle of St. Andrews, and to defend it against the royal forces for the space of fourteen months. To this stronghold John Knox repaired at Easter 1547; and at a conference which was there held, Lindsay was one of those who recommended the ordination of this distinguished individual,[1] in whom his penetration had doubtless discovered that energy of mind which qualified him for the arduous task that he was destined to perform. Knox, though not elevated above the frailties incident to humanity, was undoubtedly a man of undaunted fortitude, of undeviating probity, and of fervent piety; a man who pursued the great object of his wishes with an ardour of mind which no opposition could quench, and with a steadiness of perseverance which no danger could diminish. In his character the gentler virtues certainly did not predominate; but a person of a soft and melting nature would have been a very unsuitable instrument in any attempt to reform such a nation. His fierce spirit of intolerance, his evident wish to maintain his cause by the temporal weapons so recently wielded by the papists, might excite the indignation of all good men, if they did not candidly reflect that the error with which he was contaminated was the error of almost all his contemporaries. Knox had studied at Geneva; nor were lessons of toleration to be learned in the school of Calvin and Beza.

The period of Lindsay's decease has not yet been ascertained. On the 16th of January 1555 we find him holding a chapter of heralds, for the purpose of investigating certain charges against a messenger-at-arms. He appears, according to one account, to have died between this period and the month of April 1558.[2] As he died without issue, his estates descended to his brother Alexander; and they have long ceased to be inherited by the

[1] Knox's Hist. of the Reformatioun, p. 67. [2] Chalmers's Life of Lindsay, pp. 41, 42.

family of Lindsay. He enjoyed much celebrity during his life, and left a fair reputation at his death. Archbishop Spotswood, speaking of the eminent men who adorned this period of our history, mentions him in the following terms: "Sir David Lindesay of Mont shall first be named, a man honorably descended, and greatly favored by King James the Fifth. Besides his knowledge and deep judgment in heraldry (whereof he was the chief) and in other publick affairs, he was most religiously inclined, but much hated by the clergy, for the liberty he used in condemning the superstition of the time, and rebuking their loose and dissolute lives. Nottheless he went unchallenged, and was not brought in question; which showed the good account wherein he was held."[1] To the testimony of this eminent prelate I shall add that of John Johnston, professor of divinity in the university of St. Andrews:—

Melliflui cantus Syren dulcissima, qualem
Scotigenæ Aonides et recinunt et amant;
Deliciæ regum, tituloque ac nomine regis;
Hoc fuerat nato quod fuit ante patri:
Quam Musis charus, quam diis quoque regibus olim,
Tam vera placuit religione Deo.[2]

Beside his poetical works, the chief foundation of his fame, Lindsay composed several others of less general interest. The nature of his office directed his attention to a species of knowledge which human folly has dignified with the name of science; and on the subject of heraldry he has left two different productions, one of which still continues in manuscript,[3] and the other, a curious collection of Blazonings, has lately been given to the public.[4] Bale informs us that he composed "Acta sui Tem-

[1] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 97.

[2] Jonstoni Heroes Scoti, p. 27. Lugd. Bat. 1603, 4to.

[3] Both his MSS. are preserved in the Advocates' Library. That which is still unpublished bears the following inscription in the handwriting of Sir James Balfour: "xi Octob. 1580. Collectanea Domini Dauidis Lindesay de Mounthe, Militis, Leonis Armorum Regis." Of this heraldic compilation a copious specimen has been inserted in Dr. Leyden's Dissertation on the Complaynt of Scotland, p. 55. There is another MS. which the catalogue ascribes to the same author, but which evidently belongs to one of his successors: it is a paper of no great length, bearing the following title: "Iniunctiouns set furth be Sir David Lyndsay of Reeothlik, knicht, lyoun king at armes, and his brethrene heralds, etc., 1579." MS. 4to, W. 6, 18.

[4] Fac-simile of an ancient Heraldic Manuscript, emblazoned by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Armes, 1542. Edinb. 1822, fol.

poris,"[1] and Mackenzie affirms that he was the author of a history of Scotland.[2] For this statement he quotes the authority of Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie; who however refers to Sir David Lindsay, not as a writer of history, but as a living voucher for more recent transactions: Dr. John Mair and Sir William Bruce he carefully distinguishes as authors of historical compositions, and mentions Lord Lindsay, the Knight of the Mount, and some other individuals, as those from whom he had derived private information. Dr. Leyden supposes Lindsay to be the author of the Complaynt of Scotland; but I have never yet met with a single inquirer who professed to be convinced by his copious arguments.

It is the poetry of Lindsay that chiefly recommends him to our notice, and he appears with no inconsiderable distinction in the poetical annals of his country.[3] Vernacular poetry was most successfully cultivated in Scotland at a period when it was in a great measure neglected in England. An English critic of unquestionable taste has remarked that "the interval between the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VIII., which comprehends near a century, although uncommonly rich in Scotch poets of distinguished excellence, does not furnish us with a single name among the natives of England deserving of much

1 Balei Scriptores Britanniæ, cent. xiv. p. 224.

2 Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 37.

3 The last edition of Lindsay's Works was published by Mr. George Chalmers. Lond. 1806, 3 vols. 8vo. The editor displays a modesty of disposition and an elegance of taste, which are only surpassed by the suavity of his manners and the profundity of his learning. All these topics might afford scope for illustration, but I shall at present confine myself to the subject of his erudition. The following line occurs in Kitteis Confession:

Thocht Codrus kyte suld cleve and birst.

"I know not," says the accomplished editor, "if there be any allusion here to either of the Codruses, who are feigned by poets: Lindsay may have alluded to Urceus Codrus, an Italian professor, and poet, of a singular character, who died in 1500." Vol. ii. p. 214. But if his classical studies had ever proceeded so far as the seventh eclogue of Virgil, he would have had no difficulty in discovering to which "of the Codruses" Lindsay alluded:—

Pastores, hedera crescentem ornate poetam,
Arcades, invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro.

In vol. i. p. 81, we find the subsequent remarks: "Cocburn's *Meditatio* was printed at St. Andrews, by Johne Scot, in 1555. He calls himself Johannis Scot, in the title-page, and Johannes Scott in the colophon." This change from *Johannis* to *Johannes* I can undertake to explain: the title bears "ex typographia Johannis Scot," and the colophon, "excudebat Johannes Scott." The various works of this author betray such a radical ignorance of the Latin language, that I have very little doubt of his intending to express his surprise at this variation from Johannis to Johannes. In another publication, he enumerates "Cicero's Epistles de Senectute, de *Amicitio*; Terence's Comedies and Elegies; Ovid's *Tristium*." (Life of Ruddiman, p. 89.) After meeting with these specimens of his scholarship, we are suffi-

notice."[1] When England produced only obscure versifiers, Scotland could boast of King James, Henry the Minstrel, Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas, Lindsay, and various other writers of genius. James the Fifth was likewise a poet; and his court seems to have been frequented by many votaries of the Muses.

Sir David Lindsay has written so many verses that they cannot always be expected to reach a very high standard: his works indeed exhibit considerable inequalities; but where they are not distinguished by any superior force of imagination, they are often entertaining by their strokes of humour, or instructive by their views of life and manners. He was evidently a man of sense and observation, with serious impressions of virtue and piety; nor was he destitute of those higher powers of mind which enable a writer to communicate his ideas with due effect. He frequently displays no mean vivacity of fancy; and the extensive and continued popularity to which he attained, must have rested on some solid foundation. Many of his poems have a satirical tendency; and the freedom with which he exposes vice, even when it belongs to royalty, has stamped his works with the character of intrepid sincerity. Lindsay presents us with many curious pictures of the state of society and manners; and although his delineations are sometimes extremely coarse, they are not on that account to be considered as less faithful.

ciently prepared for his commentary on another passage of Lindsay, which alludes to the pretensions of the pope:—

His style at lenth gif thow wald knaw,
Thow moste ga luke the cannon law:
Baith in the Sext and Clementene
His staitlie style thair may be sene.

"The allusion is to the Works of Pomponius Sextus, the great jurist of the 3d century." Vol. iii. p. 89. It is first to be remarked that Pomponius did not flourish in the third, but in the second century. (G. Grotii Vitæ Jurisconsultorum, p. 150. Bachii Hist. Jurisprudentiæ Romanæ, p. 477.) But if this "great jurist," of whom he speaks so familiarly, had written in the third century, how could he have illustrated the temporal power and splendour of the pope, before Christianity was established in the Roman empire? The *Sext*, to which Lindsay refers, is a particular division of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. The Decretals of Gregory the Ninth are followed by "Liber *sextus* Decretalium," which, notwithstanding the general title, is subdivided into five books; and this collection again is followed by the *Clementinæ*, or Constitutions of Clement the Fifth, divided in the same manner. The history of these compilations may be found in various writers who have traced the general history of the canon law. (Doujat, Hist. du Droit Canonique, p. 197. Paris, 1677, 12mo. Mastricht Hist. Juris Ecclesiastici, p. 390. Amst. 1686, 8vo.) A further specimen of this editor's acquaintance with literary and ecclesiastical history occurs in the following passage: "We may infer, that the Calvinists were not yet known, as a sect." Vol. i. p. 425. Certainly we may infer that the Calvinists were utterly unknown as a sect in 1535, inasmuch as Calvin, the founder of that sect, did not become a minister and professor at Geneva till the ensuing year. (Bayle, Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, tom. ii. p. 16.)

[1] Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Poets, vol. i. p. 316.

In this respect his writings possess a peculiar value, and ought to be carefully examined by those who particularly direct their attention to the history of that period. The author's talents seem to have been cultivated with considerable assiduity: he was much conversant in history and divinity; and his knowledge of Latin writers, ancient as well as modern, was apparently very extensive. His acquaintance with Grecian literature may perhaps be called in question: he denominates Hesiod the sovereign poet of Greece;[1] a character which he could scarcely be expected to receive from any person acquainted with the language of Homer.

Lindsay's versification is generally distinguished by its ease and fluency. His style often rises to a considerable degree of elegance, but on some occasions is overloaded with extraneous terms. This vicious taste was indeed too prevalent in both kingdoms: Occleve, Lydgate, and other successors of Chaucer, who possessed but a small portion of Chaucer's genius, endeavoured to render their diction poetical by the easy expedient of garnishing it with affected words, chiefly polysyllables

[1] For I did never sleip on Parnaso
As did the poetis of lang tyme ago,
And speciallie the ornate Ennius;
Nor drank I never with Hesiodus,

Of Grece the perfyte poet soverane,
Of Helicon the sours of eloquence,
Of that mellifluous, famous, fresche fontane;
Quharefor to thame I aw na reverence.
Vol. ii. p. 332.

These lines evidently allude to different passages in the ancient poets. The first verse must remind every classical reader of the prologue of Persius:—

Nec fonte labra prolui Caballino,
Nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso.
Memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem.

The allusion to Ennius will be best explained by a quotation from the ancient scholiast on Persius. "Tangit autem Ennium, qui dicit se vidisse somnium in Parnasso, Homerum sibi dicentem, quod ejus anima in suo esset corpore." (Cornuti Commentum in Persii Satyras, p. 3, edit. Vineti. Pictavis, 1560, 4to.) The entire passage of Ennius has not been preserved, but a fragment of it is supposed to be quoted by Cicero, Acad. lib. iv. "visus Homerus adêsse poeta." See Ennii Fragmenta ab H. Columna conquisita, disposita et explicata, pp. 33, 40. Neapoli, 1590, 4to. Lindsay apparently alludes to the subsequent passage of Hesiod, who avers that he was accosted by the Muses while feeding his flock under Mount Helicon:—

Αἵ νύ ποθ' Ἡσίοδον καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν,
Ἄρνας ποιμαίνονθ' Ἑλικῶνος ὑποζαθέοιο.
Deorum Generatio, v. 22.

Perhaps we may venture to suppose that Lindsay was not unacquainted with the Greek poets, although he has not described Hesiod in a very appropriate manner. He was undoubtedly acquainted with Roman literature, and yet he has described Ennius by the epithet *ornate*. He elsewhere mentions Homer and Hesiod in the following terms:—

In Grece the ornate poetrie,
Medicyne, musick, astronomie,
During this first monarchie began,
Be Homerus that famous man,
Togidder with Hesiodus,
As dyvers auctouris schawis us:
It wer to lang to put in ryme
The bukis quhilk thay wret in thair tyme.
Vol. iii. p. 58.

of Latin origin; and the manner in which those words were applied, imparted a vague and tautological character to the most elaborate of their compositions.[1] Dunbar, Douglas, and Lindsay were all infected with the prevailing taste, and have all exhibited specimens of this vitiated style. "It does not," says Dr. Nott, "occur so frequently in Lindsay as in his contemporaries, because perhaps his subjects were mostly those of common life. Still, as it is to be found in those passages which aspire to elevation of thought, we must conclude him to have considered it the proper language of the higher walks of poetry."[2] This remark might be verified by many quotations from his poems; where we find such terms as formose, matutyne, mansweit, prepotent, consuetude, celsitude, pulchritude, immundicitie, and many others of a similar denomination. The general merits of this poet are very fairly estimated by Mr. Ellis. "In the works of Sir David Lindsay we do not often find either the splendid diction of Dunbar, or the prolific imagination of Gawin Douglas. Perhaps indeed the Dream is his only composition which can be cited as uniformly poetical: but his various learning, his good sense, his perfect knowledge of courts and of the world, the facility of his versification, and, above all, his peculiar talent of adapting himself to readers of all denominations, will continue to secure to him a considerable share of that popularity, for which he was originally indebted to the opinions he professed, no less than to his poetical merit."[3]

The longest of his poems is entitled "Ane Dialog betwix Experience and ane Courteour, of the miserabill Estait of the Warld." This poem, which is otherwise described as *The Monarchie*, is indeed of great length; it is not however, as has

[1] Dr. Nott, by whom this subject is discussed in a very satisfactory manner, has quoted an illustration from Hawes, who applies the same polysyllabic epithets to objects the most dissimilar. "Meadows, chambers, palaces, and sounds, have all one common quality, they are all 'full solacious.' In the same manner the same poet tells us that Flora has her dews, and that they are 'aromatic:' but presently after, when mention is made of 'lusty Rhetoric,' we are informed that he has his dews likewise, and that they are 'aromatic;' and when Lady Eloquence is spoken of, she is equally 'aromatic;' so that flowers, eloquence, and the eight parts of speech have all one common quality, they are all *aromatic*." (Dissertation on the State of English Poetry before the Sixteenth Century, p. clxxxix.)

[2] Nott's Dissertation, p. cxcii.

[3] Ellis's Specimens of Early English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 22.

sometimes been asserted, a tedious detail of well-known events, but a work replete with various learning, and enlivened by the remarks of an acute and reflecting mind. It appears to have been composed when the author had reached an advanced age, and may therefore be regarded as the result of much reflection on human life. It has been unfaithfully characterized as a meagre compendium of universal history: the poet's principal object is not to detail events, but, by referring to the great occurrences recorded in sacred and profane history, to illustrate general positions; and notwithstanding the great extent of his work, he can seldom be considered as languid or tedious. Musing on the instability and wretchedness of human affairs, the poet early on a summer morning enters a delightful park, and is there accosted by a venerable old man named Experience. He informs this reverend stranger that he has at length resolved to abandon the Court, and to employ the remainder of his life in preparing for death; and he expresses an anxious wish to be instructed in the best method of obtaining tranquillity. Experience replies that perfect felicity is unattainable by mortals, and that human life is a state of warfare and tribulation. This reflection being presented to his mind, he begins to inquire into the origin of evil; a momentous question, which introduces the poet's ample discussion of "the miserabill estait of the warld." But before entering into detail, he offers a sensible apology for writing in his native language; and exposes the absurdity of prohibiting the body of the people from reading the Scriptures. Pearls, say the genuine adherents of the Pope, must not be cast before swine: children, as well as adults, may experience the benefit of fire and water, and yet their parents must be careful to guard them against those dangerous elements.[1] But the

[1] The injunctions of popes, and the sentiments of eminent Catholic writers, relative to the expediency of permitting the Scriptures to be read in the vulgar tongue, have been briefly recapitulated by Jacobus Laurentius in his animadversions on Grotius. (Hugo Grotius, Papizans, p. 194. Amst. 1642, 8vo.) A more ample collection was published by the French clergy, under the title of "Collectio quorumdam gravium Authorum, qui ex professo, vel ex occasione, sacræ Scripturæ aut divinorum Officiorum in vulgarem Linguam Translationes damnarunt." Lutet. Paris. 1661, 4to. But the same bigotry and priestcraft are by no means to be imputed to all the Catholic clergy; many of them have undertaken to translate the Scriptures, or some portion of them, into their native languages, and others have maintained the expediency of such translations. This opinion was strenuously maintained at an early period by Fridericus Furius, a layman, who published a work under the title of "Bononia, sive de Libris sacris in vernaculam Linguam

arguments suggested by Lindsay are not less pertinent. Moses, he remarks, did not publish the divine law in Greek or Latin: Plato and Aristotle did not discuss philosophy in Dutch, Danish, or Italian, nor did Virgil and Cicero write in Greek, Chaldee, Hebrew, or Arabic: St. Jerom translated the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into Latin, his native language; but if St. Jerom had been born in Argyle, he would have translated it into the Irish tongue.

> Tharefor I think ane gret derisioun
> To heir thir nunnis and sisters nycht and day,
> Singand and sayand psalmes and orisoun,
> Nocht understandyng quhat thay sing nor say,
> Bot, lyke ane stirlyng or ane papingay,
> Quhilk leirnit ar to speik be lang usage,
> Thame I compair to birdis in ane cage.[1]

Having taken a review of the most remarkable events recorded by Moses, and of the progress of the four great monarchies, he next proceeds to treat of the spiritual monarchy of the Pope. Against the corruptions of the church of Rome he inveighs with wonderful boldness, and in a spirit of manly indignation. The inordinate ambition of the popes, the dissolute lives of the clergy, the vain traditions of the church, the invocation of saints, auricular confession, pilgrimages, and other superstitions, are all exposed with no inconsiderable degree of popular effect. "Among the monarchies," says Mr. Warton, "our author describes the papal see; whose innovations, impostures, and errors, he attacks with much good sense, solid argument, and satirical humour; and whose imperceptible increase, from simple and humble beginnings, to an enormity of spiritual tyranny, he traces through a gradation of various corruptions and abuses, with great penetration and knowledge of history."[2] Of the downfall of the papal grandeur we meet with the following prediction:—

convertendis libri duo, ad Franciscum Bovadillam Mendozium, Cardinalem Burgensem." Basil. 1556, 8vo. An edition of this work, which was of very rare occurrence, has recently been published by Dr. Tydeman, professor of law in the University of Leyden. Lugd. Bat. 1819, 8vo. The author, a learned Spaniard, exposed himself to some danger, but was protected by the Emperor Charles the Fifth. (Antonii Bibliotheca Hispana nova, tom. i. p. 363.)

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. p. 349.

[2] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 138.

Apperandlie it may be kende,
Quod he, thair glore sal have ane ende;
I mene thair temporall monarchie
Sall turne intill humilitie,
Throuch Goddis word without debait
Thay sall turne to thair first estait;
As Danielis prophesie appeiris,
Thareto sall nocht be mony yeiris;
Howbeit Christis faith sall never fall,
Bot mair and mair it sall prevaill,
Thocht Christis trew congregatioun
Suffer greit tribulatioun.[1]

It will perhaps be admitted that this prediction has partly been fulfilled, and is now fulfilling. But the author has adopted another prediction, which relates to a subject of still higher moment:—

To God allane the day bene knawin,
Quhilk never wes to nane angell schawin.
Howbeit be divers conjectouris,
And principall expositouris
Of Daniell and his prophecie,
And be the sentence of Elie,
Quhilkis hes declarit, as thay can,
How lang it is sen the warld began,
And for to schaw hes done thair cure
How lang thay traist it sall indure,
And als how mony ages bene,
As in thair warkis may be sene:
Bot till declare thir questionis,
Thare bene divers opinionis.
Sum wryttaris hes the warld divydit
In sex ages, as bene decydit
Into Fasciculus Temporum,
And Cronica Cronicorum:
Bot be the sentence of Elie,
The warld divydit is in thre;
As cunning Maister Carioun[2]
Hes maid plane expositioun,

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. iii. p. 94.

[2] The *Fasciculus Temporum* is the production of Wernerus Rolewinck de Laer, a Carthusian monk of St. Barbara at Cologne. He was a native of Westphalia, and died in the year 1502. (Vossius de Historicis Latinis, p. 569. Fabricii Bibliotheca Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, tom. vi. p. 318.) This work would appear to have been originally written in German. In the Advocates' Library there is a copy of a German edition printed at Basel by Bernhart Richel in 1481, fol. The Latin text may be found in Pistorius's Germanici Scriptores, tom. ii. The *Chronicon Chronicorum*

How Elie sayis, withouttin weir,
The warld sall stand sax thousand yeir;
Of quhame I follow the sentence,
And lattis the uther bukes ga hence.
From the creatioun of Adam
Twa thousand yeir till Abraham;
From Abraham, be this narratioun,
To Christis incarnatioun,
Richt sa hes bene twa thousand yeiris;
And be thir prophyceis appeiris,
From Christ, as thay mak till us kend,
Twa thousand till the warldis end;
Of quhilkis ar bygone sickerlye
Ane thousand, five hundreth three and fyftie,
And sa remanis to cum, but weir,
Four hundreth with sevin and fourtye yeir;
And thane the Lord omnipotent
Suld cum till his greit jugement.[1]

The accuracy of this computation cannot yet be ascertained; but that of a distinguished mathematician, who has fixed a much shorter date, has been found erroneous. "The day of God's judgment," says Napier, "appeares to fall betwixt the yeares of Christ 1688 and 1700."[2]

To form a copious selection of striking and poetical passages from the four books of the Monarchie, would not be a very difficult undertaking; but when a late writer avers that in many instances Lindsay displays a sublimity of conception which Milton probably disdained not to imitate, we can only admire the boldness of the critic without acquiescing in his paradoxical opinion: it would be equally correct to affirm that Milton borrowed the plan of his great work from Sir Richard Maitland.

of Hartmannus Schedelius, another universal history, was published, both in German and Latin, at Nuremberg in 1493, and is commonly called the *Chronicon Norimbergense*. The author was a native of that town, and a physician by profession. Vossius, p. 573. Fabricius, tom. iii. p. 191. Trithemius characterizes him as "ingenio præstans et clarus eloquio." (De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, f. 210, a. edit. Paris, 1512, 4to.) Of the chronicle of Carlo a particular account may be found in Bayle's Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, tom. ii. p. 56.

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. iii. p. 128.—Wedderburn has adopted the same computation: "I vil arme me vith the croniklis of Master Jhone Carion, quhar he allegis the prophesye of Helie, seyand, that fra the begynnyng of the varld on to the consummatione of it, sal be the space of sex thousand yeir," etc. (Complaynt of Scotland, p. 54.)

[2] Napier's Plaine Discouery of the whole Reuelation of Saint John, p. 16. Edinb. 1593, 4to. In allusion to this calculation, Owen has written the following epigram. (Epigrammata, lib. iii. 40.)

Nonaginta duos durabit mundus in annos,
Mundus ad arbitrium si stat obitque tuum.
Cur mundi finem propiorem non facis? Ut ne
Ante obitum mendax arguerere. Sapis.

A Latin version of the Monarchie was undertaken by David Carnegie of Aberdeen, who did not however live to complete the task.[1] The poem was translated into English, and repeatedly printed in London ;[2] and, along with other works of the author, it was translated into Danish, and published at Copenhagen in the year 1591. The process of converting Lindsay's compositions into this language was somewhat peculiar: they were first translated into Latin prose by Andrew Robertson, and were afterwards translated into Danish verse by Jacob Mattsson.[3]

Lindsay's Dreme, which is supposed to be his earliest, has likewise been regarded as his most poetical composition. In the opinion of Warton, the prologue to this poem evinces strong talents for high description and rich imagery. After having spent a winter night without sleep, the poet rises from his bed, and directs his course to the sea-shore. The particular time, namely the dawn of day, is expressed by what the same critic considers as a beautiful and brilliant metaphor:—

[1] Gray, Oratio de illustribus Scotiæ Scriptoribus, p. xxxi.

[2] Lond. 1566, 1575, 1581, 4to.

[3] Dialogus, eller en Samtale imellom Forfarenhed oc en Hofftienere, om Verdens elendige Væsen, oc begribis vdi fire Böger om Monarchier; fordum screffuen paa Skotske, aff velbyrdige Herre Herr Dauid Lyndsay, Ridder de Monte, etc., oc nu nylige transferirit aff Skotske Maal paa Latine ved Anders Robertson, födt i Aberdijn i Skotland, oc sidem aff Latine paa Danske Rijm ved Jacob Mattssön. Kiöbenhaffn, o. s. v. Prentit i Kiöbenhaffn, 1591, 4to. The volume includes a translation of the Monarchie, the Dreme, the Complaynt, the Testament and Complaynt of the Papingo, the Tragedie of the Cardinall, and the Deploratioun of Quene Magdalene. Robertson has prefixed a preface, which is chiefly derived from that of Charteris, and he has adopted the Scotish printer's Adhortatioun, with some slight adaptation to the Danish public.

Saadant vaar mig den höyeste Aarsag
At ieg ey sparede denne Wmag
At vende denne Bog mer Arbeyd stort
Paa Danske Rijm, som för Skotisk vaar giort,
Aff Dauid Lyndesio i Skotland,
En Ridder de Monte, oc velbyrdig Mand,
Som ey lang Tid siden vaar ved Mact
Hoss mange Danske Folck i stor Act.

From the peculiar process followed in this translation, we can scarcely expect it to be uniformly correct. Charteris, in his preface, mentions the execution of "the vicar of Dolour, Freir Kelour," and others. Friar Kelour was no doubt translated by Robertson *Frater* Kelour. Mattssön has translated it "hans Broder Kelour," and thus we have the vicar of Dollar and his brother.

Andrew Robertson was a native of Aberdeen, and prosecuted his studies in the University of Copenhagen. He is the author of some Latin poems, which have escaped the notice of Professor Nyerup. (Almindeligt Litteraturlexicon for Danmark, Norge, og Island, S. 499. Kiöbenhavn, 1820, 4to.) Carmen lugubre in Obitum clarissimi gravissimique Viri D. Doct. Andreæ Laurentii, Hafniensis Academiæ Professoris sacrosanctæ Theologiæ primarii. Hafniæ, 1589, fol. Jacobi Sexti Scotorum Regis et Annæ Epithalamion, simul ac de ipsius in Norvegiam et Daniam Adventu, Congratulatio: item Salutatio ad Christianum Quartum. Hafniæ, 1590, 4to. The first of these publications is merely a broadside, containing three short poems. The name of Jacob Mattssön or Madsen occurs in the history of Danish poetry, written by Nyerup and Rahbek. (Bidrag til den Danske Digtekunsts Historie, ii. Bind, S. 88. Kiöbenhavn, 1800-19, 5 Bind. 8vo.)

Be this, fair Titan, with his lemis licht
Over all the land had spred his baner bricht.[1]

His description of the faded appearance of the landscape is finely conceived and elegantly expressed :—

I met dame Flora in dule-weid disagysit,
Quhilk into May was dulce and delectabill,
With stalwart stormis hir sweitnes wes supprysit,
Hir hevinly hewis war turnit into sabill,
Quhilkis umquhyle war to luffaris amiabill ;
Fled from the frost, the tender flouris I saw
Under dame Naturis mantill lurkyng law.

After wandering for some time on the beach, he perceives a cavern in the cliffs which overhang the sea ; and having ascended to this romantic retreat, he seats himself with the intention "to register in ryme some mery mater of antiquitie." The weltering of the waves reminds him of the fluctuation of human affairs. He finds himself languid for the want of his usual rest ; and wrapping himself in his cloak and hood, he is speedily lulled asleep. He fancies himself to be accosted by a beautiful female, named Remembrance, who conducts him to many unknown regions. They first descend to Hell, which is situated in the centre of the earth ; where they perceive innumerable shoals of popes, emperors, kings, cardinals, bishops, barons, abbots, priors, and ecclesiastics of every order and degree. Many other classes of men are subjected to his satirical animadversion, but his warmest indignation is directed against the profligacy of the clergy. He is next presented with a view of purgatory, in reference to which he remarks—

Sic thing to be, greit clerkis dois conclude,
Howbeit my hope standis maist in Christis blude.[2]

Having visited the limbus of unbaptized infants, and the limbus of men who died before the birth of Christ, which is situated in a vault above "that place of pane," they ascend to the region of

[1] A metaphor of the same kind occurs in the following elegant lines of a more modern poet :—

While through the west, where sinks the crimson day,
Meek Twilight slowly sails, and waves her banners grey.

MASON'S Poems, p. 40.

[2] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 206.

the upper air, and in their passage survey the marvellous secrets of the earth. After passing the four elements of earth, water, air, and fire, they bend their flight towards heaven, through the spheres of the seven planets. They first approach the sphere of the moon, "Quene of the sey, and bewtie of the nicht." Having passed the other planets, they ascend to the crystalline, and afterwards to the empyreal heaven; where they behold the throne of God, surrounded by the nine orders of angels, and by many other ministering spirits. He expresses an earnest wish to remain in this region, but is informed by his conductress that he must first endure pain and death itself. They then descend towards the earth, and contemplate its various divisions, which are recited at some length; but although America had then been discovered for many years, this quarter of the globe has not been so fortunate as to attract the poet's attention. He afterwards obtains a view of the terrestrial paradise, which is however represented as surmounting the mid region of the air:—

This Paradice, of all plesour repleit,
  Situate I saw to the orient:
That glorious garth of every flouris did fleit,
  The lustie lillyis, the rosis redolent,
  Fresche hailsum fructis indeficient,
Baith herbe and tre, there growis ever grene,
Throw vertew of the temperate air serene.

The sweit hailsum aromatike odouris,
  Proceiding from the herbis medicinall,
The hevinlye hewis of the fragrant flouris,
  It was ane sicht wounder celestiall;
  The perfectioun to schaw in speciall,
And joyis of the regioun divine,
Of mankynde it exceidis the ingyne.

And als so hie in situatioun,
  Surmontyng the mid regioun of the air,
Quhare na maner of perturbatioun
  Of wedder may ascend so hie as thair.
  Four fludis flowing from ane fontane fair,
As Tigris, Ganges, Euphrates, and Nyle,
Quilk in the eist transcurris mony ane myle.

The cuntrie closit is about full richt
With wallis hie of hote and birnyng fyre,
And straitly keipit be ane angell bricht
Sen the departing of Adam our grandschyre;
Quhilk throw his cryme incurrit Goddis ire,
And of that place tint the possessioun.
Baith from himself and his successioun.[1]

To compare Lindsay's description of paradise with that of Milton, may be no unpleasing task. The difference between the two passages is certainly great, and yet Lindsay's description is not entirely destitute of poetical merit :—

So on he fares, and to the border comes
Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
Now nearer, crowns with her enclosure green,
As with a rural mound, the champain head
Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
Access deny'd; and over head up grew
Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
A sylvan scene; and as the ranks ascend
Shade over shade, a woody theatre
Of stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops
The verd'rous wall of Paradise up sprung;
Which to our general sire gave prospect large
Into this nether empire neighb'ring round:
And higher than that wall a circling row
Of goodliest trees, loaden with fairest fruit,
Blossoms and fruits at once of golden hue,
Appear'd, with gay enamel'd colours mix'd.[2]

The poet is next gratified with a distant view of his native land. He proposes a question, how it happens that a country possessing such natural advantages, and inhabited by so ingenious a race of men, should never emerge from poverty :—

The riche riveris, plesand and proffitabill,
The lustie lochis with fische of sindry kyndis,
Huntyng, halkyng, for nobillis convenabill,
Forrestis full of da, ra, hartis, and hyndis,
The fresche fontanis, quhose hailsum cristal strandis,
Refreschis so the fair flureist grene meidis,
So lak we na thing that to nature neidis.

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 228.

[2] Milton's Paradise Lost, B. iv. 131.

Of everilk mettell we have the riche mynis,
Baith gold, silver, and stanis precious:
Howbeit we want the spycis and the wynis,
Or uther strange fructis delicious,
We have als gudē, and mair neidfull for-us,
Meit, drink, fyre, claiths, thare micht be gart abound,
Quhilkis ellis is nocht in all the mapamound.

Mair fairer pepill, nor of greiter ingyne,
Nor of mair strenth, greit deidis till indure.
Quharefore I pray yow that ye wald defyne
The principall cause that we ar so pure;
For I marvell greitlye, I yow assure,
Considderand the pepill and the ground,
That riches sulde nocht in this realme redound.[1]

Remembrance traces all the disorders and misfortunes of the country to the want of a regular and impartial administration of justice: wealth, she avers, can never enter where policy is not to be found, and equity can only reside with peace. While they are engaged in this discussion, their attention is attracted by a remarkable figure:—

And thus as we wer talkyng to and fro,
We saw a bousteous bernè cum ovir the bent,
But hors, on fute, als fast as he micht go,
Quhose rayment wes all raggit, revin, and rent,
With visage lene as he had fastit Lent;
And fordwart fast his wayis he did advance,
With ane malicious countenance;

With scrip on hip, and pykstaff in his hand,
As he had purposit to pas fra hamè.
Quod I, Gude man, I wald fane understand,
Gif ye pleisit to wit, quhat is your name.
Quod he, My sone, of that I think greit shame;
Bot sen thow wald of my name have ane feill,
Forsuthe thay call me Jhone the Commounweill.[2]

Schir Commounweill declares his resolution of abandoning a country where he has only experienced neglect or insult from people of all ranks and conditions. My friends, says he, are all fled: Policy is returned to France; my sister Justice is no longer able to hold the balance; Wrong is appointed captain of

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 231. [2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 237.

the ordnance. From the Merse to Lochmaben, it is difficult to distinguish an honest man from a thief:—

Into the south I was, allace, neir slane,
Over all that land I culde find na relief;
Almaist betuix the Mers and Lochmabane,
I culde nocht knaw ane leill man be ane theif:
Till schaw thair reif, thift, murthour, and mischief,
And viciousnes, it wald infect the air,
And als langsum to me for till declair.

The different classes of the community receive their share of animadversion, and it may easily be supposed that the ecclesiastics are not forgotten. No Scot, he adds, shall again enjoy my favour, until the realm shall be governed by an old and prudent king, who shall delight in the execution of justice, and bring strong traitors to punishment:—

Wo to the realme that haith an over young king.[1]

After the departure of this personage, Remembrance conducts the poet back to the cave; and he is speedily roused by a discharge of artillery from a vessel which approaches the land. He returns home, and after a slight repast, enters his oratory in order to commit the vision to writing. This poem is followed by an exhortation to the king, in which the author displays his accustomed freedom of admonition and animadversion.

Lindsay's Complaynt, which is likewise addressed to the King, is a valuable and interesting production: it exhibits some lively sketches of the author's personal fortunes, of the prevalent manners of the times, and of the early history of James the Fifth. The manner in which the tender age of this hopeful prince was corrupted by the designing profligacy of his attendants, is painted in striking colours; and although the information is conveyed in rhyme, it seems to be nearly allied to historical accuracy. James was possessed of superior talents, and of a disposition capable of receiving a virtuous direction; but his education was interrupted at a critical period, and he was early initiated in vice by those who by every tie of decency were bound to inculcate the lessons of virtue. The king was himself a lover of poetry, and his court was frequented by poets:

[1] Woe to the soile whose soveraigné is a childe.—STIRLING'S Alexandræan Tragedie, p. 122.

Lindsay and Bellenden belonged to the royal household; and he had sufficient discernment to appoint Buchanan the tutor of one of his natural sons. From Lindsay's Answer to the Kingis Flyting, it appears that James was a writer of verses: he begins by stating that he had read his Majesty's *ragment*, and proceeds to compliment him on his "ornate meter," proclaiming him the prince of poetry. And in the prologue to Bellenden's translation of Livy, the royal poet receives the same ample commendation:—

> And ye, my soverane, be line continewall
> Ay cum of kingis youre progenitouris,
> And writis, in ornate stile poeticall,
> Quik-flowand vers, of rethorik cullouris,
> Sa freschlie springand in youre lusty flouris,
> To the gret comfort of all trew Scottismen;
> Be now my Muse, and ledare of my pen.

It is however to be regretted that no undoubted specimens of his Majesty's poetical talents have been preserved. His claim to be considered as the author of Christis Kirk of the Grene, has already been examined; nor can we venture to place any reliance on the vague and modern tradition which imputes to him the Gaberlunzieman and the Jollie Beggar, two ballads possessing a strong vein of comic humour. His poem, addressed to Lindsay, if we may form an opinion from the answer, must have been written with much freedom and familiarity.

The "Supplication directit to the Kingis Grace, in contemptioun of syde Taillis," is at least conspicuous for the author's zeal as a reformer of manners. He seems to have contemplated long trains and veiled faces with an unnecessary degree of alarm; but, like a good Christian, he recollected that a long train proceeds from pride, and pride from the devil. He is chiefly scandalized at observing nuns and other religious persons employing train-bearers:—

> I trow Sanct Bernard nor Sanct Blais
> Gart never man beir up thair clais
> Peter, nor Paule, nor Sanct Androw,
> Gart never beir up thair taillis, I trow.
> Bot I lauch best to se ane nun
> Gar beir hir taill abone hir bun,

For no thing ellis, as I suppois,
Bot for to schaw hir lillie quhyte hois.
In all thair rewlis thay will nocht find
Quha suld beir up thair taillis behind.[1]

Nor is he less offended with the "muzzled faces" of the ladies. The Quene is the only female whom he proposes to exempt from the necessity of showing her face and cutting her gown:—

Ane uther fault; Schir, may be sene;
Thay hyde thair face all bot the ene:
Quhen gentill-men biddis thame gude day,
Without reverence thay slyde away,
That none may knaw, I yow assure,
Ane honest woman be ane hure:
Without thair naikit face I se,
Thay get no mo gude dayis of me.
Hail ane Frence lady quhen ye pleis,
Scho wil discover mouth and neis,
And with ane humill countenance,
With visage bair mak reverence.
Quhen our ladyis dois ryde in rane,
Suld no man have thame at disdane,
Thocht thay be coverit mouth and neis;
In that cace thay will nane displeis,
Nor quhen thay go to quiet places;
I thame excuse to hyde thair faces,
Quhen thay wald mak collatioun
With ony lustie companyeoun,
Thocht they be hid than to the ene,
Ye may considder quhat I mene:
Bot in the kirk and markit placis
I think thay suld nocht hide thair facis:
Without thir faltis be sone amendit,
My flyting, Schir, sall never be endit.
Bot wald your grace my counsall tak,
Ane proclamatioun ye suld mak,
Baith throw the land and borrowstounis,
To schaw thair face and cut thair gounis;
Nane suld fra that exemptit be,
Except the Quenis majestie.

Kitteis Confession, another of his satirical poems, contains many happy strokes of humour. It is directed against auricular confession, a copious source of priestly influence; and the

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. p. 200.

practice is exposed with equal pungency and good sense. The damsel remarks that her ghostly instructor gave her no injunctions to lead a holy life, and to confide in the merits of Christ, but only to follow certain external observances, of which she ventures to doubt the efficacy.

Bot gave me pennance ilk ane day,
Ane Ave Maria for to say,
And frydayis fyve na fische to eit—
Bot butter and eggis ar better meit;
And with ane plak to by ane messe
Fra drunkin Schir Jhone Latynlesse.[1]

The sanctified lasciviousness of a father confessor is depicted with no unskilful pencil:—

Quhen scho was telland as scho wist,
The curate Kitte wald have kist;
Bot yit ane countenance he bure
Degeist, devote, daine, and demure:
And syne began hir to exame:
He was best at the efter game. . . .
Quhen scho in mynd did mair revolve,
Quod he, I can nocht yow absolve;
Bot to my chalmer cum at evin,
Absolvit for to be and schrevin.
Quod scho, I will pas till ane uther;
And I met with Schir Andro my brother,
And he full clenely did me schryve,
Bot he was sumthing talkatyve:
He speirit mony strange cace,
How that my lufe did me imbrace,
Quhat day, how oft, quhat sort, and quhare—
Quod he, I wald I had bene thare.
He me absolvit for ane plak,
Thocht he na pryce with me wald mak;
And mekil Latyne he did mummill;—
I hard na thing bot *hummill bummill.*[2]

But the impurities of the Romish church were exposed to a more formidable attack, in "The Testament and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papingo;"[3] a singular performance, in which he admonishes the King and his courtiers, and exposes

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. p. 211.
[2] Ibid. p. 208.
[3] Ibid. vol. i. p. 280.—The Treasurer's Accounts for 1538 contain this entry: "Item to Kellis, kepare of the parrote, to by him claithis with, vj *li.*"

the corrupt doctrines and vicious lives of the clergy. "In the course of the poem before us," says Mr. Warton, "an allegory on the corruptions of the church is introduced, not destitute of invention, humour, and elegance; but founded on one of the weak theories of Wickliffe, who, not considering religion as reduced to a civil establishment, and because Christ and his apostles were poor, imagined that secular possessions were inconsistent with the simplicity of the gospel."[1] But if we recollect what precious fruits both Wickliffe and Lindsay had seen produced by this civil establishment of religion, it is by no means wonderful that they should have adopted such a theory. The clergy enjoyed a very large proportion of the wealth of both kingdoms, and they doubtless exhibited different degrees of piety and learning; but it cannot be denied that their profligacy bore some proportion to their opulence, and that true and vital religion, that religion which affects the heart and influences the conduct, was in a great measure supplanted by idle and unavailing ceremonies.[2] Of this poem, the subsequent passage may be quoted as a favourable specimen: the concluding thought seems to be peculiarly happy.

Dame Chaistitie did steill away for schame,
From tyme scho did persave thair proviance;
Dame Sensuall ane letter gart proclame
And hir exylit Italie and France:
In Inglande couth scho get nane ordinance;
Than to the king and court of Scotlande
Scho markit hir withouttin mair demande.

Traisting into that court to get conforte,
Scho maid hir humill supplicatioun.
Schortlye thay said, scho sulde get na supporte,
Bot bostit hir with blasphematioun:
To preistis ga mak your protestatioun:

[1] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 149.

[2] "More usually," says Dr. Ogden, "a multitude of religious rites, and a showy worship leads the common people to superstition. They are taught to place their religion in practices, which at best are but steps towards it. They mistake the means for the end, and are much engaged in the service of God without godliness. The Divine Being is dishonoured by their opinions of him; while they think he can be pleased with performances of no value, and offended without a fault: as if the heart and life were not of more consideration with him than words and gestures, or any offering could be preferred before innocence and charity." (Sermons, vol. ii. p. 19.)

It is, said thay, mony ane hundreth yeir
Sen Chaistitie had ony entres heir.

Tyrit for travell, scho to the priestis paste,
And to the rewlaris of religioun.
Of hir presence schortlye thay war agaste,
Sayand they thocht it bot abusioun
Hir to resave; sa with conclusioun,
With ane avyse decretit and gave dome,
Thay wald resset na rebell out of Rome.

In the Tragedie of the Cardinall, this zealous reformer still prosecutes the same design. The plan of the poem bears some resemblance to that which was afterwards adopted in the Myrrour for Magistrates. As the author, after the hour of prime, is sitting in his oratory, and reading the work of Boccaccio, *De Casibus Virorum illustrium*, he suddenly perceives the figure of a wounded man, with pale visage and deadly cheer. This visitor, who proves to be the ghost of Cardinal Beaton, entreats him to commit his tragic story to writing; and on his assenting to this proposal, the wobegone cardinal begins a relation of the principal events of his wicked life; but the story is not told with much elegance or energy.

Lindsay has evinced his humour and good sense in ridiculing practices of another kind. One of the most barbarous usages connected with chivalry was the exhibition of tournaments, in which it frequently happened that the valiant knights displayed their courage and address at the expense of their lives; and the ladies of the middle ages attended these spectacles with nearly as little compunction as the ladies of the present age attend the representation of a tragedy at Drury Lane. It was however during the decline of chivalry that Lindsay produced his facetious account of "The Justing betwix Watsoun and Barbour." He supposes this justing to have taken place at St. Andrews between two gentlemen of the King's household: they are both described as adepts in physic; and as envy is apt to arise among those who follow the same calling,[1] the subject of the poem was probably suggested by the feuds and jealousies which subsisted between these gentle leeches.

[1] Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει, καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων,
Καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει, καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.—Hesiod. Opera et Dies, v. 25.

The ane of them was gentill James Watsoun,
And Jhone Barbour, the uther campioun:
Unto the king thay war familiaris,
And of his chalmer baith cubicularis.
James was ane man of greit intelligence,
Ane medicinar full of experience;
And Jhone Barbour he was ane nobill leche;
Crukit carlingis he wald gar thame get speche.
From tyme thay enterit war into the feild,
Full womanlie thay weildit speir and scheild,
And wichtlie waiffit in the wynd thair heillis,
Hobland lyke cadgeris rydand on thair creillis:
But ather ran at uther with sic haist,
That thay could never thair speir get in the raist:
Quhen gentil James trowit best with Johne to meit,
His speir did fald amang his horsis feit.
I am richt sure gude James had bene undone,
War nocht that Johne his mark tuke be the mone.
Quod Johne, Howbeit you think my leggis lyke rokkis,
My speir is gude; now keip yè fra my knokkis.
Tary, quod James, ane quhyle, for be my thrift,
The feind ane thing I can se bot the lift.
No more can I, quod Johne; be Goddis breid,
I se na thing except the steipill heid:
Yit thocht thy braunis be lyk twa barrow trammis,
Defend the, man. Than ran thay to lyke rammis.
At that rude rink James had been strykin doun,
War not that Johne, for feirisnes, fell in swoun;
And richt sa James to Johne had done greit deir,
War not amangis his hors feit he brak his speir.
Quod James to Johne, Yit for our ladyis saikis,
Lat us togidder straik thre market straikis.[1]

One of the author's most entertaining works is the Historie of Squyer Meldrum, which is to be considered as a tale of chivalry, although the champion and the poet flourished at the same period. Lindsay professes to have derived some part of his information from the hero of his story; and the romantic adventures of William Meldrum were yet fresh in the recollection of his countrymen. By assimilating him with the heroes of classical antiquity and of more recent romance, he has imparted to his work a certain air of fiction.

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. p. 192.

This worthie squyer courageous
Micht be compairit to Tydeus,
Quhilk faucht for to defend his richtis,
And slew of Thebes fyftie knichtis.
Rolland with Brandwell his bricht brand
Faucht never better hand for hand,
Nor Gawin aganis Gologras,
Nor Olyver with Pharambras.
I wate he faucht that day als weill
As did Schir Gryme aganis Graysteill;
And I dar say he was als abill
As ony knicht of the Round Tabill.[1]

With the romantic he has occasionally blended a certain mixture of the ludicrous. It is nevertheless to be presumed that much of his narrative is substantially true; and some parts of it can be verified from other authorities. After the exploits of his youth, the heroic Squire fixed his residence in Kinross, where he possessed an estate, and was appointed the deputy of Patrick Lord Lindsay, sheriff of Fife. Here he is said to have administered justice in an exemplary manner, and to have dispensed physic as well as law to the poor. The desperate wounds which he himself received had directed his attention to the healing art; and as ardour was the essence of his character, he seems to have engaged in this new pursuit with his wonted enthusiasm:—

For as I did reheirs before,
Of medicine he tuke the lore,
Quhen he saw the chirurgience
Upon him do thair diligence:
Experience maid him perfyte,
And of the science tuke sic delyte,
That he did monie thriftie cure,
And speciallie upon the pure,
Without rewaird for his expensis,
Without regaird to recompensis.
To gold, to silver, or to rent,
This nobill squyer tuke litill tent;
Of all this warld na mair he craifit,
Sa that his honour micht be saifit.[2]

It is therefore evident that the Squire was a person of a very

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. ii p. 296.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 305.

singular character; and his exploits have furnished his friend, the knight of the Mount, with materials for a long and entertaining poem. In this work he displays a lively vein of description; and if poetical effect is not always secured, we must recollect that the author had little scope for the exercise of his invention, which was circumscribed by recent and well-known facts. Of Squyer Meldrum I shall quote another passage, rather however as a picture of manners than as a specimen of poetry. The Squire arrives at a castle in Stratherne, and falls in love with its beautiful owner, a young widow, who had been married to his own relation, apparently a cousin. Being conducted to his bedchamber, he continues to meditate on her charms, and at length begins to vent his passion in loud ejaculations: from her own apartment the lady overhears this soliloquy of her heroic guest, and speedily arrives at the conclusion that such ardent love ought to be duly rewarded :—

Hir hart fulfillit with pitie,
Thocht scho wald haif of him mercie;
And said, Howbeit I suld be slane,
He sall have lufe for lufe agane.
Wald God I micht with my honour
Have him to be my paramour!
This was the mirrie tyme of May,
Quhen this fair ladie, freshe and gay,
Start up to take the hailsum air,
With pantonis on hir feit ane pair,
Airlie into ane cleir morning,
Befoir fair Phoebus uprysing,
Kirtill alone withoutin clok;
And saw the Squyeris dure unlok.
Scho slippit in or ever he wist,
And fenyeitlie past till ane kist,
And with her keyis opinnit the lokkis,
And maid hir to take furth ane boxe,
Bot that was not hir errand thare.
With that this lustie young squyar
Saw this ladie so pleasantlie
Cum to his chalmer quyetlie,
In kirtill of fyne damais broun,
Hir goldin traissis hingand doun; . . .
Lyke the quhyte lyllie wes her lyre,
Hir hair was like the reid gold wyre,

Hir schankis quhyte withouttin hois:
Quhareat the squyer did rejois,
And said than, Now vailye quod vailye,
Upon the ladie thow mak ane sailye.

This lady, as we learn from Lindsay of Pitscottie, bore him two children; and their marriage was only deferred till they should obtain a dispensation from Rome; for her deceased husband was related to the Squire within the prohibited degrees.[1] It does not however appear that the dispensation was ever obtained; and in the meantime "a gentleman called Luke Stirling, envied this love and marriage betwixt thir two persons, thinking to have the gentlewoman to himself in marriage, because he knew the laird might not have the pope's license by the laws; therefore he solisted his brother's son, the laird of Keir, with a certain company of armed men, to set upon the laird of Binns, to take this lady from him by way of deed; and, to that effect, followed him betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, and set on him beneath the Rood chapel with fifty armed men; and he again

[1] In the civil law there were various fluctuations with respect to the marriages of cousins-german; and the reader, who is desirous of prosecuting such inquiries, will find ample information in the dissertation of Gothofredus, De Nuptiis Consobrinorum, subjoined to his edition of Philostorgii Historia Ecclesiastica, Genevæ, 1643, 4to; and in Otto's Dissertationes Juris Publici et Privati, p. 79. Traj. ad Rhen. 1723, 4to. The law of Justinian stood thus: "Duorum autem fratrum vel sororum liberi, vel fratris et sororis, jungi possunt." (Inst. lib. i. tit. x. § 4.) The canon law has adopted a different doctrine: prohibitions introduce the necessity of dispensations; dispensations increase the influence and the emoluments of the church. It even prohibits the marriage of second cousins; and, as we have seen in the case of Squire Meldrum, extends its rule to affinity as well as consanguinity. To this discrepancy between the civil and the canon law, as Dr. Wood has suggested, we may trace the origin of a vulgar notion, still prevalent in this kingdom, that first cousins may marry, but second cousins may not. (Institute of the Civil Law, p. 47.) In computing the degrees of consanguinity in the transverse line, the civil and the canon law follow very different methods. The rule of the civil law is, that there are as many degrees as persons, exclusive of the common stock; that of the canon law, that degrees of consanguinity are to be reckoned by the number of descents in one line; and where the lines are unequal the canonist generally takes the longer of the two. The canon law prohibits marriages in the fourth degree, the civil law permits them in the same degree; or, in other words, the one law prohibits the marriages of third cousins, and the other permits the marriages of first cousins. It may not be superfluous to mention that the earlier canonists differed from each other in one point, "Alii namque patrem in primo gradu, filios in secundo ponunt. Alii primum gradum filios appellant." (Decretum, p. ii. c. xxxv. qu. ii. and iii. § 21.) But the decision of Pope Alexander the Second, that two degrees in the civil law make one in the canon law, has been generally adopted by later writers. "Qui tamen parens," says Carnisius, "gradum non efficit, sed ipsius filius et filia primum gradum constituunt; et ex his filius et filia secundum gradum." (Summa Juris Canonici, lib. ii. tit. xii. § 9.) This decision is however overlooked by Dr. Taylor, who describes first cousins as standing in the third degree of consanguinity, according to the computation of the canon law. (Elements of the Civil Law, p. 331.)

defended him with five in number, and fought cruelly with them, and slew the laird of Keir's principal servant before his face, defending himself, and hurt the laird, that he was in peril of his life, and twenty-six of his men hurt and slain; yet, through multiplication of his enemies, he was overset and driven to the earth, and left lying for dead, hought of his legs, and stricken through the body, and the knops of his elbows stricken from him. Yet, by the mighty power of God, he escaped the death, and all his men that were with him, and lived fifty years thereafter."[1]

[1] Lindsay's Hist. of Scotland, p. 129. This fair lady was "called the Lady Gleneagies, who was daughter to Mr. Richard Lawson of Humby, provost of Edinburgh; the which lady had born to this laird two bairns, and intended to marry her, if he might have had the pope's licence because her husband before and he were sib."

CHAPTER XVI.

BUT the most remarkable of Lindsay's productions still remains unnoticed; namely, his Satyre of the three Estatis, the earliest specimen that is now to be found of the genuine Scotish drama. The history of dramatic exhibitions in this country is involved in much obscurity, nor can we venture to hope that any strong light will now be reflected on such a subject; the more ancient reliques of our drama are extremely scanty, and the scattered notices relating to the early history of the stage are far from being copious. It is remarked by Maximus Tyrius, that the Athenian stage derived its remote origin from the rude and extemporaneous songs of the husbandmen, who were accustomed to assemble after having closed the annual labours of the seed-time and harvest.[1] If such was the progress of a national drama which finally attained so high a degree of perfection, it may reasonably be supposed that the dramatic poetry of Scotland, a country which has never been distinguished for its successful cultivation of this department of literature, must have been derived from no very pure source.

The dramatic poetry of the middle ages was chiefly confined to sacred subjects, partly drawn from the canonical, and partly from the apocryphal Scriptures. Of the sacred drama, some early specimens had been exhibited at Constantinople during the fourth century, various tragedies, founded on scriptural subjects, had been composed with the pious view of expelling the pagan compositions from that theatre. One of these has been preserved under the title of Christ Suffering, and is commonly printed among the works of Gregory Nazianzen, although it has likewise been ascribed to the elder Apollinarius.[2] Whe-

[1] Maximi Tyrii Dissertationes, p. 437, edit. Markland.

[2] Cave, Historia Literaria, p. 177. Lond. 1688, fol.

ther these models were imitated by the ecclesiastical poets of a more recent period, may be considered as doubtful; but when learning, and even a knowledge of the alphabet were almost exclusively confined to a particular class of men, it was natural for them to select those subjects with which they were most conversant, and which afforded them the best opportunities of inculcating their favourite topics. Whether they were partly induced to provide such spectacles by the pious wish of diverting the people from more profane entertainments, may perhaps be conjectured, but cannot be fully ascertained. These exhibitions frequently took place in the churches and other sacred edifices, and seem to have been regarded as acts of devotion. The plays themselves, from the circumstance of their being founded on scriptural subjects, were denominated *Mysteries*. Many specimens of these extraordinary productions are still preserved, and some of them cannot be perused without amazement; the most sacred objects are treated with a rude simplicity and coarse familiarity which exceed the power of intentional burlesque.[1] Representations of this kind, which were so common in England, are likewise to be traced in Scotland;[2] but at what period they were introduced, cannot so easily be discovered. In the year 1440, the mystery of "The halie Blude" was acted at Aberdeen on Windmill-hill.[3] Of these ancient entertainments some faint vestiges are still to be traced. "It seems certain," says Sir Walter Scott, "that the Mummers of England,[4] who (in Northumberland at least) used to go about in disguise to the neighbouring houses, bearing the then useless ploughshare; and the Guisards of Scotland, not yet in total disuse,

[1] Some curious specimens may be found in Mr. Hone's Ancient Mysteries described. Lond. 1823, 8vo. Others occur in Mr. Sharp's Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry. Coventry, 1825, 4to. For an account of the Chester Mysteries, consult Dr. Ormerod's Hist. of Cheshire, vol. i. p. 298.

[2] Buchanan, in the following quotation, alludes to the priests in the reign of James the First:—"Paullatimque etiam sese a psallendi certis horis in templis, levi quidem illo, sed quotidiano tamen labore exemerunt, conductis pauperibus sacrificulis, qui vicem ipsorum fungerentur in canendo et missificando, certoque psalmorum penso, quod in singulos dies imperabatur, emurmurando colluderent: et nunc alternis versibus contendentes, nunc choros inter actus adhibentes, tragœdiæ speciem exhibebant, quæ Christi morte imaginaria claudebatur." (Rerum Scoticarum Historia, p. 190.)

[3] Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. i. p. 90. Lond. 1818, 2 vols. 4to.—"In the year 1479, we find announced, on the feast of Corpus Christi, a similar play, which was attended with the like expense" of five marks.

[4] See Brand's Popular Antiquities, vol. i. p. 354.

present, in some indistinct degree, a shadow of the old mysteries, which were the origin of the English drama. In Scotland (*me ipso teste*) we were wont, during my boyhood, to take the characters of the apostles, at least of Peter, Paul, and Judas Iscariot; the first had the keys, the second carried a sword, and the last the bag, in which the dole of our neighbour's plumcake was deposited. One played a champion, and recited some traditional rhymes; another was—

> Alexander, king of Macedon,
> Who conquer'd all the world but Scotland alone;
> When he came to Scotland his courage grew cold,
> To see a little nation courageous and bold.

These, and many such verses were repeated, but by rote, and unconnectedly. There was also occasionally, I believe, a Saint George. In all, there was a confused resemblance of the ancient mysteries, in which the characters of Scripture, the Nine Worthies, and other popular personages, were equally exhibited."[1] The performers, as well as the writers of the ancient mysteries, seem most commonly to have been ecclesiastics.[2] Players of a different description are apparently specified in the spurious laws ascribed to Macbeth; in which it is provided that players and other idle vagrants shall be enjoined to betake themselves to some mechanical occupation; and that such as neglect to obey this injunction, shall be treated like beasts of burden, and compelled to draw the plough or cart: an exception is, however, made in favour of those who have received the royal license to follow their calling.[3] The word which I have translated players is *histriones;* but this term is often applied in a very indefinite manner; and the *histriones* and *ludiones* there mentioned were perhaps jugglers and tumblers. So recently as the

[1] Scott's Notes to Marmion, p. 487.

[2] *Clerk-playis*, or plays acted by clerks, are familiarly mentioned by Sir Richard Maitland, in his poem on the first marriage of Queen Mary. (Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. ii. p. 284.)

> All burrowstownis, everilk man yow prayis
> To maik bainfyris, fairseis, and clerk-playis.

It appears that plays were occasionally acted in the universities. "This yeir [1571] in the moneth of July, Mr. Jhone Davidsone, an of our regents, maid a pley at the marriage of Mr. Jhone Colvin, quhilk I saw playit in Mr. Knox presence, wharin, according to Mr. Knox doctrine, the castle of Edinburgh was besieged, takin, and the captin with ane or twa with him hangit in effigie." (James Melville's Diary, p. 24. MS. Adv. Lib.) Clerk-plays are at a more recent period, mentioned by Semple in his Piper of Kilbarchan. (Watson's Collection of Poems, part i. p. 33.)

> At clark-plays when he wont to come,
> His pipe play'd trimly to the drum.

[3] Boethii Scotorum Historia, f. cclix. b.

reign of Queen Mary, tumblers were introduced for the diversion of the English court.[1] The character of the juggler was not unknown in Scotland: Holland, in his allegorical description of the Assembly of Fowls, has thus represented the Jay:—

Quhen thai had songyn and said softly and schour,
And playit as of paradys it a poynt war,
In com japand the Ja, as a juglour,
With castis and with cawtelis, a quaynt caryar:
He gart thaim se, as it semyt, in the samyn hour,
Hunting at herdis in holtis so hair,
Sound saland on the se schippis of towr,
Bernes batalland on burde, brym as a bair:
He couth cary the cowpe of the kingis des,
Syn leve in the sted
Bot a black bunwed;
He couth of a hennis hed
Make a mane mes.

Innumerable bands of tumblers, buffoons, rope-dancers, minstrels, and players, were at one period entertained in the courts of princes.[2] Between their professions it is not always easy to draw a line of distinction; several of them were occasionally exercised by the same individual. The calling of the professed buffoon or jester may perhaps be considered as bearing some resemblance to that of the player: there are indeed some obvious points of difference; the player retails the humour or pathos of others, while the jester was a wholesale dealer in farce of his own. Persons of this denomination are not unfrequently mentioned by our early writers; and a fool belonged to the household establishment of the king.[3] It appears to have been the

[1] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iv. p. 127.

[2] Burney's History of Music, vol. ii. p. 316.

[3] Mr. Pinkerton, without quoting any authority, mentions that "a regular fool" was entertained by James the Third. (Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 434.) Dunbar in the reign of James the Fourth, describes "John Bute the fule," as being present at a dance in the queen's chamber. (Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. i. p. 94.) And "a fool called John Mackilrie," belonged to the king's household during the earlier part of the next reign. (Lindsay's Hist. of Scotland, p. 132.) Mr. Douce has remarked that "in Dr. Turner's New Booke of Spirituall Physik, 1555, 12mo, fol. 8, there is a very curious story of John of Low, the King of Scotland's fool." (Illustrations of Shakespeare, vol. ii. p. 313.) In the Treasurer's Accounts for the reign of James the Fifth, there are various payments to fools:—1527. "Item the samyn day to a fule called Gilliemowband, at the kingis command, xx *s.*" 1530.—"Item to Malcolme the fule, be ane precept of the kingis, thre elne russate, xxxvj *s.*" 1538.—"Item for viij elnis of grene velvet, to be ane goune to the quenis fule, xxiiij *li.*" From the manner in which the first of these persons is mentioned, it may be inferred that he was not in

avocation of such a personage to amuse his patron with sallies of wit and humour, with bold and unexpected remarks on the occurrences of the day, with ludicrous representations of life and character. He generally wore a fantastic and parti-coloured garment,[1] and endeavoured by every art to attract the favourable attention of the prince or nobleman by whom he was entertained. He was exposed to the wit or folly of every joker, and in his turn was privileged to exercise his professional talents, without much regard to time, place, or station: the pontifical dignity of the bigoted and unamiable Archbishop Laud did not protect him from the sarcasm of Archy Armstrong.[2] A passage

the king's service. Some fools appear to have followed their profession without being maintained by a particular family. Under the date of 1639, the following entry occurs in Mr. Sharpe's Extracts from the Household Book of the Countess of Mar, p. 37. "Payit in contribution to Edward the foole, 12 sh." But almost every family of distinction seems to have maintained its own jester; and Lord Hailes remarked, in the year 1770, that "in Scotland the vestiges of this sort of establishment still remain." (Notes on Ancient Scotish Poems, p. 246.)

[1] See Strutt's View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England, vol. ii. p. 313.

[2] Archy was so unlucky as to touch upon what was, both to the king and the archbishop, a very sore subject. As Laud was proceeding to the council-table, the jester accosted him thus:—"Whea's feule now? Doth not your grace hear the news from Striveling about the liturgy?" Such an offence was not to be forgiven by such an archbishop; and accordingly the following entry appears in the records of the council:—March 11, 1637-38.—"It is this day ordered by his Majesty, with the advice of the Board, that Archibald Armstrong, the king's fool, for certain scandalous words of a high nature, spoken by him against the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his grace, and proved to be uttered by him by two witnesses, shall have his coat pulled over his head, and be discharged of the king's service, and banished the court; for which the Lord Chamberlain of the king's household is prayed and required to give order to be executed." (Rushworth's Collections, part ii. vol. i. p. 471.) This dignified order of the king in council was immediately carried into execution. Archy had been in the service of the king's father, and had borne a part in many fooleries, which are particularly described by Sir Anthony Weldon. "Then began the king to eat abroad, who formerly used to eat in his bed-chamber; or if by chance supped in his bed-chamber, would come forth to see pastimes and fooleries; in which Sir Ed. Souch, Sir George Goring, and Sir John Finit, were the chief and master-fools; and surely their fooling got them more than any other's wisdom, far above them in desert. Souch his part to sing bawdy songs, and tell bawdy tales; Finit to compose these songs: then were a set of fiddlers brought up on purpose for this fooling, and Goring was master of the game for fooleries; sometimes presenting David Droman and Archer Armstrong, the king's fool, on the back of the other fools, to tilt one at another, till they fell together by the ears; sometimes antick dances; but Sir John Millisert, who was never known before, was commended for notable fooling, and so was the best extemporary fool of them all." (Court and Character of King James, p. 91, edit. Lond. 1689, 8vo.) Archy accompanied King Charles in his romantic expedition to Madrid. "Our cousin Archy," says Howell, "hath more privilege than any, for he often goes with his fool's coat where the infanta is with her *meninas* and her ladies of honour, and keeps a blowing and blustering among them, and flurts out what he lists." (Familiar Letters, p. 136.) There is a certain rare volume which generally passes under the name of *Archys Jests*, but of which the proper title is this: "A Banquet of Jests," etc. Newly published. Lond. 1636, 12mo. The preface is written in the name of "the king's jester," and a portrait of Archy is prefixed. Of this portrait, the only copy which I have seen is inserted in the sixth edition of the book, printed in 1640; nor does it corespond to the

in the Priests of Peblis may serve to illustrate the character of the professed jester:—

Sa ouir the sey cummin thair was a clark,
Of greit science, of voyce, word, and wark,
And dressit him, with al his besynes,
Thus with this king to mak his recidens.
Weil saw he with this king micht na man byde,
Bot thay that wald al sadnes set on syde.
With club, and bel, and partie cote with eiris,
He feinyeit him ane fule, fond in his feiris,
French, Dutche, and Italie yit als,
Weil could he speik, and Latine feinye fals.
Unto the kirk he came befoir the king,
With club, and cote, and mony bel to ring.
Dieu gard, Sir King, I bid nocht hald in hiddel;
I am to you als sib as seif is to ane riddil:
Betwixt us twa mot be als mekil grace,
As frost and snaw fra Yule is unto Pace.
Wait yee how the Frenche man sayis syne?
Nul bon, he sayis, *Monsieur, sans peyne.*
With that he gave ane loud lauchter on loft:
Honour and eis, Sir, quha may have for nocht?
Cum on thy way, Sir King, now for Sanct Jame,
Thow with me, or I with the, gang hame.
Now be Sanct Katherine, quod the king, and smyld,
This fule hes monie waverand word and wyld.

Ridiculous as such a character may appear, it can be traced to a more refined age and nation: the γελωτοποιὸς, or professed jester, was not unknown at Athens during the most brilliant era of Attic literature. Xenophon, in his description of a certain banquet, introduces a person of this denomination. After the guests were placed at table, Philip the jester knocked at the door, and announced his readiness to join the company. I am provided, he added, with everything that may qualify a man for

description given by Granger. (Biographical History of England, vol. i. p. 563.) His head is uncovered, and he is dressed in a long gown. Some traditions of Archy Armstrong are still preserved. He is said to have been a native of Eskdale, and to have lived at Stubholm, a delightful spot which overlooks the town of Langholm. He belonged to a clan of freebooters, and of this clan he was not an unworthy member. (Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. iii. p. 487.) His subsequent preferment at court enabled him to acquire riches. An anecdote related in the Banquet of Jests, p. 43, commemorates his love of money; and the following passage occurs in a letter of that period:—"There is a new fool in his place, *Muckle John*, but he will ne'er be so rich, for he cannot abide money." (Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. ii. p. 154.)

partaking of his neighbour's feast, and my boy is likewise completely wearied with carrying nothing. You all know that I am a jester, said Philip, presenting himself in the banqueting room: I have thus visited you of my own accord, being persuaded that it is more comical to come to a feast without any invitation, than to wait for that ceremony.[1] In the progress of the entertainment, we find Philip attempting to divert the guests by his gesticulations as well as by his jokes. And here we certainly recognise the character of a professed buffoon, though he was retained in the service of a particular individual.[2] But in process of time this became one of the grotesque appendages of feudal dignity;[3] and in some countries such an appendage was considered as necessary at a very recent period. When the late Bishop of Salisbury visited the court of Dresden, in the year 1749, he found a full establishment of buffoons. "This day," says he, "I dined with the papal nuncio, at the residence of our envoy. At table was another guest, whom I still less expected, Pedrillo, the king's buffoon, who seemed a very sensible fellow; and therefore I think must reflect with indignation on the meanness of his employment, which reduces him to prostitute his understanding for bread. There are others of his profession at court, who are all obliged to attend in the royal apartments, between four and five in the morning, and play their tricks for the amusement of the king, while he regales himself with his pipe. They again appear at dinner-time, and at supper they are once more brought on the stage."[4] So true it is that the civil and the literary history of nations is to a very great extent the history of human folly.

[1] Xenophontis Opera, tom. v. p. 154, edit. Schneider.

[2] When Xenophon, during his famous retreat, was entertained by Seuthes, a Thracian chief, some jesters were introduced after supper, for the purpose of amusing the company. Among other curious particulars, he likewise mentions that the chief having started from his seat, raised the war-cry, and began to bound with great agility, as if in the act of avoiding a missile weapon; and here we recognise the barbarian manners of the present day. Καὶ αὐτὸς Σεύθης ἀναστὰς ἀνέκραγέ τε πολεμικὸν, καὶ ἐξήλατο, ὥσπερ βέλος φυλαττόμενος, μάλα ἐλαφρῶς. Εἰσῆσαν δὲ καὶ γελωτοποιοί. (De Cyri Expeditione, lib. vii. p. 525, edit. Cantab. 1785, 4to.)

[3] "The practice of retaining fools can be traced in very remote times throughout almost all civilized and even among some barbarous nations. It prevailed from the palace to the brothel. The pope had his fool, and the bawd hers; and ladies entertained them of both sexes." (Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. ii. p. 306.)

[4] Douglas's Select Works, p. 46. Salisbury, 1820, 4to.

Boyce and Lesley have stated that Randolph Earl of Moray, who was regent of the kingdom during the minority of David the Second, imposed a restraint on vagrants of various descriptions, and, among the rest, on players or histriones.[1] But if players were to be found in Scotland at that early period, it is probable that they were only a kind of jugglers, or other straggling makers of merriment. Another historian avers that during the reign of James the First, "the court, and, by that example, the country, was become too soft and delicate, superfluous in all delights and pleasures. *Masques*, banqueting, gorgeous apparel, revelling, were not only licensed, but studied and admired."[2] The authority on which Drummond has hazarded this statement, seems to be that of Buchanan; who, among other changes which took place under the government of this king, enumerates the frequent exhibitions of *personatæ saltationes*.[3] What is here stated with respect to the softness and delicacy of the court and nation, must be regarded as a very idle piece of declamation: too much luxury or refinement was certainly not the prevailing fault of that age. At the celebration of the nuptials of James the Fourth, a company of English actors regaled the court with a dramatic entertainment. "After dynnar," says John Younge, "a moralite was played by the said Master Inglishe and his companyons, in the presence of the kyng and qwene; and then daunces war daunced."[4] Moralities, or moral plays, had followed the Mysteries, or miracle plays, and were now very frequently represented in England. They made a nearer approach to the regular drama, exhibiting some appearance of character, plot, and incident, but with a strange mixture of real and allegorical personages. The mysteries were not however so speedily banished from the stage, but still lingered in certain favourite haunts. In the year 1515, when the Duke of Albany arrived from France in order to undertake the regency of the kingdom, the citizens of Edinburgh manifested their joy by the exhibition of "most facetious comedies and exquisite spectacles."[5] These

[1] Boethii Scotorum Historia, f. cccxxii, a. Leslæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 251.

[2] Drummond's Hist. of Scotland, p. 17. Lond. 1655, fol.

[3] Buchanani Rerum Scotic. Hist. p. 119.

[4] Leland. de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 300.

[5] Leslæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 375.

comedies were perhaps moralities, and the spectacles were certainly pageants; a species of entertainments with which our ancestors were familiar, and which seems to be in some degree connected with the history of the drama. The most remarkable pageants mentioned by our early writers are apparently those which in the year 1538 were exhibited at St. Andrews in honour of the arrival of Mary of Guise. "The queen," says Lindsay of Pitscottie, "landed at the place called Fyfeness, near Balcomy, where she remained till horse came to her. But the king was in St. Andrews, with many of his nobility, waiting upon her home-coming. Then he, seeing that she was landed in such a part, he rode forth himself to meet her, with the whole lords spiritual and temporal, with many barons, lairds, and gentlemen, who were convened for the time at St. Andrews in their best array; and received the queen with great honours and plays made to her. And first, she was received at the new abbay-gate; upon the east side thereof there was made to her a triumphant arch, by Sir David Lindesay of the Mont, lyon herald, which caused a great cloud come out of the heavens above the gate, and open instantly; and there appeared a fair lady most like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hands, and delivered them to the queen, in sign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open to receive her grace; with certain orations and exhortations made by the said Sir David Lindesay to the queen, instructing her to serve her God, obey her husband, and keep her body clean, according to God's will and commandments."[1]

About this period Sir David Lindsay had begun to cultivate dramatic poetry. One play of his composition has been preserved; nor does it appear that he was the author of any other work of this description, though it is probable that the same play was somewhat modified for different representations. It is entitled "Ane Plesant Satyre of the three Estaitis, in commendatioun of Vertew and vituperatioun of Vyce;" but the principal burden of his satire falls upon the ecclesiastics. Lindsay's play is said to have been acted at Cupar in the year 1535: and it appears to have been acted before the king and his court at

[1] Lindsay's History of Scotland, p. 160. Edinb. 1728, fol.

Linlithgow in the year 1539.[1] It was likewise "playit beside Edinburgh, in presence of the quene regent and ane greit part of the nobilitie, with ane exceiding greit nowmer of pepill, lestand fra nyne houris afoir none, till six houris at euin."[2] Spectators who retain their places for the space of nine hours, must certainly meet with no slight degree of entertainment: but it appears from one of the stage-directions that the play was divided into two parts, and that they had an opportunity of taking some refreshment during a short interval in the representation.

Lindsay's Satyre of the three Estaitis is a morality, containing a mixture of real and allegorical characters, and cannot therefore be expected to exhibit a succession of very probable incidents. It however exhibits some curious germs of the dramatic art; and in reference to those to whom it was originally addressed, it must be regarded as a powerful satire. The ingenuity of the author, which is by no means inconsiderable, is greatly surpassed by his boldness and intrepidity. The general plan and management of this singular performance will be best understood from a short analysis. The prologue is delivered by Diligence, who having prepared the audience, is succeeded by Rex Humanitas, and some of his attendants. This king is virtuously disposed, but is induced by the evil counsel of Wantonness, Placebo, and Solace, to listen to the blandishments of a lady named Sensualitie. Of the arguments which they employ on this occasion, the following passage contains an adequate specimen:—

For I knaw be your qualite
Ye want the gift of chastite:
Fall to *in nomine Domini*,
This is my counsall.
I speik, Schir, under protestatioun,
That nane at me haif indignatioun:
For all the prelatis of this natioun,
For the maist part,
Thay think na schame to haif ane hure,
And sum hes three under thair cure:
This to be trew, I'll you assure;
Ye sall heir efterwart.

[1] Ritson's Historical Essay on Scotish Song.

[2] H. Charteris's prof. to the Warkis of Sir Dauid Lindsay. Edinb. 1582, 4to.

Schir, knew ye all the mater throch,
To play ye wald begin;
Speir at the monks of Balmirinoch,
Gif lecherie be sin.[1]

The king sends for this fascinating lady; and after the court has thus been corrupted, Gude-Counsall makes his appearance. He declares that he has long been absent from Scotland, and that for want of his guidance, the rulers are graceless, and die "befoir thair day." He is speedily followed by three characters of another description; namely, Flattrie, Falset, and Dissait. They agree to change their names, and to assume the garb of clerks: Flattrie, who takes the habit of a friar, borrows the name of Devotion, Dissait of Discretioun, and Falset of Sapience. On presenting themselves to the king, they experience a gracious reception: one of them is appointed his confessor, another his treasurer, and the third his counsellor. They begin to cajole his majesty in a manner sufficiently ludicrous. Dissait addresses him thus:—

Schir, I ken be your physnomie
Ye sall conqueis, or els I lie,
Danskin, Denmark, and Almane,
Spitteleild and the realme of Spane;
Ye sall haif at your governance
Renfrow and all the realme of France,
Yea, Ruglan and the toun of Rome,
Corstorphine and all Christindome.[2]

The king declares himself well satisfied with his new courtiers; but "heir sall Gud Counsall schaw himself in the feild." Afraid of his influence, they deliver a pretended message from Humanity, commanding his absence from the court; but they have scarcely banished this intruder, when another, named Dame Veritie, makes her appearance, and begins an edifying lecture on the conduct of kings and other rulers. In order to oppose her influence, they think it expedient to have recourse to the

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 373. Balmerino, in Fifeshire, was a Cistercian abbey, founded by Alexander the Second and his mother Ermengarde de Beaumont. The lands belonging to it were in 1604 erected into a temporal lordship, in favour of Sir James Elphinstone, the third son of Robert Lord Elphinstone. (Spotiswood's Account of the Religious Houses in Scotland, p. 423. Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 182.)

[2] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 412.

clergy. Here the spiritual estate in the abstract is represented by a personage named Spiritualitie, who is however attended by an abbot, a parson, and other ecclesiastics. They speedily come to the resolution of treating Veritie as a heretic, unless she consent to make a recantation.

> Quhat buik is that, harlot, into thy hand?
> Out! walloway! this is the New Test'ment,
> In Englisch toung, and printit in England:
> Herisie! herisie! fire! fire! incontinent.[1]

She is treated as a vagrant, and put in the stocks, when another stranger presents herself: this is Dame Chastitie, who complains of her long banishment, and now addresses herself to the ladies of religion, and to the lords of spirituality, but meets with a very ungracious reception. As her company is not particularly courted by "my lord Temporalitie," she next appeals to the men of craft, and is cordially received by a shoemaker and a tailor, who invite her to take a social glass.

> Sowtar. Fill in, and play cap' out,
> For I am wonder dry:
> The Devill snyp aff thair snout,
> That hatis this company.[2]

But this harmonious meeting is speedily disturbed by the two citizens' wives: moved by jealousy, they drive away Chastitie, and assail their husbands with their tongues and other proper weapons. Having cleared the field, they are both of opinion that they ought now to regale themselves: the shoemaker's wife offers to hasten to town for a supply of good wine; she is represented as attempting to wade through a stream, and the stage-direction is not a little curious: "Scho lifts up hir clais above hir waist, and enters in the water." After they quit the stage, or, to speak more properly, the field, Chastitie procures an audience of the king, who is however induced by the advice of Sensualitie to put her in the stocks. The varlet of King Correctioun now announces his master's approach. Flattrie, Falset, and Dissait are alarmed at the intelligence, and resolve to withdraw from court, but they resolve previously to rob the

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 426. [2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 436.

king of his treasure, while he is fast asleep. Falset steals the box in which it is contained; a quarrel ensues respecting the division of so valuable a booty; and "heir sal Dissait rin away with the box throuch the water." Divyne Correctioun makes his appearance, and, prefacing his sermon with a text from the Vulgate, declares his name and functions. He is welcomed by Gude-Counsall: Veritie and Chastitie are released from the stocks; and they all seek the presence of Rex Humanitas, who is compelled to banish Sensualitie, and to receive into his service Gud-Counsall, Veritie, and Chastitie. The king is advised to assemble a parliament for the general redress of grievances; and the serious matter which ensues is not unmixed with jokes.

R. HUMANITAS. Pas on, and thou sal be regairdit
And for thy service weill rewairdit;
For quhy, with my consent,
Thou sall haif yeirly for thy hire
The teind mussellis of the ferrie myre,
Confirmit in parliament.

DILIGENCE. I will get riches throw that rent,
Efter the day of dome;
Quhen in the colpots of Tranent
Butter will grow on brome.

The proclamation for holding a parliament terminates the first part of the play. Diligence advises the audience to take some refreshment; and "now sall the pepill mak collatioun: then beginnis the Interlude; the kingis, bishopis, and principall players, being out of their seats."[1]

The second part opens with an interview between Pauper and Diligence, in which the poor man details his misfortunes, and chiefly imputes them to the exactions of the clergy: he particularly complains of the exaction of what is denominated the corse-present,[2] and of the dilatory and expensive proceed-

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 470.

[2] Corse-present is synonymous with mortuary; which Dr. Cowell explains to be "a gift left by a man at his death, to his parish church, for the recompence of his personall titles and offerings not duly payed in his lifetime. And if a man have three or more cattell of any kind, the best being kept for the lord of the fee, as a heriot, the second was wont to be given to the parson in right of the church." (Interpreter, voc. *Mortuarie.*) See Lyndewode's Provinciale, f. 13, a. edit. Paris, 1501, fol. Selden's Hist. of Tythes, p. 287. Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, vol. ii. p. 929. What might originally be bequeathed as an occasional benevolence, was at length enforced as a regulated perquisite; and it was enforced so rigorously as to be considered an intolerable grievance in both kingdoms. In the country parishes of Scot-

ings of the consistory court. And with respect to subjects of this kind, some curious hints may be gleaned from Lindsay's drama. Pauper lies down to repose himself, and a Pardoner next makes his appearance: he explains his commission, but declares that the sale of his commodities has been greatly impaired by the English translation of the New Testament. His reliques and pardons he displays on a board, and proceeds thus:

My patent pardouns ye may se,
Cam fra the Can of Tartarie,
Weill seald with oster-schellis.
Thocht ye haif na contritioun,
Ye sall haif full remissioun,
With help of bukes and bellis.
Heir is ane relict lang and braid,
Of Fyn Macoull the richt chaft blaid,
With teith and al togidder.
Of Collins cow heir is ane horne,
For eating of Makconnals corne
Was slane into Balquhidder.
Heir is ane cord, baith gret and lang,
Quhilk hangit Johne the Armistrang,
Of gude hemp, soft and sound:
Gude halie pepill, I stand for'd,
Quhaever beis hangit with this cord,
Neidis never to be dround.
The culum of Sanct Bryds kow,
The gruntill of Sanct Antonis sow,
Quhilk bure his haly bell:
Quha ever he be heiris this bell clink,
Gif me ane ducat for till drink,
He sall never gang to hell,
Without he be of Beliall borne:—
Maisters, trow ye that this be scorne?
Cum win this pardoun, cum.

land, a cow and the uppermost cloth or coverlet of the bed were exacted by the incumbent on the death of any member of the family; so that a poor farmer, visited by some of the ordinary calamities of life, might suddenly be reduced to beggary. See Wilkins's Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, vol. iv. p. 208. Lindsay's Hist. of Scotland, p. 151; and M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. pp. 23, 349. To these scandalous exactions Sir David Lindsay alludes with much indignation. (Vol. ii. pp. 6, 52, 59; vol. iii. p. 105.) Nor is the corse-present forgotten by the authors of the Booke of Godly Songs:—

At corps presence they would sing,
For riches to slocken the fire;
But all pure folk that had nathing,
Was skaldit bane and tyre.
Sig. L. 2. b.

Priests, take na kyis,
The vmest claith ze sall quite chime;
Fra sax pure bairnes with their dame,
A vengeance on you cryis.
Sig. L, 6. b.

Quha luffis thair wyfis nocht with thair hart,
I haif power thame for till part.
Me think yow deif and dum:
Hes nane of yow curst wickit wyfis,
That halds yow intill sturt and stryfis?
Cum tak my dispensatioun:
Of that cummer I sall mak yow quyte,
Howbeit your selfis be in the wyte,
And mak ane fals narratioun.
Cum win the pardoun, now lat se,
For meill, for malt, or for monie,
For cok, hen, guse, or gryse.
Of relics heir I haif ane hunder:
Quhy cum ye nocht? This is ane wonder:
I trow ye be nocht wyse.[1]

This worthy person, "Robert Rome-raker," is welcomed home by the shoemaker, who anxiously inquires if he has any dispensation to separate him from his wicked wife. The Pardoner readily undertakes to divorce them; and they are accordingly separated from each other, after performing a ceremony too grossly ludicrous to be more particularly described. A dialogue, calculated to expose the absurdity of this traffic in pardons, now ensues between Pauper and the Pardoner; and they at length proceed to blows, when Pauper overturns the board, and throws the reliques into the water. The "Three Estaitis" are afterwards represented as coming "fra the palzeoun, gangand backwart, led be thair vyces." It may be remarked in passing,

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. p. 12. The *pardoner* has not escaped the reprehension of a much earlier satirist, whose work is in various respects a very curious relique of English literature:—

Ther preched a pardoner as he a prest were,
And broute forth a bulle with bischopis seles,
And seide that hymselve mythe assoilie hem alle
Of falsnesse, of fastinges, of vowes to broke.
Lewede men lyvede hym wel, and likeden hus wordes,
Comen and kneleden to kyssen his bulles:
He blessede hem with hus bulles, and blered hure eye,
And raghte with his ragemen rynges an broches.
Thus ye yeveth youre golde, glotones to helpe,
And leneth it to loreles, that lecherie haunten.

Visions of Pierce Plowman, p. 4, Whitaker's edit.

In the eighth of these lines, the edition of 1550 has *ragman*, which is certainly the genuine reading. *Ragman* or *ragment* is likewise an ancient Scotish word, signifying a discourse or other writing.

Swa thai consentyd than,
And mad a-pon this a *ragman*
With mony selys of lordis thare,
That that tyme at this tretto ware.

Wintoun's Cronykil, vol. i. p. 219.

For lang befor was kepyt the *ragment*
Quhilk Cwmyn had, to byd the gret parlement.

Henry's Wallace, p. 346.

that, so far as appears from the stage-directions, the pavilion was the only substitute for scenery and other apparatus with which a more modern theatre is commonly provided. The king and three estates assemble in full parliament, attended by Correctioun and other personages; and his majesty declares it to be the purpose of their meeting to reform abuses and punish offenders. John, the Common-weill, appears in person, and having been presented to the king, brings an accusation against the three estates:—

REX. Schir Common-weill, knaw ye the limmers that them leidis?
JOHN. Thair canker cullours, I ken thame be the heidis.
As for our reverent fathers of Spiritualitie,
They ar led be Covetice and cairles Spiritualitie.
And, as ye se, Temporalitie hes neid of correctioun,
Quhilk hes lang tyme bene led be publick oppressioun:
Lo! quhare the loun lyis lurkand at his back:
Get up, I think to se thy craig gar ane raip crack.
Lo! heir is Falset and Dissait, weill I ken,
Leiders of the merchants and sillie craftis-men.
Quhat mervell thocht the thrie estatis backwart gang,
Quhen sic an vyle cumpanie dwels thame amang,
Quhilk hes reulit this rout mony deir dayis,
Quhilk gars Johne the Common-weill want his warme clais?
Schir, call them befoir yow, and put thame in ordour,
Or els Johne the Common-weill man beg on the border.[1]

The vices are in their turn secured in the stocks; and the abuses of every part of the commonwealth are enumerated with great boldness and impartiality, but ecclesiastical abuses are still most prominent. Among various other incidents that follow, Veritie and Chastitie appear at the bar to prefer their respective charges against Spiritualitie. A new character afterwards enters the field; namely, Common Thift, intended as an abstract representation of the border thieves, who at that period were so numerous and so formidable:—

PAUPER. Quhat is thy name, man, be thy thrift?
THIFT. Hureson, thay call me Common Thift:
For quhy I had na uther schift
Sen I was borne.
In Eusdaill was my dwelling place;

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. p. 36.

Mony ane wyfe gart I cry alace;
At my hand thay gat never grace,
Bot ay forlorne. . . .
I raife, be him that herryit hell,
I had almaist foryet my sell:
Will na gude fallow to me tell
Quhair I may finde
The erle of Rothes best haiknay?
That was my errand heir away:
He is richt stark, as I heir say,
And swift as winde.
Heir is my brydill and my spurris,
To gar him lance ovir land and furris:
Micht I him get to Ewis-durris,
I tak na cure.[1]

Thift being left in the stocks by a stratagem of his old friend Oppressioun, we are regaled with a scene of a different kind. It was determined in parliament that some graduates in divinity and law, distinguished for their gifts of preaching, should be selected from the universities; and Diligence accordingly introduces a Doctor and two Licentiates. The doctor mounts the pulpit; and, as a specimen of his qualifications, preaches a sermon in due form. The Parson objects to all his doctrines, and some theological controversy ensues. Flattrie being at length recognised, is despoiled of his friar's habit, and in order to save his own life, consents to become the executioner of his companions, Falset and Dissait. Three prelates are likewise deprived, and their preferments are bestowed on the three clerks from the universities. The various acts of this parliament, all tending to the reformation of the church and state, are recited and proclaimed by sound of trumpet; and this ceremony is followed by the execution of the great criminals who have lately been secured. Thift is first selected for execution, and takes a pathetic leave of the border clans:—

Adew, my brethren, common theifis,
That helpit me in my mischeifis:

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. p. 80. Ewesdoors is the name of a narrow pass, between Teviotdale and Ewesdale. The river Ewes, a small and very clear stream, runs a short course between two ranges of green hills, and falls into the Esk at Langholm. An alarming account of this defile may be found in Thoresby's Diary, vol. i. p. 105. Lond. 1830, 2 vols. 8vo.

Adew, Grosars, Nicksons, and Bellis;
Oft have we run ou'r-thort the fellis.
Adew, Robsonis, Hansles, and Pyllis,
That in our craft hes mony wylis;
Lytils, Trumbels, and Armestrangis,
Adew, all theifis that me belangis;
Tailzeours, Curwings, and Elwandis,
Spedie of fute and wicht of handes:
The Scottis of Ewisdaill and the Gramis,
I have nă tyme to tell your nămis.[1]

Dissait and Falset are successively led to execution; and each of them concludes with a long speech, containing many characteristic allusions to their former friends and favourers. The stage-directions with respect to these executions are somewhat curious: each of the two first culprits is to be drawn up in person, "or ellis his figour;" but as for Falset, "heir sal he be heisit up, and not his figure, and an Craw or ane Kae sal be castin up, as it war his saull." Flattrie having escaped a similar fate by acting as hangman, declares that he will enter into the service of the "hermeit of Laurêit," who appears to have been a conspicuous character of that period.[2] The catastrophe of the drama would now seem to be complete; but after so great a multiplicity of incidents, we are introduced to a new personage named Foly, who produces a basket of "folie-hats" for sale. After indulging in some very coarse details, he observes the pulpit, and begins a sermon on this text: "Stultorum numerus infinitus." Foly at length exhausts his satirical jokes, and the play concludes with a short speech of Diligence, addressed to the audience.

Such are the general plan and tendency of Sir David Lindsay's Satyre of the Three Estaitis, one of the most curious reliques of our early literature. It contains an extraordinary mixture of piety and obscenity; and without approaching to the model of a regular drama, it furnishes many unequivocal proofs of the

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. ii. p. 123.—Some of these border names seem to be very inaccurately printed. Instead of Hansles and Pyllis, we ought perhaps to read Hislopes and Kyllis. Curwings is apparently a misprint for Urwings, that is, Irvings.

[2] [Hermit and chapel of Loretto, near Musselburgh, truly "conspicuous" in Lindsay's time. For further details concerning both, see the chapter which follows this, p. 396. Also Laing's edition of the Works of John Knox, vol. i. p. 72.]

author's ingenuity. As a dramatic composition, it is not necessary to specify its defects; they are indeed sufficiently obvious; but Lindsay must be compared, not with the poets of a later age, but with those of his own: the contemporary history of English poetry presents us with no dramatic work equal to the Satyre of the Three Estaitis. There is an appendage of this play, apparently written by the same author, which yet remains to be noticed: it is entitled the "Proclamatioun of the Play, maid be Dauid Lynsay." This proclamation is itself a dramatic entertainment, consisting of a few pages, and intended to announce that the play was to be acted on the castle-hill of Coupar on a particular day. Newspapers and play-bills were not then invented; and this was evidently a device for collecting a crowd of people on the market-day, in order to disperse the intelligence of the future performance. Nuntius, who speaks the prologue, begins his address in the following terms:

Richt famous pepill, ye sall undirstand,
How that ane prince, richt wyiss and vigilent,
Is schortly for to cum into this land,
And purpossis to hald ane parliament
(His thre estaitis thairto hes done consent)
In Cowpar toun, into thair best array,
With support of the Lord omnipotent,
And thairto hes affixt ane certane day.

With help of him that rowlis all abone,
That day sall be within ane litill space.
Our purpose is on the sevint day of June,
Gif weddir serve, and we haif rest and pece,
We sall be sene intill owr playing place,
In gude array, abowt the hour of sevin.

CHAPTER XVII.

RELIGIOUS zeal had now begun to pervade the nation; nor was Sir David Lindsay the only writer who endeavoured, by his familiar and popular effusions, to promote the cause of reformation. The cause of the Established Church was not without its champions: its doctrines were strenuously defended by Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossragwell, by Ninian Winzet, afterwards abbot of the Scotish monastery at Ratisbon, by James Tyrie, of the order of Jesuits, and by other learned ecclesiastics; but the formidable weapons of wit and ridicule were more commonly wielded by their antagonists. Besides attacking the morals and opinions of the clergy, the reforming poets attempted to extend the influence of a purer religion by another expedient; they versified many of the Psalms, and likewise exhibited in familiar rhymes some of the leading doctrines of Christianity; nor is it possible to estimate the beneficial effects which were produced by such compositions, from a mere consideration of the effects which they produce on readers of a more enlightened and refined age. When books, and money to purchase books, were equally scarce, it was of no small importance to furnish the simple and ingenuous people with short metrical compositions, which, being easily remembered, and combining doctrinal tenets with devotional sentiments, might easily be circulated from one family to another, and could hardly fail of leaving a durable impression. Certain it is that in most countries the progress of reformation has in some measure been connected with the dissemination of such compositions; and it is therefore no wonder that, in the estimation of some writers, psalm-singing is nearly allied to heresy.[1]

[1] E. S. Cyprianus is said to have published a dissertation "De Propagatione Hæresium per Cantilenas." See an anonymous tract by the late Dr. Findlay of Glasgow, entitled "A Persuasive to the Enlargement of Psalmody," p. 9. Glasg. 1763, 8vo.

Whether a complete version of the Psalms was at a very early period executed in Scotland, may be considered as extremely doubtful. Among Archbishop Parker's manuscripts at Cambridge there is indeed a volume, of the fifteenth century, containing what Mr. Nasmith supposes to be the Psalms of David in Scotish metre;[1] but the short specimen which he has printed is manifestly English.

Seli beern, that nouht is gon
In the red of wickked man,
And in strete of sinful nouth be stod,
Ne sat in sete of scorn ungode.

It is at least certain that metrical psalms were circulated in Scotland before the establishment of the Reformation. We learn from Knox that George Wishart, on the night on which he was apprehended, sung with the family at Ormiston a psalm in Scotish metre.[2] This was so early as the year 1546; and after an interval of ten years the Protestants are represented as singing psalms at their religious meetings.[3] The earliest Scotish poets who are mentioned by name as having versified a portion of the Psalms, are John and Robert Wedderburn: their father was a merchant in Dundee; and their elder brother James will afterwards be commemorated as a dramatic poet. John Wedderburn having embraced the doctrine of the Reformers, was persecuted as a heretic, and made his escape to Germany; from whence he ventured to return to Scotland after the death of James the Fifth, but was again driven from his native country, and having sought refuge in England, he died there in the year 1556.[4] Robert Wedderburn was vicar of Dundee: having resorted to Paris, he there associated with the reformers; and after the death of Cardinal Beaton, he returned to Scotland. We are informed by Calderwood that "he turned the tunes and tenour of many profane ballads into godlie songs and

[1] Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum quos Collegio Corporis Christi in Academia Cantabrigiensi legavit Matthæus Parker, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, edidit Jacobus Nasmith, A.M., p. 318. Cantab. 1777, 4to.

[2] Knox's Hist. of the Reformatioun, p. 49, edit. Edinb. 1732, fol.—Dr. M'Crie has remarked that the twô lines quoted by Knox answer to the beginning of the second stanza of the fifty-first psalm, inserted in the Booke of Godly Songs. (Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 364, 4th edit.)

[3] Knox's Hist. of the Reformatioun, p. 96.

[4] Cursory Remarks on ane Booke of Godly Songs, p. 35. M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. ii. p. 440.

hymnes, which were called the Psalmes of Dundie; whereby he stirred up the affections of many." His brother John had likewise exercised his talents in the same manner; and it is highly probable that many of their compositions are preserved in a singular collection, entitled "Ane compendious Booke of godly and spirituall Songs."[1] This collection contains a metrical version of various psalms, with a much larger number of original poems, fully corresponding to the description given by Calderwood. It is not improbable that these poems were composed by various authors, and that some of them were even composed by Catholics. The last poem in the volume bears the name of James the First.

After a short introduction in prose, the poetical part of the volume is preceded by the following rubric: "Heir followis the Catechisme put in meter, to be sung with the tune, and first the ten Commandis." This paraphrase of the Ten Commandments begins with the following stanzas:—

Moyses vpon Mount Sinay
With the grit God spake face to face,
Fastand and prayand but delay,
The tyme of fourtie dayis space.
O God be mercifull to vs.

And God gaif him thir ten commandis,
To teach to mankynd euery ane,
And wraite them with his awin handis
Twyse on twa tablis made of stane.
O God be mercifull to vs.

I am thy God allanerly,
Serue me in feir and faith thairfoir,
Wirschip na kynd of imagery,
And geue na creature my gloir.
O God be mercifull to vs.

[1] Ane compendious Booke of Godly and Spiritvall Songs, collectit out of sundrie partes of the Scripture, with sundrie of other Ballates changed out of prophaine Sangis, for avoyding of sinne and harlotrie, with augmentation of sundrie gude and godly Ballates, not contained in the first Edition. Newlie corrected and amended by the first originall Copie. Edinburgh, printed by Andro Hart, 1621, 8vo.—Of this very rare volume there is a copy in the Advocates' Library. The first edition, which I have not seen, was printed at Edinburgh in the year 1597. (Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 1519.) Lord Hailes published "A Specimen of a Book, intituled, Ane compendious Booke of Godly and Spiritual Sangs." Edinb. 1765, 8vo. And the entire collection is inserted in a book entitled "Scotish Poems of the sixteenth Century." Edinb. 1801, 2 vols. 12mo.

Take nocht the name of God in vaine,
Bot lat your talke be nay and ye,
Except ane judge do yow constraine
To testifie the veritie.
O God be mercifull to vs.

Work na euill wark on haly day,
Fle from all filthie lust and sleuth,
Walk and be sober, fast and pray,
Heir him that preiche the word of treuth.
O God be mercifull to vs.

The Creed and the Lord's Prayer are paraphrased in a similar manner. The version of this prayer contains an expression relative to the Lollards, which it is not easy to reconcile with the supposition of its having proceeded from one of the reformed poets.

Defend vs frome temptatioun,
The feind and his vexatioun,
The warld sa fals, the fragill flesche ;
Saif vs frome schame and from dispair,
From vnbeleue and Lollareis lair,
And deuillis doctrine mair and les.

The sacraments are afterwards discussed in two different poems; which are succeeded by "certane Graces to be sung or said befoir meit, or efter," and by various spiritual songs, among which is a dialogue between the flesh and the spirit. In due time, "followis the Forlorne Sone, as it is writtin in the 15 chap. of Sainct Luc." The parable of the prodigal son, as the subsequent quotation will sufficiently evince, is here detailed with abundant simplicity :—

And kindlie to them can he say,
Ye bring me furth the best cleithing,
And cleith my sone courtlie and gay,
And on his finger ye put ane ring,
Ye set on schone vpon his feit,
The quhilk ar trim and wonder meit,
That he be honest in all thing.

And slay that calf quhilk now is maid
Sa fat, and lat vs mak gude cheir ;
For this my sone, the quhilk now was deid,
Agane on life is haill and feir ;

My son was lost, and now is found.
And they within a lytill stound
Began to mirrie be but weir.

The eldest to the feild was gone,
And quhen that he hame command was,
And hard the menstrallie anone,
The dansing, and the greit blithnes,
Ane of his seruandis he did call,
And said to him, quhat menis all
This glaidnes and this merynes.

Than answeret he, and said him till,
Thy brother is cum home againe,
Thairfoir his father hes gart kill
His weill fed calf, and is full faine
That saif ressauit him hes he.
The eldest wraith was and angrie,
And yeid not in throw greit disdaine.

In a similar strain, "followis ane Sang of the rich Glutton and pure Lazarus;" and after a song on the passion of Christ, and another on the effects of the gospel-dispensation, "followis ane Sang of the Birth of Christ; with the tune of *Baw, lulalaw.*" Various "Ballatis of the Scripture" are next introduced; and "heir endes the spirituall Sangs, and begins the Psalmes of Dauid, with others new pleasant Ballates, translated out of Enchiridion Psalmorum, to bee sung." These psalms, nineteen in number, are generally translated in a paraphrastic manner, and much elegance is not to be expected. The version of the ninety-first may be produced as a favourable specimen.

Quha on the hiest will depend,
And in his secret help sall traist,
Almighty God sall him defend,
And guide him with his haly gaist.
Therefore with mind ripe and digest,
Thow say to God, my trew releue,
My hope, my God of mightis maist,
Only in him I will beleue.

He sall deliuer thee at need,
And saue thy life from pestilence:
His wings are thy werely weed,
His pens are thy strang defence;

And thou sall haue experience,
That his trew promeis is thy sheild,
His word of great magnificence,
Sall be thy bucklar and thy beild.

Na wicked sprit sall thee affray,
Nor thee delude into the night;
The fleeand darts be the day
To trouble thee sall haue na might:
No sudden chance of vncouth slight
Sall cummer thee nor made thee red,
Nor thee perturbe in mirk nor light,
But from all plague thou sall be fred.

And thou sall see at thy left hand
A thowsand haue a sudden fall;
And als thow sall see ten thousand,
At thy right hand whilk perish sall;
Yet noght to thee sall cum at all,
Bot thou sall with thine eine behald
Sinners put fra memoriall
With plagues greit and monifald.

O Lord, my hope and all my grace,
Thow saif me for thy greit mercie.
The gyrth is set in sicker place,
For he sall saif thee michtfully,
And na mischance shall cum to thee,
Nor malady shall thee molest,
Na misfortune thy house sall see,
But all things wirk sall for the best.

His angels he sall giue ane charge,
That they on thee sall take the cure,
In all thy wayes to be ane targe,
To keip thee from misauenture;
And with their hands they sall thee sure,
That thou hurt not agains ane craige
Thy fute, but sall preserue thee sure
From perils, pains, and from the plague.

Thow sall strampe on the edders stang,
And tred on the cruell cockatrice,
The lyons craig thow sall ouergang,
The dreidfull dragon thow sall chace,
Sen thow me traistis in all cace,
Sayis God, I sall saue thee fra all shame,
And thee defend in euery place,
For cause thow knaws my godly name.

Quhen thow sall call, I sall thee heir,
And in distres sall be with thee,
I sall restoir thee haill and feir,
And als I sall thee magnifie.
With lang life dowbet sall thow be,
And at thy last I sall thee bring
Quhair thow eternal glor sall see
Or euermoir with me to ring.

The psalms are succeeded by a large collection of spiritual songs, many of which are not a little curious. "It is a received tradition in Scotland," says Bishop Percy, "that at the time of the Reformation, ridiculous and obscene songs were composed to be sung by the rabble to the tunes of the most favourite hymns in the Latin service. *Green sleeves and pudding pies*[1] (designed to ridicule the popish clergy) is said to have been one of these metamorphosed hymns: *Maggy Lauder* was another; *John Anderson, my jo,* was a third. The original music of all these burlesque sonnets was very fine."[2] This was one mode of exercising their poetical talents, and another consisted in endeavouring to supplant ridiculous and obscene songs by adapting pious words to the same tunes.[3] Of the spiritual songs which occur in this collection, the profane tunes can frequently be recognised: the first lines and the burdens of many songs or ballads which were then current, are still retained. This remark will be sufficiently confirmed by the subsequent quotations:—

Quho is at my windo, who, who?
Goe from my windo, goe, goe.
Quha calles thare, so like ane stranger?
Goe from my window, goe.

Intill ane mirthfull May morning,
Quhen Phebus vp did spring,
Waking I lay in ane garding gay,
Thinkand on Christ sa free,

[1] "But they do no more keep place together than the hundredth psalm to the tune of *Green Sleeves.*" (Shakspeare's Merry Wives of Windsor, act ii. sc. i.) Mr. Steevens remarks that this song was entered in the books of the Stationers' Company in September 1580: "Licensed unto Richard Jones, a newe northerne dittye of the Lady Green Sleeves."

[2] Percy's Reliques, vol. ii. p. 131.

[3] "But one Puritan amongst them, and he sings psalms to hornpipes." (Shakspeare's Winter's Tale, act. iv. sc. ii.) This, says Mr. Douce, is "an allusion to a practice, common at this time among the Puritans, of burlesquing the *plein chant* of the Papists, by adapting vulgar and ludicrous music to psalms and pious compositions." (Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. i. p. 355.)

Quhilk meikly for mankind
Tholit to be pynd
On croce cruelly, la, la.

My lufe murnis for me, for me,
My lufe that murnis for me:
I am not kinde, hes not in mind;
My lufe that murnis for me.

The Lord sayes, I will shaw
My will and eike my minde:
Marke well my scripture and my law,
Wherein that thou sall finde,
That with my faith I make ane vow
And knittes it with ane knot:
The trueth is so, I loue thee now,
Be war I hate thee not.

Johne, cum kis me now,
Johne, cum kis me now,
Johne, cum kis me by and by,
And make no more adow.

The wind blawis cald, furious and bald
This lang and mony day:
But Christs mercy we mon all die,
Or keep the cald wind away.

With hunts vp, with huntis vp,
It is now perfite day:
Jesus our king is gane in hunting,
Quha likes to speed, they may.

The air of the composition from which this last stanza is quoted, seems to have been very popular before the era of the Reformation: it is thus mentioned in one of the fables of Henryson:—

The cadgear sang, Hunts vp, vp vpon hie.[1]

The spiritual scion is on some occasions very rudely engrafted

[1] Henryson's Fables, p. 68. Edinb. 1621, 8vo. See the notes of Steevens, Ritson, and Malone, on Shakspeare, vol. vi. p. 163, edit. 1821, and Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. ii. p. 191. Various allusions to this tune are to be found in the early Scotish poets.

In May quis gallandis bringin symmer,
And trymly occupyis thair tymmer,
With *Hunts vp* every morning plaid.
SCOTT'S Poems, p. 27.

Now who shall play *The Day it daws*,
Or *Hunt up* when the cock he craws?
SEMPLE'S Piper of Kilbarchan.

Courage to give was mightilie then blown
Saint Johnstons huntsup, since most famous known
By all musitians, when they sweetlie sing
With heavenly voice and well concording string.
ADAMSON'S Muses Threnodie, p. 57.

on the profane stock; and the nakedness of many expressions can only be palliated by the general simplicity of the age to which they belong. In the midst of these pious prolusions, satirical animadversion is by no means neglected: a singular specimen is to be found in a song against the pope and his retainers; and notwithstanding the excessive plainness of the language, I venture, though certainly not without considerable hesitation, to quote the following stanzas on account of their quaint and characteristic vein:—

The sisters gray before this day
Did crune within their closter:
They feeit a frier their keyis to beir,
The feind ressaue the foster;
Syne in the mirk he weill culd wirk,
And kittill them wantonly.
Hay trix, trim goe trix vnder the greene-wod-tree.

The blind bishop he could not preich,
For playing with the lassis:
The silly frier behuifit to fleech
For almous that he assis;
The curat his creid he could not reid,
Shame fall the cumpany.
Hay trix, trim goe trix vnder the greene-wod-tree.

The bishop wald not wed ane wife,
The abbot not perseu ane,
Thinkand it was ane lustie life,
Ilk day to haue ane new ane,
In euery place an vncouth face
His lust to satisfie.
Hay trix, trim goe trix vnder the greene-wod-tree.

The parson wald nocht haue an hure,
But twa, and they were bony;
The viccar, thoght he was pure,
Behuifit to haue as mony;
The parish priest, that brutall beist,
He polit them wantonly.
Hay trix, trim goe trix vnder the greene-wod-tree.

Of Scotland well the friers of Faill,[1]
The limmery lang hes lastit:

[1] Faill, in the district of Kyle, was a priory dependent on the abbey of Paisley. (Spotiswood's Account of the Religious Houses in Scotland, p. 413, Russell's edit.) The old

The monks of Melros made gude kaill
On Fryday quhen they fastit.
The silly nunnis cast vp their bunnis,
And heisit their hippes on hie.
Hay trix, trim goe trix vnder the greene-wod-tree.

It is not surprising that the church should be considered as in danger from such attacks; but it was not to be expected that an opulent and powerful body of churchmen were to be induced to support the real dignity of their order by reviewing their doubtful doctrines, or amending their profligate lives. In such cases, it is the usual practice to commend whatever has been censured, to extol the wisdom of our ancestors, and to supply any deficiencies of logic by arguments of another kind. The wisdom of our ancestors, it may at any particular era be affirmed, has not been more conspicuous than their folly; and it would be of some consequence to ascertain within what specific period the range of their wisdom has been most manifest.[1] But when the church is defended by secular weapons, other arguments are more apt to be disregarded. The provincial council, convoked by Archbishop Hamilton in 1549, enjoined every ordinary to make diligent inquiry within his diocese whether any person had in his possession certain books of rhymes of vulgar songs, containing scandalous reflections on the clergy, together with other heretical matter; and the reading or the retaining of such dangerous books was to be punished according to the tenor of certain acts of parliament, which are not particularly specified.[2] The acts which they apparently thought sufficient for their purpose, were passed in the years 1525 and 1535, and provide for the punishment of those who may progagate the heterodox opinions maintained by Luther and his followers.[3] To treat the clergy with disrespect, will sometimes be regarded as the worst species of heresy; and this was doubtless the opinion entertained by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and by

poet mentions it as a favourite resort of Thomas of Erceldoune:—

Thomas Rimour in-to the Faile was than,
With the mynystir, quhilk was a worthi man.
He wsyt offt to that religiouss place.

* Henry's Wallace, p. 23.

[1] Τῷ μή μοι πατέρας ποθ' ὁμοίῃ ἔνθεο τιμῇ.

Homer, Iliad, lib. iv. 410.

[2] Wilkins' Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, vol. iv. p. 58.

[3] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 295, 341.

most of the bishops, abbots, and priors of his province. But it is supposed that Hamilton afterwards perceived their interpretation of this statute was liable to strong objections, and in the year 1551, procured the enactment of another statute more suitable to his purpose.[1]

The version of the Psalms first adopted by the Church of Scotland was that begun by Thomas Sternhold, groom of the robes to Henry the Eighth. He died in 1549, and his version of fifty-one psalms was published before the close of that year: the work was afterwards completed by John Hopkins, with the aid of other English versifiers; and having received all the necessary additions was printed in 1562, and, for the first time conjoined with the book of common prayer. The general assembly which convened at Edinburgh in the month of December of the same year, advanced to Robert Lekprevick the sum of two hundred pounds "for printing of the Psalmes;" and after an interval of two years, the book must have been ready for circulation, as every minister, exhorter, and reader was then enjoined to provide himself with a copy.[2] For this Scotish psalter, twenty psalms were metrified by two individuals; six by Robert Pont, minister of St Cuthbert's,[3] and the

[1] "That na prentar presume, attempt, or tak vpone hand to prent ony bukis, sangis, blasphematiounis, rymis, or tragedeis, outher in Latine or Inglis toung in ony tymes tocum, vnto the tyme the samin be sene, vewit, and examit be sum wyse and discreit personnis depute thairto be the ordinaris quhatsumeuer, and thairefter ane licence had and obtenit fra our Seuerane Lady and my Lord Gouernour for imprenting of sic bukis vnder the pane of confiscatioun of all the prentaris gudis, and banissing him of the realme for euer." (Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 489.)

[2] I am not aware that any copy of this earliest edition has been preserved. Some of the subsequent editions I shall here enumerate. Edinb. R. Lekprevik, 1565, 8vo. Edinb. T. Bassandyne, 1575, 8vo. Edinb. T. Bassandyne, 1578, 8vo. Lond. J. Vautroullier, 1587, 8vo. Middelbvrgh, Richard Schilders, 1594, 8vo. Edinb. H. Charteris, 1594, 8vo. Edinb. H. Charteris, 1595, 8vo. Dort, Is. Canin, 1601, 8vo. Edinb. A. Hart, 1611, 8vo. Edinb. A. Hart, 1615, 8vo. Aberd. E. Raban, 1633, 8vo. Edinb. Heires of A. Hart, 1635, 8vo. In some of these editions, the initials of the contributors' names are omitted.

[3] Robert Pont, the son-in-law of Knox, died in 1608 in the eighty-first year of his age. (M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. ii. p. 349.) In 1575, he had been appointed a lord of session, by the title of Provost of Trinity College; and he resigned his seat in 1584, when an act of parliament prohibited the clergy from following the profession of the law. He is the author of the subsequent publications. Parovs Catechismus, quo examinari possunt juniores qui ad sacram Coenam admittuntur: carmine iambico, per R. P. Andreapoli, excudebat R. Lekprevik, 1573, 8vo. Against Sacrilege, three Sermons. Edinb. 1599, 8vo. A newe Treatise of the right Reckoning of Yeares, and Ages of the World, and Mens Liues, and of the Estate of the last decaying Age thereof. Edinb. 1599, 4to. De Unione Britanniæ, sue de Regnorum Angliæ et Scotiæ, omniumque adjacentium Insularum Britannicarum in unam Monarchiam Consolidatione, deque multiplici ejus Unionis Utilitate, Dialogus, per R. B. Edinb. 1604, 8vo. De Sabbaticorum Annorum Periodis,

rest by some nameless labourer, who is designated by the initials J. C. William Kethe, who appears among the coadjutors of Sternhold and Hopkins, has been represented as a native of Scotland.[1] The name seems to betray a Scotish origin, and he had some connexion with John Knox; but these are perhaps the only circumstances on which the opinion is founded. He was among the English exiles at Frankfort during Queen Mary's persecution, and is supposed to be the same person who about the year 1570 wrote "A Perspective, with the Prayer of Daniel in metre; to the Nobles in England." He appears to have been a clergyman, and is recognised as the author of some other metrical reliques.[2] As a specimen of the Scotish part of this psalter, I shall present the reader with Pont's version of the seventy-sixth psalm :—

In Jurie land God is wel known,
  In Israel great is his name.
He chose out Salem for his owne,
  His tabernacle of great fame
Therein to raise, and mount Sion
To make his habitation,
  And residence within the same.[3]

There did he break the bowmens shafts,
  Their fierie darts so swift of flight,
Their shields, their swords, and al their crafts
  Of war, when they were bound to fight.
More excellent and more mightie
Art thou therefore then mountains hie
  Of rauenous wolues void of all right.

The stout hearted were made a prey,
  A sudden sleep did them confound;
And all the strong men in that fray
  Their feeble hands they haue not found.
At thy rebuke, O Jaakob's God,
Horses with chariots ouer-trod,
  As with dead sleep were cast to ground.

chronologica, a Mundi Exordio ad nostra usque Secula et porro, Digestio. Lond. 1619, 4to.

[1] Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iv. p. 244.

[2] Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica, p. 262.

[3] This very convenient and very flat expression was not without considerable difficulty excluded from English poetry :—

Ah! spare your swords, where beauty is to blame;
Love gave th' affront, and must repair *the same*.

WALLER's Poems, p. 2.

Fearefull art thou, O Lord our guide,
Yea, thou alone ; and who is he
That in thy presence may abide,
If once thine anger kindled bee ?
Thow makest men from heaven to heare
Thy judgements just, the earth for feare
Stilled with silence then wee see.

When thou, O Lord, begin'st to rise,
Sentence to giue as iudge of all,
And in the earth doest enterprise
To ridde the humble out of thrall,
Certes the rage of mortall men
Shall be thy praise ; the remnant then
Of their furie thow bind'st withall.

Vow, and perform your vowes therfore
Vnto the Lord your God, all yee
That round about him dwell, adore
This fearefull one with offrings free,
Who may cut off at his vintage
The breath of princes in their rage ;
To earthlie kings fearefull is hee.

In enumerating the poets of this period, we must not omit the name of Alexander Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn, one of the chief instruments of the Reformation, which he greatly promoted by his personal influence, and which he likewise endeavoured to promote by his poetical talents. He and his father were among those individuals of rank and distinction who first avowed their attachment to this cause. He bore a principal command in the army which took the field against Queen Mary in the year 1567 ; and when she was conveyed to the castle of Lochleven, his zeal prompted him to remove from the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood-house what he perhaps considered as remnants of idolatry ; attended by a body of his retainers, he tore down the pictures, and demolished the altar and the images. He died in the year 1574.[1] Knox has inserted in his history a satirical effusion of this nobleman, under the title of "Ane Epistill direct fra the halie Hermeit of Alareit, to his Brethren the Gray Freirs." Thomas, the hermit of Loretto, admonishes his brethren that a new degree of vigilance is now required on

[1] Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 635.

account of the Lutherans, who assiduously read the New Testament in English, and daily persecute the order of Franciscans, using such blasphemies as these :—

Sayand that we ar heretyckis,
And false loud lying mastiis tykes;
Cumerars and quellars of Christis kirk,
Sweir swongeors that will not wirk,
Bot idillie our leving wynis,
Devoiring woilfis into scheipis skynis,
Huirkland with huidis into our neck,
With Judas mynd to jouk and beck,
Seikand Christis pepill to devoir,
The doun-thringers of Christis gloir,
Professors of hyocrisie,
And doctours in idolatrie,
Stout fischeiris with the feindis net,
The upclossers of hevins yet,
Cankcart corruptors of the creid,
Humlock-sawers among gud seid,
To trow in trators, that do men tyist
The hie way kennand thame fra Christ,
Monsters with the beistis mark
Doges that nevir stintis to bark,
Kirkmen that ar to Christ unkend,
A sect that Satanis self hes send,
Lourkand in hoils, lyik trator toddis,
Manteiners of idollis and fals goddis,
Fantastik fuillis and fenzeit fleicheors,
To turne fra treuth the verray teichers.[1]

In order to fortify themselves against such assaults, he proposes to make a procession of our Lady in Argyle, and to perform such miracles as they may advise : here the author apparently introduces the name of a real friar, and alludes to some well-known event :—

I dreid this doctrine, and it last,
Sall outher gar us wirk or fast ;
Thairfoir with speid we mene provyde,
And not our profite overslyde.
I schaip myself, within schort quhill,
To turse our Ladie in Argylle,[2]

[1] Knox's History of the Reformatioun, p. 25.

And thair on craftie wayis to wirk,
Till that we biggit have ane kirk,
Syne miracles mak be your advyce.
They ketterells, thocht they had bot lyce,
The twa parte to us they will bring.
Bot, ordourlie to dress this thing,
A gaist I purpois to gar gang,
Be consaill of Frier Walter Lang,
Quhilk sall mak certane demonstratiounis.
To help us in our procuratiounis,
Your halie Ordour to decoir:
That practick he provit anis befoir,
Betwix Kirkaldie and Kinghorne,
Bot lymmaris maid therat sick scorne,
And to his fame maid sick digressioun.
Sensyne he hard not the kingis confessioun.

The Chapel of Loretto, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and situated at the east end of Musselburgh, evidently borrowed its name from a famous chapel in Italy, and was not without its share of reputation: to this shrine James the Fifth made a pilgrimage in 1536, after being compelled by stress of weather to return from his meditated voyage to France:[1] it was much frequented by pilgrims of a less exalted rank; and about this period the hermit of Loretto was represented as a saint, endowed with the gift of working miracles.[2] He is repeatedly mentioned by Sir David Lindsay, who describes the devotees that visited this shrine as being less actuated by sentiments of devotion than of gallantry:—

I have sene pass ane mervellous multitude,
Young men and wemen, flingand on thair feit,
Under the forme of fenyeit sanctitude,
For till adore ane image in Laureit:
Mony came with thair marrowis for to meit,
Committand thare foull fornicatioun;
Sum kissit the claggit taill of the armeit:
Quhy thole ye this abhominatioun? . . .

Quhy thole ye under your dominion
Ane craftie preist, or fenyeit false armeit,
Abuse the pepill of this regioun,
Only for thair particular profeit,

[1] Leslæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 442.

[2] See Dr. M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 324.

And speciallye that hermeit of Laureit ?
He pat the commoun pepill in beleif,
That blynd gat sicht, and crukit gat thair feit,
The quhilk that palyeard na way can appreif.[1]

The history of this chapel is detailed in the following manner by Horatius Tursellinus, a learned Jesuit :—" I find by approued authors that manie yeares agone, two churches were erected to our B. Ladie of Loreto in the kingdome of Scotland ; the one in the towne of Perth,[2] otherwise called S. John ; the other by the highway that goeth to Missilburrow, not far from Edenburrow, the chiefe cittie of Scotland. In both places, the B. Virgin of Loreto was most religiouslie reuerenced, and that in the suburbs of Missilburrow was most famous for the resort and concourse of pilgrims, and the miracles of our B. Ladie, as long as the catholicke religion remayned in Scotland. But after Caluins pestiferous doctrine began to rage and raigne in that kingdome (heretofore most religious), those furies destroied that sacred house of our B. Ladie, but so notwithstanding that the ruines therof might remaine both as tokens of their madnes, and also as manifest signes of the ancient religion of the Scottish people. And this (as we vnderstand) was the beginning of the Chappell of Missilburrow. Manie yeares agone, in the attire of a pilgrime, a Scottish eremite came to Loreto to salute the B. Virgin who at his departure carried with him into his countrey, a small part of the sacred roofe, and begging money of godlie men, not far from the towne of Missilburrow, erected a litle church some thing like to the sacred house of Loreto, which was verie famous, aswell for reuerence of the sacred reliques, which were placed there, as also for the deuotion of the people to the B. Virgin herself (whose name was illustrious among them) vntil, as we said before, the mad furie of hereticks threw it downe." [3]

Another early and steady friend of the Reformation was Henry Balnaves of Hallhill ; who appears to have been a writer

[1] Lindsay's Works, vol. iii. p. 20.

[2] The chappell of the rood, and sweet Saint Anne,
And Loret's chappell, from Romes Vaticane
Transported hither, for a time took seising,
(You know the cloister monks write nev'r a leasing.)
ADAMSON'S Muses Threnodie, p. 69.

[3] The History of our B. Lady of Loreto, translated out of Latyn into English, p. 236. Imprinted with licence, 1608, 8vo.

of verse as well as prose. He was of humble parentage, and born in the town of Kirkcaldy, which he quitted at a very early period of life, with the view of cultivating his mind and improving his fortune: he was admitted to a free-school at Cologne, and along with the rudiments of liberal knowledge imbibed the principles of the reformed faith. On his return to Scotland, he embraced the profession of the law, and for some time followed the practice of the consistory court of St. Andrews, which at that period was plentifully supplied with litigations. The force of his talents successively raised him to various offices of honour and emolument; he became a member of Parliament, a judge of the Court of Session, and Secretary of State; but his avowed attachment to the Reformation having exposed him to danger, he sought refuge in the castle of St. Andrews, when it was held by those implicated in the murder of Cardinal Beaton. During the siege, he was despatched to the Court of England, in order to solicit a supply of money;[1] and when the fortress at length surrendered, he was conveyed to France with the other prisoners, and was long detained in captivity. In the castle of Rouen he composed a Confession of Faith, which was not printed till some years after his death.[2] When the Reformation was fully established, he regained his former consideration, and was restored to a seat in the Supreme Court. He died in the year 1570,[3] leaving behind him, according to Sir James Melville, the character of "a godly, learned, wise, and long-experienced counsellor." Under the name of *Balnevis*, a poem consisting of 112 verses, is preserved in Bannatyne's MS. This is a different spelling of the same name, which never appears to have been common; and the poem was most probably written by Balnaves of Hallhill. Under the form of advice to hunters, it contains allegorical admonitions to men of gallantry conveyed with very considerable ingenuity.[4]

[1] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, ii. p. 7.

[2] The Confession of Faith, conteining how the troubled man should seeke refuge at his God, thorto led by faith, etc., compiled by M. Henry Balnaues of Halhill, and one of the Lords of Session and Counsell of Scotland, being as prisoner within the old pallaice of Roane, in the yeare of our Lord 1548. Direct to his faithfull brethren, being in like trouble or more, and to all true professours of the sincere worde of God. Edinb. 1584, 8vo. This work Dr. Mackenzie has evidently split into two. (Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 147.)

[3] Hailes's Catalogue of the Lords of Session, p. 5. See M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 51.

[4] Ramsay's Ever-Green, vol. ii. p. 197.

With the poets of this age and class we must likewise rank John Davidson, a regent in St. Leonard's College at St. Andrews, and afterwards successively minister of Liberton and Prestonpans. He was a native of Dunfermline, where he possessed some property in houses and land; and he became one of the most zealous and intrepid supporters of the reformed church of Scotland.[1] His earliest publication seems to have been a metrical panegyric on John Knox, printed at St. Andrews in 1573, under the title of "Ane brief Commendatiovn of Vprichtnes."[2] In this work he scarcely aspires at the character of a poet; it appears to have been his principal object to record in popular rhyme the unrivalled services of the individual to whom it relates. Of Knox's literary qualifications he speaks in the following stanza:—

For weill I wait that Scotland neuer bure
In Scottis leid ane man mair eloquent:
Into perswading also, I am sure,
Was nane in Europe that was mair potent.
In Greik and Hebrew he was excellent,
And als in Latine toung his propernes
Was tryit trym quhen scollers wer present;
Bot thir wer nathing till his vprichtnes.

There is some portion of fancy in the subsequent distich, which anticipates the evils likely to ensue when the restraint of Knox's vigilance and intrepidity is finally withdrawn:—

And sair I feir we sall heir schortly tell,
Schir Wink-at-vice beginnis to tune his bell.

Every stanza of this poem concludes with the word *vprichtnes;* and as the sixth must always rhyme with the last line, the fluency of the writer's versification is somewhat retarded by the necessity of securing a perpetual recurrence of the same sound.

[1] "Mr. Davidsone, minister of the gospel at Salt Prestoun," says a writer of more zeal than judgment, "may be truly here instanced as one of an extraordinary prophetic spirit." (Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scripture, p. 361.) Several of his prophecies are recorded in due form.

[2] Ane breif Commendatiovn of Vprichtnes, in respect of the suirenes of the same, to all that walk in it, amplifyit chiefly be that notabill document of Goddis michtie protectioun, in preseruing his maist vpricht seruand, and feruent Messinger of Christis Euangell, Johne Knox. Set furth in Inglis meter be M. Johne Dauidsone, Regent in S. Leonard's College. Imprentit at Sanctandrois be Robert Lekpreuik, 1573.—This poem is reprinted in the supplement to Dr. M'Crie's Life of Knox.

The commendation of uprightness is followed by "Ane schort Discurs of the Estaitis quha hes caus to deploir the Death of this Excellent Seruand of God." It is written in a different stanza, and begins with lamenting that the church is equally exposed to the tiger and the fox.

Thow pure contempnit Kirk of God,
In Scotland scatterit far abrod,
Quhat leid may let the to lament,
Sen baith the Tyger and the Tod
Maist cruellie cummis the to rent?
Thow wants ane watcheman that tuke tent
Baith nicht and day that nocht suld noy the;
Allace, thow wants the instrument
That was thy lanterne to conuoy the.

About the same period, Davidson composed a poem which involved him in many difficulties. For the purpose of retaining at his own disposal a larger proportion of the thirds of ecclesiastical benefices, the Regent Morton, in 1573, issued an order in council for uniting two, three, or even four parishes; and this measure, as it tended to revive the popish system of pluralities, was highly unpopular. It was accordingly exposed by Davidson, in a poem bearing the title of "Ane Dialog betuix ane Clerk and ane Courteour," which appears to have been printed without his knowledge or consent. The work was published without his name; but as he was either known or avowed himself as the author, he was summoned before a court of justice-aire at Haddington; and on being convicted of the alleged offence of writing this poem, he was sentenced to imprisonment. He was however admitted to bail, in the hope that he might himself be induced to retract, or that the church might be induced to censure what he had written. The General Assembly, although it did not venture to approve his work, did not formally condemn it; and the author being too honest and too intrepid to make a recantation of his real and deliberate sentiments, had recourse to the only remaining expedient, of seeking a voluntary exile. After having for some time concealed himself in the West of Scotland, he made his escape into England, nor was he permitted to return to his native country

till after the Earl of Morton's death.[1] Robert Lekprevick, the printer of the obnoxious poem, did not escape with impunity, but was for some time committed to the Castle of Edinburgh. They were indicted on the Act of 1551, "against blasphemous rymes or tragedies," and from the manner in which the law was then administered, it is no wonder that the author of a work condemning the measures of the Court should be subjected to punishment. Davidson's dialogue is however free from violent invective, and may be considered as a sober discussion of a topic in which the King's subjects were generally interested. It is written with more vivacity than his other poems, and may be perused with some degree of interest. The author professes to have been travelling on horseback between Kinghorn and Dundee, and to have been accompanied as far as Kennoway by a Clerk and a Courtier, who were proceeding to St. Andrews, and who, after touching upon various other subjects, entered into a long discussion respecting the recent measure of uniting parishes :—

The tane of thame appeirit to be
Ane cunning Clerk of greit clergie,
Of visage graue and maneris sage,
His toung weill taucht but all outrage,
Men micht haue kend that he had bene
Quhair gude instruccioun he had sene.
The vther did appeir to me
Ane cumlie Courteour to be,
Quha was perfite and weill be-sene
In thingis that to this land pertene.
Be we had riddin half ane myle,
With myrrie mowis passing the quhyle,
Thir twa, of quhome befoir I spak,
Of sindrie purposis did crak,
And enterit in, amang the rest,
To speik how that the Kirk was drest.[2]

[1] M'Cric's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 126.

[2] Ane Dialog or mutuall Talking betwix ane Clerk and ane Courteour, concerning four Kirks till ane Minister i collectit out of thair mouthis, and put in verse by ane zoung man quha did forgather with thame in his jornay, as efter followis.—This poem, printed in black letter, extends to two sheets in octavo; and the only cōpy known to exist belongs to the Advocates' Library. The title has suffered considerable mutilations, and is here exhibited as Dr. M'Cric has supplied the deficiencies from collateral information. Although the work has no imprint, it appears from the legal proceedings to have been printed by Lekprevick in the month of January 1573, or, according to our present computation, 1574.

The cunning Clerk, who evidently speaks the sentiments of the author, offers many solid reasons against such a measure, and pleads very strenuously for the rights of the church. In the midst of his zeal to protect the spiritual interests of the people, he does not entirely neglect the temporal interests of their pastors. He maintains one position of a very dubious nature; namely, that "the patrymonie of the kirk," that is, whatever valuable property had been vested in the Catholic clergy, belonged to the Protestant clergy by whom they had been supplanted. Whether it might have been competent for the Legislature to make such a plenary transfer, is not the present question; for the Clerk's argument proceeds on the supposition of such a transfer being unnecessary with respect to "thair awin just patrimony."

The Clerk said tak the superplus,
Quhen Kirk and pure ar weill prouydit,
And let the mater sa be gydit,
That thay of kirk do not abuse it,
Bot be controllit how thay vse it,
Becaus thay ar bot mortall men,
That na wayis thay thair selfis misken.
The Courteour answerit fra hand,
It will be countit to thair hand;
The teindis will not cum in thair neuis
Sa lang as ony of vs leuis.
The Clerk said, Goddis curs thairfoir
Sall not depart quhill thay restoir
The Kirk agane to hir awin richt,
Thocht of the mater they pas licht.[1]

1 In his Memorial of Campbell, he likewise denounces the vengeance of heaven against those who detain the popish tithes from the Presbyterian clergy.

The half teinds of hale Vchiltrie
He did giue ouer most willinglie,
Quhilk his forbears had possest,
For sacrilcdge he did detest;
The minister he put therein:
God grant that as he did begin,
That all the rest that dois possesse
The teinds of Scotland more and lesse,
Maist wrangouslie, wald them restore,
As gude Robert hes gone before:
Bot no appearance we can see,
That they will doit willinglie,
For all the summoning hes bene
By Gods heraulds these yeares fyftene;
Though I think they should feare to touch them,
Because that teinds did neuer rich them,
That hes meld with them to this day;
Yet no appearance is, I say,
That euer they shall with them twin,
While God of heauen himselfe begin,
With force quhilk no man may withstand,
To pluck them cleane out of their hand,
Quhilk shall be to their wrak and wo,
Because they would not let them go,
For no forewarning he could send,
When they had time and space to mend.

A passage in this poem gave great offence to the head of one of the houses at St. Andrews: John Rutherford, provost of St. Salvator's College, conceived himself to be the subject of a satirical allusion contained in the following lines:—

Thair is sum Collages, we ken,
Weill foundit to vphald leirnit men,
To teiche the youth in letters gude,
And vtheris also that ar rude.
Amang the rest foundit we se
The teiching of theologie,
With rentis sum studentis to sustene,
To that science to giue thame clene.
Lat anis the counsell send and se
Gif thir places weill gydit be,
And not abusit with waist rudis,
That dois nathing bot spendis the gudis,
That was maid for that haly vse,
And not to feid ane crukit guse.

Soon after the appearance of his dialogue, Davidson composed "A Memorial of Robert Campbel and his Wife Elizabeth Campbel," which was not however printed till the year 1595.[1] If it does not excite any high idea of his poetical talents, it is at least creditable to his feelings. Campbell had cherished and protected him during his concealment in the West: having accompanied Davidson to Rusko, a seat belonging to Gordon of Lochinvar, he was attacked with an illness which speedily proved fatal, and within the space of two months his wife followed him to the grave. The Earl of Morton terminated his career on the scaffold; and Davidson returned to his native country, where he long continued to be a zealous and disinterested supporter of the Presbyterian discipline. For several years he officiated as minister of Prestonpans without receiving any stipend, and he there built a church and a parsonage house at his own expense. He died in the year 1604,[2] having bequeathed the whole of his estate for the foundation of a grammar-school in that parish.

[1] A Memorial of the Life and Death of two worthye Christians, Robert Campbel of the Kinyeancleugh, and his Wife Elizabeth Campbel. In English meter. Edinburgh, printed by Robert Walde-graue, Printer to the Kings Maiestie, 1595, 8vo. c

[2] Davidson's catechism was printed by Waldegrave in 1602, under the title of *Some Helpes for young Schollers in Christianity.* It was long afterwards republished, with a preface by Mr. Jameson, lecturer on History in the University of Glasgow. Edinb. 1708, 8vo.

The master was bound to teach the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages.[1] The same spirit which produced a reformation of religion had likewise produced a reformation of learning. "The Greek language," says the able and indefatigable biographer of Knox, "long after it had been enthusiastically studied on the Continent, and after it had become a fixed branch of education in the neighbouring kingdom, continued to be almost unknown in Scotland. Individuals acquired the knowledge of it abroad: but the first attempts to teach it in this country were of a private nature, and exposed their patrons to the suspicion of heresy. The town of Montrose is distinguished by being the first place, as far as I have been able to discover, in which Greek was taught in Scotland; and John Erskine of Dun is entitled to the honour of being regarded as the first of his countrymen who patronized the study of that elegant and useful language. As early as the year 1534, this enlightened and public-spirited baron, on returning from his travels, brought with him a Frenchman skilled in the Greek tongue, whom he settled in Montrose; and, upon his removal, he liberally encouraged others to come from France and succeed to his place. From this private seminary, many Greek scholars proceeded, and the knowledge of the language was gradually diffused over the kingdom."[2] A knowledge of the Hebrew tongue was likewise introduced by the reformers. The first professed teacher of Hebrew in Scotland was John Row, LL.D., who after having practised as an advocate at St. Andrews, visited the Continent in order to improve himself in professional learning, but was induced to apply himself with zeal and success to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages. In his capacity of a lawyer, he was intrusted by the Scotish clergy with the management of some of their causes at Rome; but having returned to his native country, he became a convert to the reformed religion, and in 1560 was appointed minister of Perth, where he began to teach, what had not hitherto been taught in the universities, the original language of the Old Testament.[3]

[1] M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. ii. p. 801.
[2] M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 5.
[3] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 16.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SIR RICHARD MAITLAND is entitled to the remembrance of posterity, both as a cultivator and as a preserver of Scotish poetry. He descended from an ancient family; and one of his ancestors, who appears to have lived about the year 1250, is celebrated in the popular strains of his country under the name of *Auld Maitland*.[1] The poet was the son of William Maitland of Lethington, and of Martha the daughter of George Lord Seaton, and was born in the year 1496. We are informed by Dr. Mackenzie, that he completed his course of literature and philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, and afterwards visited France in order to prosecute the study of the law:[2] it seems however to have been a common practice of this biographer to substitute conjecture for facts; and although it is sufficiently probable that this may be a true account of Maitland's academical studies, we cannot safely receive it without better evidence. On his return to Scotland, he is said to have recommended himself to the favour of James the Fifth. Sir John Scot affirms that he was appointed Lord Privy Seal during the regency of the Queen-dowager;[3] and from his own congratulatory poem on the arrival of Queen Mary, it would at least appear that he had borne some office.

Madame, I was trew servand to thy mother,
And in hir favour stud ay thankfullie
Of my estait alls weil as ony other:
Prayand thy Grace I may resavit be

[1] Scott's Minst. of Scottish Border, i. p. 15.
[2] Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 207.
[3] Scot's Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen, p. 108.

In siclyk favour with thy Majestie,
Inclynand ay to me thy gracious eiris,
And amang other servands think on me.—
This last request I lernit at the freiris.

In the year 1554, he was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session. As early at least as the year 1561, he was deprived of his sight; for in the poem addressed to the Queen on her arrival, an event which happened during that year, he thus speaks of his situation:—

And thoch that I to serve be nocht sa abil
As I wes wont, becaus I may not see,
Yet in my hairt I sall be firme and stabil.

But he was possessed of an active and cheerful mind, nor did his blindness render him incapable of public business. In 1561, he was admitted an Ordinary Lord of Session by the title of Lethington, and in the following year he was nominated Lord Privy Seal. The latter office he resigned in 1567 in favour of his second son; but notwithstanding his infirmities, he retained his seat on the bench till he reached the eighty-eighth year of his age. The king's letter respecting his resignation is dated on the 1st of July 1584, and states "that Sir Richard Maitland had served his grandsire, goodsire, goodame, mother, and himself in many public charges, whereof he dutifully and honestly acquitted himself; and having been many years a senator, he has with much sincerity and integrity served therein; and being grown greatly debilitated through age, though nothing in spirit and judgment: whereupon the Lords have granted him immunity and license to attend when he pleases, having all commodities as if he were present, yet moved in conscience, lest judgment should be retarded by his absence, he has willingly demitted his room in our hands in favour of Sir Lewis Ballenden."[1] The salary was reserved to Maitland during his life, which was prolonged till the 20th of March 1586, when he died at the mature age of ninety. His wife died on the day of his interment.[2] By this lady, Mary the daughter of Sir Thomas Cranston of Corsby, he

[1] Hailes's Catalogue of the Lords of Session, notes, p. 4.

[2] Sir Richard's sister, Janet Maitland, was the second wife of Hugh fifth Lord Somerville. See Lord Somerville's Memorie of the Somervilles, vol. i. p. 334, where the noble author gives a circumstantial account of her reception at the tower of Carnwath.

had several children: an unpublished poem, addressed to Sir Richard, mentions his seven sons;[1] but if this enumeration does not include sons-in-law, four of them must have died at an early age. His eldest son was William Maitland, the famous secretary of Queen Mary; a man distinguished by his talents, but not equally distinguished by his virtues. His wavering politics exposed him to the satirical animadversion of Buchanan, who has exhibited him under the emblem of a chameleon, and they finally exposed him to the vengeance of the Regent Morton, which he completed by poisoning himself in prison. His brother Sir John, afterwards Lord Maitland of Thirlstane, and chancellor of the kingdom, seems to have been a person of a more amiable character, and was likewise eminent for his talents. Like several other members of the same family, he evinced his love of polite literature: he is known as the author of some Latin epigrams,[2] and of a satire "Aganis sklanderous Toungis."[3] Thomas Maitland, a younger son of Sir Richard's, is less remembered on account of his Latin poems[4] than as one of the interlocutors in the celebrated dialogue of Buchanan, "De Jure Regni apud Scotos." His daughters were Helen, married to Sir John Cockburn of Clerkington, Margaret, to James Herriot of Trabroun, Mary, to Alexander Lauder of Hattoun, and Isabel, to William Douglas of Whitingham.[5] Mary was the partner of her father's studies, and was herself a writer of verses.[6] Sir Richard Maitland is celebrated as a man of learning, talents, and virtue, and his poems, which seem to have been the recreations of a cheerful old age, breathe an amiable spirit of charity and benevolence. The privation of sight, and other infirmities incident to a very advanced period of life, he evidently supported with an uncommon degree of equanimity. Contemporary poets have extolled

[1] The following lines occur in "Ane consolator Ballad to the richt honorabill Sir Richart Maitland of Lethingtoune, Knicht."

Richerd he wes, Richerd ye ar also,
And Maitland als, and magnanime ar ye,
In als great aige, als wrappit ar in wo:
Sewine sones ye haid, micht contravaill his thrie;
Bot Burd-allaine ye haiwe behind as he.

Poemes of Sr. Richard Metillan, f. 71, a. MS.

[2] Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii. p. 138.

[3] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. i. p. 156.

[4] Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii. p. 143.

[5] Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 66. Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. cxvi.

[6] See Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 471.

him as a model of piety and virtue: the following sonnet on his death was written by Thomas Hudson:—

The slyding tyme so slilie slips away,
It reaves from us remembrance of our state;
And quhill we do the cair of tyme delay,
We tyne the tyde, and so lament to late.
Then, to eschew such dangerous debait,
Propone for patrene manlie Maitland knycht:
Leirne be his lyf to leive in sembil raite,
With luif to God, religion, law, and rycht.
For as he was of vertu lucent lycht,
Of ancient bluid, of nobil spreit and name,
Belov'd of God and everie gracious wycht,
So died he auld, deserving worthie fame;
A rair exempil set for us to see
Quhat we have bene, now ar, and aucht to be.

Maitland is supposed to have commenced his poetical career at a period of life when that of other authors has more generally closed; it has been conjectured that he did not begin to write verses till he had attained the sixtieth year of his age.[1] But if no earlier verses have been preserved, it is not so certain that they did not once exist: nor can it be considered as very probable that he only began to cultivate poetry at this advanced period of his life; it is much more probable that he endeavoured to solace his age by the favourite amusement of his youth. By the care of him and his family, many valuable reliques of our ancient poetry have been preserved: two manuscript volumes, containing the verses of various other poets as well as his own, are deposited in the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge; and from these an interesting selection was published by Mr. Pinkerton in the year 1786.[2] One of the volumes is in the

[1] Menage wrote his *Anti-Baillet* at the age of about seventy-eight; and yet that work, as a very competent judge has remarked, "est plein d'un bout à l'autre d'une littérature exquise." Theophrastus composed the most curious of his works after he had reached the venerable age of ninety-nine; *καὶ βεβεωκὼς ἔτη ἐννενήκοντα ἐννέα.* The common reading of the passage is sanctioned by all the manuscripts which were inspected by Casaubon, the ablest of his commentators. (Ad. Theophrasti Characteres Commentarius, p. 96.)

[2] Ancient Scotish Poems, never before in print, but now published from the MS. Collections of Sir Richard Maitland, etc. Prefixed are an Essay on the Origin of Scotish Poetry, a List of all the Scotish Poets, with brief remarks; and an Appendix is added, containing, among other articles, an account of the contents of the Maitland and Bannatyne MSS. Lond. 1786, 2 vols. 8vo.

handwriting of Mary Maitland, a daughter of the venerable poet, who has herself contributed a few verses. A third volume, entitled "The selected Poems of Sr. Richard Metillan of Lydington," was presented by Drummond to the library of the University of Edinburgh: it contains several of his pieces which do not occur in Mr. Pinkerton's collection, and a few by Arbuthnot and other writers.[1]

The verses of Maitland do not aim at any high degree of poetical excellence; but as they contain the thoughts, serious and gay, of an amiable old man extensively acquainted with the world, they cannot be considered as destitute of interest. The following stanzas may be selected as no unfavourable specimen of his lighter vein:—

Sumtyme to court I did repair,
  Thairin sum errands for to dres,[2]
Thinkand I had sum freindis thair
  To help fordwart my beseynes:
    Bot, not the les,
  I fand nathing but doubilnes.
Auld kyndnes helpis not ane hair.

To ane grit court-man I did speir,
  That I trowit my friend had bene,
Becaus we war of kyn sa neir;
  To him my mater I did mene:
    Bot with disdene
  He fled as I had done him tene,
And wald not byd my teill to heir.

I wend that he in word and deid
  For me, his kynsman sould have wrocht,

[1] Two of his unpublished works, namely, an account of the family of Seaton, and reports of cases decided in the Court of Session from 1550 to 1565, are preserved in the Advocates' Library. The former of these works is inscribed to George Lord Seaton, the fifth of that name, and the dedication presents Maitland in a very amiable light. The work was afterwards enlarged by Lord Kingston, a branch of the Seaton family. "The historicall Genealogie of the ancient and noble House of Seton: written by Sir Richard Maitland of Ledington, one of the Senators of the Colledge of Justice, in the year 1545; enlarged by Alexander Viscount of Kingston, in the year 1687." MS. fol.

[2] To *dress* an errand, is not the English, but it is exactly the Danish idiom. In the first part of the old ballad entitled *Hr. Ebbes Døttre*, we find this expression: "Mr. Ebbe should to Island fare, his master's errands to dress."

Herr Ebbe skulde til Island fare,
Sin Herres Ærende at rögte.
Danske Viser, ii. Bind, S. 273.

Bot to my speiche he tuke na heid ;
Neirnes of blude he sett at nocht.
Than weill I thocht,
Quhan I for sibnes to him socht,
It wes the wrang way that I yeid.

My hand I put into my sleif,
And furthe of it ane purs I drew,
And said I brocht it him to geif ;
Bayth gold and silver I him schew :
Than he did rew
That he unkindlie me misknew,—
And hint the purs fest in his neif.

Fra tyme he gat the purs in hand,
He kyndlie *Cousin* callit me,
And baid me gar him understand
My beseynes all baillalie ;
And swair that he
My trew and faythful friend suld be
In courte as I ples him comand.

For quhilk better it is, I trow,
Into the courte to get supplé,
To have ane purs, of fyne gold fow,
Nor to the hiast of degré
Of kyn to be.
Sa alters our nobilitie,
Grit kynrent helpis lytil now.

Thairfoir, my freinds, gif ye will mak
All courte-men youris as ye wald,
Gude gold and silver with yow tak ;
Than to tak help ye may be bald ;
For it is tauld,
Kyndnes of courte is coft and sald :
Neirnes of kyn na thing thai rak.[1]

Some of the poems contain gleanings of information respecting the manners and practices of the age. Sir Richard Maitland was not so powerful a satirist as his contemporary Sir David Lindsay ; but he has selected some of the same topics, and in particular has animadverted on the dress of the ladies, and on a more important subject, the oppressive conduct of the

1 Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. ii. p. 324.

landholders. It has already been stated that the clergy were kinder landlords than the laity; and this statement is very pointedly confirmed by a passage in his poem against oppression of the commons:—

Sum comouns, that hes bene weill stakit
Under kirkmen, ar now all wrakit,
Sen that the teynd and the kirk landis
Came in grit temporale mennis handis.
Thai gar the tennents pay sic sowmes
As thai will ask, or quha ganestandis
Thai will be put sone fra thair rowmes.

The teynd, quhilk tennents had befoir
Of thair awin malings, corne, and stoir,
Thair laird hes tane it our thair heid,
And gars thame to his yaird it leid:
Bot thair awin stok thai dar not steir,
Thoch all thair bairnis sould want breid,
Quhill thai have led that teynd ilk yeir.

Sic extorsioun and taxatioun
Wes never sene into this natioun,
Tane of the comouns of this land;
Of quhilk sum is left waist liand,
Becaus few may sic chairgis beir.
Mony hes quhips now in thair hand,
That wont to have bayth jak and speir.[1]

It may be presumed that this venerable judge finally embraced the reformed doctrines; but he has spoken with sufficient impartiality of Protestants as well as Papists, and has not hesitated to condemn the practices of the "fleshlie gospellaries." The following passage occurs in his poem on the miseries of the time, written in the year 1570:—

Sumtyme the preistis thocht that thai did weil,
Quhone that thai maid thair beirds, and shuif thair croun,
Usit round caps, and gounis to thair heil,
And mes and mateyns said of thair fassoun,
Thoch that all vyces rang in thair persoun,
Lecherie, gluttunrie, vain gloire, avarice,
With swerd and fyre, for rew of relegioun.
Of Christin peple oft maid sacrifice.

[1] Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 321.

For quhilk God hes thame puneist richt scharplie.
Bot had thai left thair auld abusioun,
And turnit thame fra vyce to God trewlie,
And syne forthocht thair wrang intrusioun
Into the kirk be fals elusioun,
The word of God syn preitchit faythfullie,
Thai had nocht cum to sic confusioun,
Nor tholit had as yit sic miserie.

Now is Protestains rysin us amang,
Sayand thai wil mak reformatioun,
Bot yet as now ma vyces never rang
[In ony former tyme or ony natioun];
As pryd, invy, and fals dissimulation,
Thift, reif, slauchter, oppressioun of the puir,
Of policy a plaine [ill] alteratioun;
Of wrangous geir now na man takis cuir.

Thai think it weil and thai the Paip do call
The Antechryst, and mess idolatrie,
And syne eit flesche upon the Frydays all,
That thai serve God rycht than accordinglie,
Thoch in all thing thai leif maist wickitlie.
Bot God commandis us his law to keip,
Fyrst honour him, and syne have cheritie
With our neichbours, and for our synnis weip.[1]

We learn from one of his poems, that even at this early period, complaints of tedious and vexatious law-suits were loud and frequent; nor can we suppose that what was then felt as a grievance has been diminished by the lapse of nearly three centuries. In order to provide a remedy for such evils, Maitland recommends to the king two different measures; namely, to increase the number, and to augment the salaries of the judges. To enable them to maintain their independence of mind, it is certainly advisable to render judges independent in their circumstances; but prompt and equitable decisions are not to be secured by placing a great number of judges in the same court. The worthy old senator recommends his project in terms of great simplicity:—

Causis ilk day so faist dois multiplie,
That with this Sait cannot ourtaken be;
Bot wald thy hienes thairof eik the nummer

[1] Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 302.

Of Senatours; men cunning and godlie
Wald monie mater end that makis cummer.

Schir, at thy gift is monye Abeceis,
Personagis, Provestreis, and Prebendareis,
Now sen doun is the auld religioun.
To eik sum lordis, gif sum benefeis,
And sum to help the auld foundatioun:

Becaus the lordis hes our litil feis,
Bot of uncertaine casualiteis,
Of quhilk thay never get payment complei;
And now sic derthe is resin, all men sayis
What coist Ane pound befoir, now costis Thrie.[1]

Another grievance of that age arose from the unceasing depredations of the Border Thieves. Maitland complains that his house and barony of Blythe had in the time of peace been plundered by Sir Roland Foster, captain of Wark, with a party of three hundred men; in another poem, he recites the formidable incursions of the thieves of Liddesdale, and mentions the names of several individuals whose exploits are celebrated in the border ballads of an early date:—

Thai theifs that steills and tursis hame,
Ilk ane of thame hes ane to-name;—
Will of the Lawis,
Hab of the Schawis, to mak bair wawis
Thay think na schame.

They spuilye puir men of thair pakis,
Thay leif thame nocht on bed nor bakis:
Bayth hen and cok,
With reil and rok, the Lairdis Jok[1]
All with him takis.

Thay leif not spendil, spone, nor speit,
Bed, bolster, blankit, sark, nor sheit;
Johne of the Parke
Ryps kist and ark; for all sic wark
He is richt meit.

[1] Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 337.

[2] This name is erroneously printed, "The Landis Jok." The reading of the quarto MS. in the University library is "The Lairdis Jok" (f. 4, b.); and indeed such an authority was scarcely necessary for the correction of the passage. The Laird's Jock is a conspicuous person in the ballad of "Jock o' the Side." (Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. ii. p. 232.)

He is weil kend, Johne of the Syde,
A gretar theif did never ryide:
He never tyris
For to brek byris; our muir and myris
Our gude ane gyide.

Thair is ane, callit Clement's Hob,
Fra ilk puir wyfe reffis the wob,
And all the laif,
Quhatever thay haif; the devil resave
Thairfoir his gob.[1]

These specimens of Maitland's verses I shall close with the following "Gude Counsals;" every line of which produces the same sense, whether it be read from the beginning or the end:—

Luif vertew ever and all vycis fle,
Wickitnes hait alway gudenes imbrace,
Remuve rancour and ay keip chirritie,
Proudnes deteist invy fra ye far chace,
Gredenes never lat in the tak place,
Be honorable and weil credence keip,
Beseynes [to give ever] tyme and space,
Trewle serve God and als for synnis weip.[2]

George Bannatyne, another eminent preserver of Scotish poetry, is likewise entitled to our grateful commemoration. He was himself a writer of verses, and several of his compositions are to be found in the manuscript which has so frequently been mentioned in the progress of this work; but of his personal history no memorials have hitherto been discovered. Mr. Tytler, who describes him as a canon of the cathedral of Moray,[3] seems to have confounded him with Dr. Bellenden, who was archdeacon of Moray, and canon of Ross. To Bannatyne's taste and industry we are indebted for the most ample and valuable collection of Scotish poetry that is now extant; and it appears from his own notices, that this collection was formed in the year 1568, when he was a young man, and when the plague was raging in the kingdom. It is neatly transcribed, and extends to about eight hundred pages in folio: it was, as he clearly states,

1 Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 332.
2 Ibid. vol. ii. p. 313.
3 Tytler's Dissertation on the Scotish Music, p. 245.

the labour of three months; and we may suppose that during this interval the dread of infection confined him very closely at home. Of the poems inserted in his collection, some belong to an age considerably removed from that of the transcriber: here we find Christis Kirk of the Grene, ascribed to James the First, and Holland's Howlat, written during the reign of his successor. In the following verses, which occur at the beginning as an address of "The Wryttar to the Reidaris," he states that he was under the necessity of having recourse to old, defective, and mutilated copies:—

Ye reverend redaris, thir workis revolving richt,
Gif ye get crymes, correct thame to your micht,
And curss na clark that cunnyngly thame wrait,
But blame me baldly brocht this buik till licht
In tenderest tyme quhen knawlege was nocht bricht;
But lait begun to lerne and till translait
My copeis awld, mankit, and mvtillait;
Quhais trewth as standis yit haif I, sympill wicht,
Tryd furth, thairfoir excuse sum pairt my stait.

Now ye haif heir this ilk buik sa provydit,
That in fyve pairtis it is dewly devydit,
The first concernis Godis gloir and ouir saluatioun;
The nixt ar morale, grave, and als besyd it
Grund on gud counsale; the third, I will nocht hyd it,
Ar blyith and glaid, maid for ouir consollatioun;
The ferd of luve and thair richt reformatioun;
The fyift ar tailis and storeis weill discydit:—
Reid as ye pleiss, I neid no mair narratioun.

In the sequel of the collection he introduces some of his own compositions; the most considerable of which are two amatory poems, the one consisting of eight and the other of nine stanzas. He concludes his labours with the following address of "The Wryttar to the Redare:"—

Heir endis this buik, written in tyme of pest,
Quhen we fra labor was compeld to rest,
Into the thre last monethis of this yeir,
From our Redemaris birth, to knaw it heir,
Ane thowsand is, ffyve hundreth, thre scoir awcht:
Of this purpois na mair it neidis be tawcht.
Swa, till conclude, God grant ws all gude end,
And eftir deth eternal lyfe ws send.

The manuscript bears the name of "Jacobus Foulis, 1623;" and this possessor is supposed to have been Sir James Foulis of Colinton, whose uncle, George Foulis of Ravelston, married one Janet Bannatyne in the year 1601. In 1712, it was presented by Sir William Foulis to the Hon. William Carmichael, whose relation, the Earl of Hyndford, deposited it in the Advocates' Library in 1772. By Mr. Carmichael it was communicated to Allan Ramsay; who derived from it a large proportion of his materials for the two volumes published under the title of the Ever-Green.[1] It was his original intention to prepare one or two volumes more, but no sequel ever made its appearance, nor can it excite much regret that the editor should have failed to perform his promise; his extreme licentiousness in adding or retrenching according to his own fancy, amounted to a complete disqualification for such an undertaking. His publication, however, was not without its utility; it tended, in a considerable degree, to revive among his countrymen a taste for vernacular poetry, and to direct the attention of more learned antiquaries to Bannatyne's precious collection. After an interval of forty-six years, Lord Hailes, a man distinguished by his accurate scholarship and solid judgment, formed a more judicious and a more faithful selection from this manuscript; and the notes which he has subjoined, contain much curious and interesting illustration.[2] Since that period, many other editors have drawn materials from the same copious source; and the name of George Bannatyne is inseparably connected with the history of Scotish poetry.

[1] The Ever Green, being a Collection of Scots Poems, wrote by the Ingenious before 1600: published by Allan Ramsay. Edinb. 1724, 2 vols. sm. 8vo.

[2] Ancient Scottish Poems, published from the MS. of George Bannatyne, M.D.LXVIII. Edinb. 1770, 12mo.

CHAPTER XIX.

ONE of the most sprightly and elegant poets of that age was Alexander Scott; of whose personal history and character very few memorials have hitherto been discovered. It is conjectured that he may have been the son of Alexander Scott, prebendary of the chapel-royal of Stirling, whose two sons, John and Alexander, were legitimated on the 21st of November 1549.[1] This date corresponds with the chronology of his life, for he addressed a poem to Queen Mary in the year 1562; but the poet's name and surname were both so common, that the author of this conjecture has urged it with a proper degree of caution. Another conjecture, which places his residence at Dalkeith, is founded on the circumstance of his describing the scene of the Justing as "*up* at the Drum,"[2] a house formerly belonging to Lord Somerville, and situated between Dalkeith and Edinburgh; but as the adventures are concluded "*up* at Dalkeith that day," it is evident that we can draw no material inference from either of those expressions. His profession is as doubtful as his parentage. In one or two instances he betrays some degree of fondness for the technical language of the law, which is not particularly calculated to adorn an amatory stanza; thus, he speaks of holding his lady's heart in blanch tenure for the payment of a certain annual acknowledgment:[3] it is however obvious that he might be familiar enough with such phraseology, though he did not himself belong to the legal profession. He appears from his writings to have been a rational friend of the

[1] Laing's Introductory Notice (p. ix.) prefixed to Poems by Alexander Scott. Edinb. 1821, 8vo.

[2] Hailes's Notes on Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 315.

[3] Having thy ladeis hart as heretaige,
In blenche-ferme for ane sallat every May.
SCOTT'S Poems, p. 40.

Reformation; and indeed the same cause was espoused by almost all the Scotish poets of that era. From his own information, we also learn that he was married, and that he was subjected to the deepest mortification which an affectionate husband could experience: one of his poems was written "quhen his wyfe left him;" and he expressly states that the cause of her leaving him was "sum wantoun man." But this poet appears to have been somewhat of a philosopher; after expressing his sorrow at being thus deserted by so sweet and smiling a companion, he avows his determination to choose another and forget her. He seems to have inherited a gay and elastic spirit, not easily depressed by the accidents or even disasters of life; and whatever might be his condition or circumstances, his poems contain no peevish complaints or mean solicitations. If he is the individual mentioned in the following passage of a sonnet addressed by Montgomery to Robert Hudson, we may conclude that he had reached an advanced age:—

Ye knaw ill guyding genders mony gees,
And specially in poets: for example,
Ye can pen out tua cuple and ye pleis,
Yourself and I, old Scot and Robert Semple:
Quhen we ar dead, that all our dayis bot daffis,
Let Christian Lyndesay wryt our epitaphis.[1]

The productions of Scott may be classed with the most elegant Scotish poems of the sixteenth century. They are generally founded on subjects of an amatory kind, and discover no inconsiderable degree of fancy and harmony. His lyric measures are skilfully chosen; and his language, when compared with that of contemporary poets, will be found to possess an uncommon share of terseness and precision. He professes to have studied the female character; and the result of his observations is not very flattering to the vanity of the sex. In his poem "Of Wemen-Kynd" the following significant stanzas occur:—

I mvse and mervellis in my mynd,
Quhat way to wryt or put in verss

1 Montgomery's Poems, p. 75. Edinb. 1821, 8vo.

The quent consaitis of wemen-kynd,
Or half thair havingis to reherss,
I fynd thair haill affectioun
So contrair thair complexioun.

For quhy? no leid vnleil thay leit,
Vntrewth expresly thay expell;
Yit thay are planeist and repleit
Of falset and dissait thair sell;
So find I thair affectioun
Contrair thair awin complexioun.

Thay favour no wayis fuliche men,
And verry few of thame ar wyiss;
All gredy personis thay misken,
And thay ar full of covettyiss;
So find I thair affectioun
Contrair thair awin complexioun.[1]

But his unfavourable opinion of the sex in general did not prevent him from placing his affections on some fair individual. The following poem may be produced as a specimen of his amorous effusions:—

Hence hairt with hir that myst departe,
And haid thé with thy souerane;
For I had lever want ane harte,
Nor haif the hairt that dois me pane:
Thairfoir go with thy lufe remane
And let me leif thus vnmolest,
And se that thow cum nocht agane;
Bot byd with hir thow luvis best.

Sen scho that I haif seruit lang
Is to depairt so suddanly,
Address thé now, for thow sall gang
And beir thy lady cumpany:
Ffra scho be gon, hairtless am I:
Ffor-quhy? thow art with hir possest;
Thairfoir, my hairt, go hence in hy,
And byd with hir thow luvis best.

Thocht this belappit body heir
Be bound to seruitude and thrall,
My faithfull hairt is fré inteir,
And mynd to serf my lady at all.

[1] Scott's Poems, p. 57.

Wald God that I wer perigall
Vnder that redolent ross to rest!
Yit at the leist, my hairt, thow sall
Abyd with hir thow lufis best.

Sen in your garth the lilly quhyte
May nocht remane amang the laif,
Adew the flour of haill delyte,
Adew the succour that me saif.
Adew the fragrant balme suaif,
And lamp of ladeis lufliest:
My faythfull hairt scho sall it haif
To byd with hir it luvis best.

Deploir, ye ladeis cleir of hew,
Hir absence, sen scho most departe,
And specially ye luvaris trew;
That woundit bene with luvis darte:
For sum of yow sall want ane harte
Alsweill as I; thairfoir at last
Do go with myn, with mynd inwart;
And byd with hir thow luvis best.[1]

Scott has written another address to his heart, which is remarkably smooth and elegant:—

Returne thé, hairt, hamewart agane,
And byd quhair thow was wont to be;
Thow art ane fule to suffer pane
For luve of hir that luvis not thé:
My hairt, lat be sic fantesie,
Luve nane bot as thay mak thé causs,
And lat hir seik ane hairt for thé,
For feind a crum of the scho fawis.

To quhat effect sowld thow be thrall
But thank, sen thow hes thy fre will?
My hairt, be not sa bestiall,
Bot knaw quho dois thé guid or ill:
Remane with me and tary still,
And se quha playis best their pawis,
And lat fillok ga fling hir fill,
For feind a crum of thé scho fawis.

Thocht scho be fair, I will not fenyie,
Scho is the kynd of vtheris ma;

[1] Scott's Poems, p. 29.

For quhy? thair is a fellone menyie
That semis gud and ar not sa.
My hairt, tak nowdir pane nor wa
For Meg, for Meriory, or yit Mawis,
But be thow glaid, and latt hir ga,
For feind a crum of thé scho fawis.

Becaus I find scho tuik in ill,
At hir departing thow mak na cair;
Bot all begyld go quhair scho will,
Beschrew the hairt that mane makis mair.
My hert, be mirry lait and air,
This is the fynall end and clauss,
And latt hir fallow ane filly fair,
For feind a crum of thé scho fawis.[1]

The subsequent "Rondel of Luve" is not destitute of what may perhaps be termed prettiness :—

Lo quhat it is to lufe
Lerne ye that list to prufe,
Be me, I say, that no wayis may
The grund of greif remuve,
Bot still decay both nycht and day:
Lo quhat it is to lufe.

Lufe is ane fervent fyre,
Kendillit without desyre;
Schort plesour, lang displesour,
Repentance is the hyre;
Ane pure tressour without mesour:
Lufe is ane fervent fyre.

To lufe and to be wyiss,
To rege with gud adwyiss,
Now thus, now than, so gois the game,
Incertane is the dyiss:
Thair is no man, I say, that can
Both lufe and to be wyiss.

Fle alwayis frome the snair,
Lerne at me to be ware;
It is ane pane and dowbill trane
Of endles wo and cair:
For to refrane that denger plane,
Fle alwayis frome the snair.[2]

[1] Scott's Poems, p. 50. [2] Ibid. p. 64.

But the most curious of his love poems is that which he composed on the infidelity of his wife: it displays a singular mixture of conjugal affection and stoical indifference :—

To luve unluvit it is ane pane ;
For scho that is my souerane,
  Sum wantoun man so he hes set hir,
That I can get no lufe agane
  Bot brekis my hairt, and nocht the bettir.

Quhen that I went with that sweit may,
To dance, to sing, to sport and pley,
  And oft tymes in my armis plet hir ;
I do now murne both nycht and day,
  And brekis my hairt, and nocht the bettir.

Quhair I wes wont to se hir go,
Rycht trymly passand to and fro,
  With cumly smylis quhen that I met hir ;
And now I leif in pane and wo,
  And brekis my hairt, and nocht the bettir.

Quhattane ane glaikit fule am I,
To slay my self with melancoly,
  Sen weill I ken I may not get hir ;
Or quhat suld be the caus, and quhy,
  To brek my hairt, and nocht the bettir ?

My hairt, sen thow may nocht hir pleiss,
Adew ! as gude lufe cumis as gaiss ;
  Go chuss ane vthir and forget hir :
God gif him dolour and diseiss,
  That brekis his hairt, and nocht the bettir.[1]

The longest of Scott's compositions is "Ane New-Yeir Gift to the Quene Mary, quhen scho come first hame;" which however is less valuable for its poetry, than for the light that it reflects on an important era of the national history. His "Justing betuix Adamsone and Sym" is an imitation of "Christis Kirk of the Grene;" and although inferior to the admirable original, it is distinguished by many happy strokes of humorous description. It begins with the following stanzas :—

The grit debait and turnament,
  Off trewth no toung can tell,

[1] Scott's Poems, p. 60.

Wes for a lusty lady gent,
Betuix twa freikis fell
(For Mars, the god armipotent,
Was nocht sa ferss him sell,
Nor Hercules, that aikkis vprent,
And dang the devil of hell
With hornis),
Vp at the Drum that day.

Doutles wes nocht so duchty deidis
Amangis the dowsy peiris,[1]
Nor yit no clerk in story reidis
Off sa tryvmphand weiris;
To se so stowtly on thair steidis
Tha stalwart knychtis steiris,
Quhyll bellyis bair for brodding bleidis
With spurris als scherp as breiris
And kene,
Vp at the Drum that day.

Vp at the Drum the day wes sett,
And fixit was the feild,
Quhair baith thir noble chiftanis mett
Enarmit vndir schield:
Thay wer sa haisty and sa hett,
That nane of thame wald yeild,
Bot to debait or be doun bett,
And in the quarrell keild
Or slane,
Vp at the Drum that day.

Thair wes ane bettir and ane worss,
I wald that it wer wittin;
For William wichttar was of corss
Nor Sym, and bettir knittin.
Sym said, he sett nocht by his forss,
Bot hecht he sowld be hittin,
And he micht counter Will on horss,
For Sym wes bettir sittin
Nor Will,
Vp at the Drum that day.

To se the stryfe come yunkeirs stowt,
And mony galyart man;

[1] *Dowsy peiris* is a corruption of *douze pairs*, denoting the twelve peers of Charlemagne. In the Taill of Rauf Coilyear, the expression is more completely corrupted:—

Baith dukis and *duche-peiris*,
Barrounis and bacheleiris.

All denteis deir wes thair bot dowt,
The wyne on broich it ran.
Trumpettis and schalmis with a schowt
Playid or the rink began,
And eikwall juges sat abowt,
To se quha tynt or wan
The feild,
Vp at the Drum that day.

With twa blunt trincher speiris squair,
It wes thair interpryiss
To fecht, with baith thair facis bair,
For lufe, as is the gyiss.
Ane freynd of thairis throw hap come thair,
And hard the rumor ryiss,
Quha stall away thair styngis baith clair,
And hid in secreit wayiss,
Ffor skaith,
Vp at the Drum that day.[1]

Although it is not to be supposed that such a joust ever took place, it is highly probable that Adamson and Sym were real characters, and that the poet alluded to some quarrel decided without the forms of chivalry. From the subsequent passage we may infer that these combatants were both skinners; and they might therefore be competitors, not merely in love, but likewise in trade :—

Will schortly to his horss he slydis,
And sayis to Sym be name,
Better we bath wer byand hyddis
And weddir skynnis at hame.

Several of the Scotish poets have exercised their satirical powers in descriptions of imaginary combats; but we find an earlier example in "The Turnament of Tottenham," written by Gilbert Pilkington, an English poet who flourished during the fifteenth century.[2] Dunbar has described an encounter between a shoemaker and a tailor, and Lindsay between two gentle leeches belonging to the king's household; but both their poems are inferior, in point and humour, to the similar attempt of Scott.

[1] Scott's Poems, p. 17.

[2] Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 13. Ritson's Bibliographia Poetica, p. 93.

To the earlier part of the sixteenth century belong various poets, who have left very few and scanty specimens of their talents, and of whose personal history little or nothing is accurately known. Among other names we find that of Sir John Moffat, who was probably an ecclesiastic, and who is the author of some moral stanzas, containing seasonable advice "To remembir the End."[1] In Bannatyne's MS. the name of Moffat is also subjoined, though in a different hand, to the Wife of Auchtermuchty, a very humorous ballad which still maintains its popularity. A certain man, who dwelt in Auchtermuchty, and who neither loved hunger nor cold, returned one rainy day from the plough; and on finding his wife sitting very comfortably at home, expressed much dissatisfaction at his own lot. She readily acceded to his surly proposal that they should on alternate days undertake to follow the plough, and to manage the household affairs: next morning she proceeded with alacrity to her new employment: during her absence, the husband was exposed to a succession of ludicrous disasters, and after this experiment was anxious to escape from his domestic avocations. There is another early tale which so far resembles this, that it represents a husband and a wife as making a similar interchange of duties; but the details are materially different, and some of the incidents are of a more tragic nature.[2]

In the prologue to Sir David Lindsay's Complaynt of the Papingo, we find the names of several poets who seem to have been contemporary with himself:—

> Kid in cunnyng and practik richt prudent,
> And Stewart, quhilk desyrith ane staitly style,
> Full ornate warkis daylie dois compyle.
>
> Stewart of Lorne will carpe richt curiouslie;
> Galbraith, Kinlouch, quhen thay list thame applie,
> Into that art are craftie of ingyne.[3]

Kidd, Galbraith, and Kinloch, are at present only known from this incidental notice. Under the name of Stewart, several little poems have been preserved by Bannatyne; but whether they

[1] Hailes's Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 187.

[2] This story, extracted from the first part of the *Silva Sermonum jucundissimorum*, Basil, 1568, 8vo, may be found in the Appendix to Mr. Laing's Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland. Edinb. 1822, 4to.

[3] Lindsay's Works, vol. i. p. 286.

are to be ascribed to Stewart of Lorne, or to the other poet of this surname, cannot now be determined. In one of these he enumerates, not without various strokes of satire, the new-year's gifts which he had received at court; and Lord Hailes has demonstrated from internal evidence that this poem must have been written in 1527. He begins with the king his chief; who approached as quietly as a thief, and slipped into his hand a magnificent present of two shillings :—

> First lerges of the king my cheif
> Quhilk come als quiet as a theif,
> And in my hand sled schillings tway ,
> To put his lergnes to the preif,
> For lerges of this new-yeir day.[1]

The names of Norval and of Allan Watson likewise occur in Bannatyne's MS.; but their compositions have not been admitted into any of the printed collections. Poems by Tethy, Fleming, and John Blyth, have been published by Lord Hailes. The various writers, whose names appear in this muster-roll, may not all have flourished at the very same period; nor would it be of much consequence to establish the chronology of their respective lives. They could not properly be passed without a cursory notice, and have been permitted to occupy a scanty space in this short chapter.

[1] Hailes's Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 151.

CHAPTER XX.

AMONG the respectable names which occur in our literary annals of the sixteenth century, we find that of Alexander Arbuthnot, principal of King's College, Aberdeen, who is highly commended for his learning and moderation, two qualities which are not always united in the same individual. The academics of that period who cultivated the study of poetry, have generally evinced a decided predilection for the Latin language; and when they compared the terseness and harmony of the ancient poets with the rude and halting rhymes of more recent versifiers, it is not wonderful that they selected the classical models for their imitation. Arbuthnot, however, appears to have sought a relaxation from his severer studies in the composition of Scotish verses. He was born in the year 1538, and was the descendant of an ancient family, afterwards ennobled by Charles the First: his father was Andrew Arbuthnot of Futhes, the fourth son of Sir Robert Arbuthnot of Arbuthnot, in the county of Kincardine.[1] The earlier part of his academical education he received in the University of St. Andrews. He visited France in 1561, and for the period of five years prosecuted the study of the civil law under the renowned Cujacius, who was then a professor in the University of Bourges.[2] This was the ordinary course of study pursued by those who were destined for the legal profession.[3] The law of Scotland is, to a great extent, founded on the principles of the Roman law; but as the civilians have never been very conspicuous in our universities,

[1] Nisbet's System of Heraldry, ii. app. p. 90.

[2] Berriat St. Prix, Histoire du Droit Romain suivie de l'Histoire de Cujas, p. 388. Paris, 1821, 8vo.

[3] "Ea enim ætate sapere, nisi Romano jure, homines non videbantur." (Gadendam Hist. Juris Cimbrici, p. 54. Hamb. 1770, 8vo.)

the Scotish students were compelled to seek for able preceptors in other countries.[1] The reputation of Cujacius, Donellus, Govea, Balduinus, Contius, Hotman, and many other great names, elevated the French schools of law above all competition: their celebrity, however, was at length eclipsed by the more modern universities of Holland;[2] and our countrymen then repaired to Leyden and Utrecht, instead of Bourges and Toulouse. Having taken the degree of Licentiate of Laws, Arbuthnot returned to Scotland with the view of following the profession of an advocate; but he was afterwards induced to relinquish the study of law for that of divinity; and on the 15th of July 1568, he was presented to the living of Logie-Buchan. The Principal, as well as some other members of King's College having been expelled by the visitor, he was presented to the vacant office on the 3d of July 1569; and on the 25th of the same month he was presented to the living of Arbuthnot, which he continued to hold with his academical preferment.[3] Archbishop Spotswood has remarked that, "by his diligent teaching and dextrous government, he not only revived the study of good letters, but gained many from the superstitions whereunto they were given."

[1] "In plerisque negotiis," said Sir Thomas Craig about the year 1600, "jus civile sequimur, non quidem edocti, et in eo instituti, quod nulli adhuc quod sciam apud nos juris fuerint professores qui jus publice docerent, quod sane dolendum est." (Jus Feudale; p. 14, edit. Edinb. 1732, fol.) I may here take an opportunity of remarking that Dr. Wenck, the able successor of Haubold in the University of Leipzig, has lately furnished a very curious contribution to the history of the civil law in England. This work bears the title of *Magister Vacarius, primus Juris Romani in Anglia Professor.* Lipsiæ, 1820, 8vo. The errors of Selden, Duck, and many other writers are detected with much patience and acuteness; and the entire volume, for it extends to 338 pages, affords a singular proof of the author's learning and assiduity. The history of Vacarius has more recently been discussed by Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, iv. Band. S. 350.

[2] "Interea autem in Belgii septentrionalis partibus et apud Batavos, publica libertate firmata, omnes disciplinæ et artes humaniores efflorescebant. Quantum hic populus in medicina et scientiis naturalibus præstiterint, omnibus notum est; quantumque auctorum veterum studium iis debeat, neminem fugit. Nec minus autem apud illos erudita jurisprudentia colebatur, tantique nominis atque ponderis Batavorum sunt jurisconsulti, ut inter juris Romani interpretes primum locum obtinuerint. Servabat ad nostra usque tempora Batava juris schola Cujacianam in jure veteri tractando rationem, quæ in ipsa hujus viri immortalis patria neglecta erat. Neque fortasse tam facile recentissimis temporibus cultior jurisprudentia restituta fuisset, sine jurisconsultorum illorum studiis." (Warnkœnig Commentarii Juris Romani Privati, tom. i. p. 100. Leodii, 1825, 8vo.)

[3] M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 283.—For an account of this distinguished member of the University, Professor Ker refers to a work which he had prepared under the title of *Athenæ Aberdonenses.* See the notes (p. 19) to his "Donaides: sive Musarum Aberdonensium de eximia Jacobi Fraserii, J. U. D. in Academiam Regiam Aberdonensem Munificentia, Carmen eucharisticum." Edinb. 1725, 4to. Ker was then Professor of Greek

The name of Arbuthnot is frequently mentioned in the ecclesiastical history of that period, and is always mentioned with respect. On two different occasions, in 1573 and 1577, he was elected moderator of the General Assembly; and on many other instances his brethren testified their confidence and esteem. His name is connected with one very singular anecdote of literature. To the General Assembly, which convened at Edinburgh on the 1st of July 1568, it having been reported that Thomas Bassenden, a printer in that city, "had printed a booke entitled, *The Fall of the Roman Church*, naming the king, the supream head of the church; and that he had printed at the end of the Psalm-book a bawdy song; he is ordained to call in all these books that he hath sold, and sell no moe untill he changed that title, and delete the bawdy song; and that in time coming he print not without licence of the supream magistrate, and revising the books appertaining to religion, by those that shall be appointed by the church for that purpose; and they appoint Alexander Arbuthnot to revise that book, and report his judgment of it."[1] The taste and decency of the printer certainly cannot be commended; but it is equally obvious, that the Assembly, if its proceedings are correctly reported, was sufficiently disposed to extend its jurisdiction, and to exercise a judicial and a legislative authority to which it had no proper claim. The regulation thus introduced respecting the licensing of books, could only be established by the legislature of the kingdom. In the Assembly of Edinburgh, 6th March 1574, he was nominated among the commissioners, who were to summon before them the chapter of Moray, accused of presenting a testimonial in favour of George Douglas, bishop of that see, "without just

at Aberdeen, and afterwards became Professor of Humanity at Edinburgh. His literary History of Aberdeen was never printed; nor have I ascertained whether the manuscript is still preserved. It may scarcely be worth while to remark that, on the classical authority of Anthony à Wood, he has adopted a very absurd title. To his history of the University of Leyden, Meursius has given the title of *Athenæ Batavæ*, that is, the Athens of Holland; a title sufficiently appropriate, or at least intelligible; but what are we to understand by the Athens of Oxford, or the Athens of Aberdeen? To this publication of Ker is subjoined "A Poem in imitation of Donaides, by David Malloch, A.M." Dr. Johnson's account of Mallet's changing his name seems therefore to have been founded on proper evidence. Dr. Fraser, the subject of the poem, was secretary of Chelsea Hospital, and a considerable benefactor to King's College. (Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. ii. p. 382.)

[1] Petrie's Hist. of the Catholick Church, cent. xvi. p. 359. Hague, 1662, fol.

trial and due examination of his life and qualification in literature."[1] This Assembly also authorized Arbuthnot, together with Dr. Row and others, to prepare a plan of ecclesiastical polity.[2] In October 1577, the Regent Morton intimated to the Assembly that the Protestants of Germany intended to hold a general council at Magdeburg, for the purpose of establishing the Augsburg Confession; and he requested to be informed whether they wished to send a deputation to attend the deliberations of their continental brethren. They accordingly presented a list of eight members, leaving him the power of selecting any two or three whom he might consider as best qualified for such a mission: his choice fell upon Arbuthnot, Melville, and George Hay; but to whatever motive his conduct may be imputed, he could not be induced to send them to Germany.[3] A copy of the Book of Discipline was presented to the Regent by this Assembly; and for the discussion of any doubts or difficulties that might occur, he was referred to Arbuthnot, Melville, Adamson, and other nine commissioners.[4] When a copy was presented to the king during the following year, Arbuthnot received a similar nomination;[5] and by the Assembly which convened at Stirling in the month of June, he was authorized, along with Buchanan, Sir Peter Young, and others, to confer with several of the prelates, nobility, and gentry, relative to the polity of the church.[6] These, and other particulars which might be adduced, are sufficient to evince that he was always classed among the leaders of his party. In the year 1583, he was nominated to one of the churches of St. Andrews; but the king, for some reason that is not fully ascertained, was induced to interpose the royal authority, and to prohibit his removal from Aberdeen. There he died in the course of the same year, on the sixteenth of October, before he had completed the age of forty-five.

Few conspicuous individuals of that turbulent period have

[1] Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 64. "George, Bishop of Murray, is ordained to be summoned to give his purgation of the fornication alledged to be committed by him with the Lady Ardross." (Petrie, p. 382.) This bishop was the natural son of Archibald, Earl of Angus. (Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, p. 151.)

[2] Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 65.

[3] M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 193.

[4] Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 79.

[5] Petrie, p. 394.

[6] Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 83.

left so fair and irreproachable a character. Andrew Melville, in an elegy on his death, has pronounced a high eulogium on his virtues and accomplishments;[1] and James Melville describes him as "a man of singular gifts of learning, wisdom, godliness, and sweetness of nature." This is indeed the representation of a friend, but it is confirmed by the more impartial testimony of Archbishop Spotswood: "He was greatly loved of all men, hated of none, and in such account for his moderation with the chief men of these parts, that, without his advice, they could almost do nothing; which put him in a great fasherie, whereof he did often complain. Pleasant and jocund in conversation, and in all sciences expert; a good poet, mathematician, philosopher, theologue, lawyer, and in medicin skilful, so as in every subject he could promptly discourse, and to good purpose."[2] The same prelate avers that he was favourably inclined to the general form of episcopal government in the church.[3] Bigotry often resides in the temper as well as in the understanding; and we may infer that his native moderation of mind, and rectitude of judgment, prevented him from regarding mere rites and regulations as not less important than religion itself.

Arbuthnot was highly admired for his various learning and skill in different sciences. Of his juridical knowledge he is said to have published an adequate specimen in the year 1572; but this book, if actually printed, is of such extreme rarity as to have evaded the researches of all those who have recently endeavoured to trace it, either in libraries, or in catalogues of libraries.[4] The

[1] Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii. p. 120.

[2] Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 335. The papists themselves seem to have respected his character. Nicol Burne, who, in the "Admonition to the Antichristian Ministers of the deformit Kirk of Scotland," prefixed to his prose work, has treated the rest of the Protestant clergy with the utmost contempt, seems unwilling to extenuate the merits of Arbuthnot. (Disputation concerning the controversit Headdis of Religion, halden in Scotland 1580, with the pretendit Ministeris of the deformit Kirk of Scotland. Paris, 1581, 8vo):—

Bot yit, gude Lord, quha anis thy name hes kend,
May, or they de, find for their saulis remeid.
With thy elect, Arbuthnot I commend,
Althocht the lave to Geneve haist with speid.

[3] Spotswood Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, p. 44. Lond. 1820, 8vo.

[4] Orationes de Origine et Dignitate Juris. Edinb. 1572, 4to. (Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers, vol. iii. p. 194.) On this work of Arbuthnot, Thomas Maitland has written an encomiastic poem, inserted in the Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii. p. 153. Arbuthnot left in manuscript a work entitled "Originis et Incrementi Arbuthnoticæ Familiæ Descriptio historica, ubi veræ nobilitatis ratio et series succincte ac explicate pertractatur." (Nisbet's System of Heraldry, vol. ii. app. p. 86.)

only known compositions which now bear his name are some Scotish poems, preserved in the Maitland MSS. at Cambridge and Edinburgh. That he was a successful cultivator of poetry, is evident from the testimony of Spotswood: the poems in question appear to have been written by a professed scholar; they were written during the age of the learned principal of King's College, and they breathe the humane and liberal spirit by which he was distinguished. It may however be considered as unfavourable to the supposition of their identity, that in "The Miseries of a pure Scolar," a poem which bears the date of 1572, the author describes himself as poor, and as waiting for some reputable occupation: this description, it may be imagined, cannot apply to an individual who at that very time was the head of a college and the parson of a parish. But the emoluments arising from both preferments might not be very ample; and we are indeed informed that his popish predecessor, from a principle of hostility to the Protestant establishment, had attempted to reduce the college to poverty.[1]

From the specimens which have been preserved, Arbuthnot may be pronounced an ingenious and pleasing poet. The most sprightly of his productions is entitled "The Praises of Wemen;" a poem consisting of 224 lines, and containing a very hearty encomium on the fair sex. It is apparently directed against an ironical composition on the same subject; for in one manuscript it bears the title of "Ane Contrapoysone to the ballait falslie intitulit the Properteis of gude Wemen."[2] It opens with the following stanzas:—

Quha dewlie wald decerne
The nature of gud wemen,
Or quha wald wis or yairne
That cumlie clan to ken,
He hes grit neid, I say indeid,
Of toungis ma then ten:
That plesand sort ar al confort
And mirrines to men.

The wysest thing of wit
That ever Nature wrocht;

[1] Middleton's Appendix to Spotswood, p. 24. Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. ii. p. 369.

[2] Selected Poemes of Sr. Richard Metellan f. 54, b.

Quha can fra purpose flit,
  Bot fickilnes of thocht.
Wald ye now wis ane erthlie blis,
  Solace gif ye have socht;
Ane marchandyce of gritest pryce
  That ever ony bocht.

The brichtest thing, bot baill,
  That ever creat bein,
The lustiest and [maist] leil,
  The gayest and best gain:
The thing fairest and langest lest,
  From all canker maist clein;
The trimmest face with gudlie grace,
  That lichtlie may be sein.

The blythest thing in bour,
  The bonyest in bed,
Plesant at everie hour,
  And eithe for to be sted:
An innocent, plaine and patent,
  With craftines oncled;
Ane simple thing, sueit and bening,
  For deir nocht to be dred.

To man obedient,
  Evin lyk ane willie wand;
Bayth faythfull and fervent,
  Ay reddie at command.
Thay luif maist leill, thoch men do feill,
  And schaikis oft of hand;
Quhair anes thay love thay not remove,
  Bot steidfastlie thay stand.

And, rychtlie to compair,
  Scho is ane turtill trew;
Hir fedderis ar rycht fair,
  And of an hevinlie hew:
Ane luifing wicht, bayth fair and bricht,
  Gud properteis anew,
Freind with delyte, fo but dispyte;
  Quho luves hir sall not rew.[1]

"The Miseries of a pure Scolar," as Mr. Pinkerton remarks, is a most interesting poem, and does great honour to the heart and

[1] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. i. p. 138.

head of its author." The subsequent quotation will afford an adequate specimen :—

I luif larges and liberalitie,
Yet povertie to spend dois mak me spair ;
I hate averice and prodigalitie,
To get sum geir yet maun I haif grit cair,
In vanitie syn I man it outwair,
Woun be ane wretch, and into waistrie spent.
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament ?

I luif the vertew honest chaistitie,
To bawdische bourdis yet man I oft gif ear ;
To satisfie ane fleshlie cumpanie,
Lyk ruffian I man me sumtyme beir.
In Venus scule I man sum lessoun leir,
Gif I wald comptit be courtees and gent.
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament ?

I luif delyt, and wrappit am in wo,
I luif plesour, and plungit am in pane,
I list to rest, yet man I ryde and go,
And quhen I list to flie I maun remain.
With warldlie cair a gentil hart is slane.
I feil the smart, and dar nocht mak my plent.
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament ?

I hait flatterie, and into wourdis plane,
And unaffectit language, I delyte,
Yet man I leir to flatter, glois, and fayne,
Quhidder I list to speik or yit to wryte,
Or els men sall nocht compt me worth a myte,
I sall be raknit rude or negligent.
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament ?

Scorning I hait, yet maun I smyle and smirk ;
Quhen I the mokkis of uther men behald,
Yea oft-times man I lauch, suppose I irk,
Quhen bitterlie thair tauntis thai have tauld ;
And sumtyme als, quhidder I nyl or wald,
Ane scorne for scorne to gif I man tak tent.
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament ?[1]

The following stanzas, in which he alludes to the prevalence of

[1] Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. i. p. 151.

domestic feuds, likewise furnishes an interesting picture of his mind :—

I luif justice, and wald that everie man
Had that quhilk richtlie dois to him perteine,
Yet all my kyn, allya, or my clan,
In richt or wrang I man alwayis maintene :
I maun applaud, quhen thai thair matters mene,
Thoch conscience thairto do not consent.
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament ?

Sua thoch I luif the richt, and nocht the wrang,
Yet gif ane freyndis case sall cum in hand,
It to assist I maun bayth ryde and gang,
And, as ane scolar, leir to understand,
That it is not repute vyce in this land,
For wrang to rander wrang equivalent.
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament ?

In another passage, he supplies us with some hints respecting the literary history of that period :—

In poetrie I preis to pas the tyme,
When cairfull thochts with sorow sailyes me ;
Bot gif I mell with meter or with ryme,
With rascal rymours I sall rakint be :
Thay sal me bourdin als with mony lie,
In charging me with that quhilk never I ment.
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament ?

I wald travel, and ydlenes I hait,
Gif I culd find sum gude vocation ;
Bot all for nocht ; in vain lang may I wait,
Or I get honest occupatioun :
Letters are lichtliet in our natioun,
For lernyng now is nother lyf nor rent.
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament ?

These are almost the only poems of Arbuthnot which have hitherto been published, but several others are preserved in manuscript. They are however of inferior interest, nor would their publication have much tendency to increase the reputation of the author. One of them is of considerable length; and its general scope may be understood from the first two lines :—

Religioun now is rackinit as ane fabill,
And fear of God is compted folischnes.[1]

A more copious versifier of this period was Robert Semple, whom some writers, on very doubtful evidence, have represented as a Scotish peer.[2] The evidence indeed amounts to little more than this: the fourth Lord Semple bore the same name, and after the year 1570 the poet changed his signature to Semple. The identity of the names is itself a very slender proof, and requires no particular consideration. In Bannatyne's MS. he appears as Semple, without the addition of his Christian name; but if this circumstance is to be admitted as evidence, Dunbar, Henryson, Scott, and various other poets may in the same manner be elevated to the dignity of the peerage. Lord Semple succeeded his grandfather in 1572,[3] and the manuscript was written in 1568; it is evident that in 1568, Robert Semple was was not a peer, though we find him here mentioned by his surname. In the "Legend of the Bischop of Sanctandrois Lyfe," which, as it mentions the prelate's journey to London, must have been written so late as the year 1583, the author describes himself by his initials R. S. It is admitted that Lord Semple continued to profess the Catholic religion; but the poems of Robert Semple contain the most unequivocal proofs of having been written by a Protestant, and the Legend was manifestly written by a very zealous Presbyterian. According to Dempster, the poet died in 1595; but the peer is known to have survived till 1611. Whatever credit may be due to this literary historian, there are other circumstances more than sufficient to render his identity extremely dubious. In a sonnet addressed to Robert Hudson, Montgomery specifies Semple as not exempted from the ordinary misfortunes of poets; and as this sonnet appears to have been written when he was advanced

[1] Selected Poemes of Sr. Richard Metellan, f. 60, a. MS. in the University Library. The same manuscript contains another poem of Arbuthnot, consisting of five stanzas. One half of it has been printed by Dr. M'Crie, Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 117. It begins with the following lines: –

Giwe it be trew as storeis dois reherse,
That sorrow souppis suitiletie and sence.
F. 67, a.

[2] Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. iii. p. 397. Preface to Semple's Sege of the Castel of Edinburgh. [Lond. 1813] 4to. Essay on the Poets of Renfrewshire (p. xvii.) prefixed to the Harp of Renfrewshire. Paisley, 1819, 12mo.

[3] Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 494.

in years, it affords another presumption against the identity of the poet and the peer :—

> Ye knaw ill guyding genders mony gees,
> And specially in poets : for example,
> Ye can pen out tua cuple and ye pleis,
> Yourself and I, old Scott and Robert Semple.[1]

It is not perhaps to be considered as very probable that Montgomery would have applied these expressions to the presumptive heir of a baron ; and it is certain that he would not thus have described the baron himself. There is some reason to believe that Semple was a captain in the army : he speaks of himself as having been present at the siege of Edinburgh castle ;[2] in the progress of his narrative, he specifies particular incidents which he had not himself an opportunity of observing, and he distinctly mentions a captain of his own name :—

> Four capitanis followit, at thair bak to byde,
> Sempill and Hectour, Ramsay, and Robesoun.

Dempster represents Semple as exhibiting the combined excellencies of Propertius, Tibullus, Ovid, and Callimachus ;[3] a eulogium which cannot but be regarded as extravagant by those who have perused such of his compositions as are now to be found. Here it is certainly very difficult to discover any portion of poetical spirit. His "Sege of the Castel of Edinburgh" is a poem of considerable length, and contains some circumstantial details, but is in a great measure destitute of force and animation. A few stanzas will probably be deemed a sufficient specimen :—

[1] Montgomery's Poems, p. 75. Edinb. 1821, 8vo.

[2] The walls wes heich, we culd not weil persew thame,
Bot quhen we gat thame doun, full deir thay bocht it :
Be-syde the woil at sundrie tymes we slew thame ;
That euer thay saw vs, sum of thame forthocht it.

Thay schot gud Manfeild in athort the throit,
Quhill force did fail ; and than I saw thame fane
To cry *peccavi* with the waithman noit.

[3] "Semple claro nomine poeta, cui patrius sermo tantum debet, ut nulli plus debere eruditi fateantur : felix in eo calor, temperatum judicium, rara inventio, dictio pura ac candida ; quibus dotibus regi Jacobo charissimus fuit. Scripsit Rythmos vernacule, lib. i. Carmina armatoria, ut Propertii sanguinem, Tibulli lac, Ovidii mel, Callimachi sudorem æquasse plerisque doctis videatur." (Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, p. 602.)

The castel segit, and all beset about
With fowseyis wyde, enuironit be slycht;
Montanis and myndis leit neuer man luik out,
For ordinance thay dang at day and nycht
By weirlyk volyis: thocht the wallis wes wycht,
Yit dowball battrie brak thame all in inschis:
Of Daueis toure, in all the toune-menis sycht,
Thay riggan stanes come tumbland ouir the trinschis.

The vehement schot yeid in at either syde,
By threttie cannonis plasit at partis seuin,
Quhill thay thair-in mycht not thair heidis hyde,
For pot-gun pellettis fallaud from the heuin:
The bumbard stanis directit fell sa euin,
That in to dykes by dint it deidly dang thame,
Quhill all the houssis in the place wes reuin,
The bullatis brak sa in-to bladis amang thame.

Continewand this ane dosand of dayis or mair,
Quhill tyme apointit neuer man durst steir:
The larum rang, the regent self wes thair,
My lord ambassat to stuid verry neir;
The manlie generall, lyke the god of weir,
Not vsit to sleip quhen sing thingis ar a-do;
Our cronall als, quha is ane freik bot feir,
With all his capitanes, reddie to ga to.[1]

An English poet of some note, Thomas Churchyard, has likewise written a poem on "The Siege of Edenbrough Castell;" and this siege he conducts with more animation than Semple. In the following stanza he introduces an allusion to the name of the Maiden Castle, sometimes bestowed upon this fortress:—

A castel strong, that neuer none assayld,
A strength that stode on mount and mighty rock,
A peerles plot, that alwaies hath preuaild,
And able was to suffer any shock,
The enmy chose; and sure the seat was sutch
That might harme al, and few or none could tutch,
And thought to be the onely fort of fame,
Most meite and fit to beare a maiden's name.[2]

Semple is the author of another poem entitled "The Legend

[1] The Sege of the Castel of Edinburgh. Imprentit at Edinburgh be Robert Lepreuik anno M.D.LXXIII. The author's name appears in the colophon: *Quod Sempill.*

[2] Churchyard's Chips concerning Scotland, p. 146. Lond. 1817, 8vo.

of the Bischop of Sanctandrois Lyfe." This is a very persevering, and a very illiberal attack on the character of Archbishop Adamson, who was a scholar and a man of talents, but was not free from the glaring errors into which churchmen are sometimes betrayed by the fatal allurements of ambition. Having relinquished his pastoral charge at Ceres, he accompanied to France the eldest son of Sir James Mackgill; and in the University of Bourges, which was then a renowned school of law, he applied himself for several years to a new course of study, with the intention of following the profession of a lawyer. On his return to Scotland, however, he resumed his clerical functions, after having begun to practise at the bar; and he became successively minister of Paisley, chaplain to the Regent, and Archbishop of St. Andrews. These honours were not obtained without loud impeachments of his consistency and sincerity. The cause of Episcopacy was very far from being a popular cause: the attempt to ingraft it on the Reformed Church of Scotland was strenuously resisted; and when the Archbishop was rapidly sinking into poverty and contempt, Semple employed himself in the composition of this cruel invective. The spirit of the writer certainly cannot be commended; his poem cannot be read without disgust, even by those who are least disposed to admire Adamson's character and conduct. Nor is it entitled to much commendation as a literary production. This Legend commences with the following passage, which in virulence and abuse is surpassed by many others that ensue:—

To all and sundrie be it sene,
Mark weill this mater quhat I meine,
The legend of a lymmeris lyfe,
Our metropolitane of Fyffe;
Ane schismatyke, and gude swyne hogge,
Com of the tryb Gog Magoge;
Ane elphe, ane elrasche incubus,
Ane lewrand lawrie *licherous*;
Ane fals, *forloppen, fenyeit freir,*
Ane ranungard for *greid of geir,*
Still daylie drinckand, *or he dyne,*
A wirriare of the gude *sweit wyne*;
Ane baxters sone, ane beggar borne,
That twyse his surnaime, hes mensuorne;

To be called Constene he thocht schame,
He tuke vp Constantine to name.[1]
Some to the schoolis this knave convoyes :
Beggand his breid amonges the boyes,
He come to letters at the lenth ;
Then when he grew to witt and strenth,
He tuike the ministrie on hand,
And servit at Syres vp-a-land.
Bot through presumptious height and pryde,
He layed that office sone asyde ;
Manna and quales he thocht no fude.
The pottis of Egypt was tuyse as gude.
Thinking that poore professione vaine,
He changed his surname over agane,
Now Doctour Adamsone at last.[2]

Of the poems of Semple, several printed during his lifetime are of such rare occurrence, that they are scarcely known to be extant.[3] Other three have been published from Bannatyne's MS. ; they are not written in a strain of the utmost decorum, but are more sprightly than those which have already been mentioned.[4] We are informed by a contemporary writer, that a play, composed by Robert Semple, was performed before the Regent and others of the nobility, on the 17th of January 1568.[5] This is supposed to have been the comedy of Philotus : but the supposition is apparently attended with one difficulty ; in the concluding speech of Philotus we find a loyal wish for the safety of the King, without any allusion to the Regent. The King was at that period a mere infant ; and it may not be considered as very probable that, in a drama, exhibited before the Regent, the author would neglect such an opportunity of paying his court to this powerful individual. The difficulty may indeed be removed

[1] See Dr. M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 445.

[2] Scotish Poems of the Sixteenth Century, vol. ii. p. 309. This poem of Semple is supposed to have been printed from a manuscript ; but where the manuscript is to be found, the editor has not thought proper to inform us.

[3] The following poems are mentioned in Ames's Typographical Antiquities, pp. 582, 583. Lond. 1749, 4to. The Regentis Tragedie, ending with ane Exhortatioun. In 17 nine-line stanzas : and the tragedies *Lennoy*, containing six eight-line stanzas. Finis quod Robert Sempill, 1570. Broadside. The Bischoppis Lyfe and Testament. In 27 eight-line stanzas ; and ends *Quod Sempill.* Striuiling be Robert Lekpreuik, 1571, fol. Four leaves. My Lord Methwenis Tragedie. In 24 nine-line stanzas. *Finis quod Sempill :* then 4 lines. Sanct Androis, Lekpreuik, 1572, fol.

[4] Ramsay's Ever-Green, vol. i. pp. 67, 71, 176.

[5] Birrel's Diary, p. 14.

by supposing him to have made a skilful alteration when he prepared his work for the press.

Several anonymous poems, relating to recent and interesting events, made their appearance about the same period; but they are only curious as expressing the sentiments of individuals who lived when such events took place, and as containing some contributions to the history rather than the poetry of that age. One of these is "The Testament and Tragedie of umquhile King Henrie Stewart of gude memorie;" another, "Ane Declaratioun of the Lordis just Quarrel:" they were both printed by Lekprevick, in the year 1567, and are both very hostile to the Queen. "Ane Tragedie in forme of ane Diallog," published in the year 1570, commemorates the merits and the fate of the Regent Murray. It is more easy to commend the author's zeal for a good cause, than his poetical talents. Some notion of his taste may be derived from an inspection of the following couplet, in which he represents the unfortunate nobleman as—

> Nakit and bair, schot throw pudding and panche,
> Abone the nauill, and out abone the hanche.

In the subsequent passage, he gives a distinct enough account of some of the Regent's public services:—

> Sone eftir this, to Liddisdaill he went,
> Quhairof the theifis and sic war not content;
> For to thair chyftanis he maid biggingis bair,
> As efterwart thay did repent full sair.
> Than come he north schortly, he tuke na rest,
> Till all that countrie had componit and drest:
> The hiest of thame all, that wald rebell,
> He maid him stoup, and als to knaw him sell.
> This being done, amang all vther thing,
> He maid thame all subscriue vnto the King,
> Baith far and neir, of hie and low degre,
> Acknawledgeing the Kingis authoritie:
> Except Lord Fleming, nane war in this land,
> Bot to the kingis grace had thay geuin thair band.
> Sa hauing stablischt all thing in this sort,
> To Liddisdaill agane he did resort,
> Throw Ewisdaill, Esdaill, and all the dailis raid he,
> And also lay thre nychtis in Cannabie,
> Quhair na prince lay thir hundreth yeiris befoir,
> Na theif durst steir, thay did him feir so soir,

And that thay suld na mair thair thift alledge,
Thre scoir and twelf he brocht of thame in pledge,
Syne wardit tham, quhilk maid the rest keip ordour;
Than mycht the rasche bus keip ky on the bordour.[1]

"The Lamentation of Lady Scotland," which made its appearance in 1572, is a poem of nearly the same denomination. As a literary production, it excites little interest; but it is not without a few gleanings of information relative to the state of the kingdom at that particular period. The oppressive conduct of the landholders is a frequent topic with the Scotish writers of the sixteenth century; nor has it been overlooked by this anonymous versifier, who designates himself by the initials P. R.:—

Your tennents plenyeis that thay ar opprest
Be yow and yours, that dois thame soir molest:
Ye hicht thair mailis, thair pleuchs ye dowbil on thame,
Thay tyne thair tyme at sic things to opone thame.
For na rest will ye get into your raggs,
Gif sum sect knaw that thay haue geir or baggs.
Your nichtingaills will sing sa in your eiris,
That ye sall nichtily haue domestik weiris:
Yone carle, quod scho, my joy, dois beinly dwell,
And all prouisioun hes within him sell,
In barne, in byre, in hall, girnell, and seller,
His wyfe weiris weluot on hir gowne and coller:
Thay ar sa riche that thay do vs misknaw;
Than better sone to drug nor lait to draw.
Sone is his gersum hichtit and his maillis,
Himself growis waik, his geir and houshald failis.
Quhair sic wont to haue guse, cok, and hen,
Breid, drink, and bedding, to treit honest men,
Now drink thay mylk and swails, in steid of aill,
And glaid to get peis breid and watter caill.
Quhair sic wer wont to ryde furth to the weir
With jak and sword, gude hors, knapscall and speir;
Quhair sic wer wont brauely to mak thame bowne
With lord or laird to ryde to burrowis towne;
Quhair sic wer wont at all games to be reddy,
To schuit or loup, for to exerce thair body;
Now mon thay wirk and labour, pech and pant,
To pay thair maisters maillis exhorbitant;

[1] Ane Tragedie in forme of ane Diallog betuix Honour, Gude Fame,' and the Authour heirof in ane Trance. Imprentit at Edinburgh be Robert Lepreuik, An. Do. 1570, 8vo.

Ryne out the mures, the bestialls gers intak ;
Thay ar sa waik thay dow not beir a jak.[1]

After discussing various topics of a graver nature, he concludes his poem with a brief story of the following tenor :—

For to mak all or sum lauch at the last,
Than all and sum sall beir in tyme bypast,
Quhen fornicatioun haldin was na cryme,
How that sum prelats did walk, pray, and fast,
And serue in kirk according to that tyme.

A prelat ane day in his bed to sport him,
Did clap his lufe with kissis soft and sweit :
In this meane tyme thair was, to recomfort him,
Peirtryks and pleuers pyping on the speit :
Than vp he rais, and maid him for thame meit,
With gude quhyte wyne and all the partinence ;
Quhen he had tane this on his conscience,
He gaif ane greit pech lyke ane weill fed stirk :
Och Lord, quod he, now gif me patience ;
Quhat stres thoill we to serue thy haly kirk !

[1] The Lamentatioun of Lady Scotland, compylit be hir self, speiking in maner of ane Epistle, in the moneth of Marche, the zeir of God 1572. Imprentit at Sanctandrois be Robert Lekprouik, 1572, 8vo. Both the *Tragedie* and the *Lamentatioun* are preserved in the Advocates' Library. They are both reprinted in Scotish Poems of the Sixteenth Century, vol. ii.

CHAPTER XXI.

In a former chapter we have traced, however imperfectly, the history of the Scotish drama from a very remote period: it may now be proper to prosecute the same subject, and to continue this meagre narrative to the commencement of the seventeenth century. By thus departing from the strict order of chronology, we shall be enabled to collect various fragments of information, which, if considered separately, are of little value or interest, but, when combined together, may reflect some light on the taste and recreations of our ancestors.

Sir David Lindsay was not the only dramatic poet who endeavoured to promote the reformation of religion. About the period when he produced his Satyre of the thrie Estaits, a black or Dominican friar, named Kyllor, composed a mystery on the subject of Christ's Passion; in which he ventured to expose the odious nature of persecution, and the immoral lives of the clergy, with a degree of freedom which proved fatal to the author. It was acted at Stirling on a Good Friday in presence of the King; and "this plain speiking so enflamit the hairtis of all that buir the beistis mark, that thai ceissit not till" the unfortunate friar was convicted of heresy, and committed to the flames: he suffered on the Castlehill of Edinburgh, on the last day of February 1539, together with a gentleman named Robert Forrester, Friar Beverege, Duncan Symson, and Thomas Forrest, canon regular of St. Colm, and Vicar of Dollar.[1] So dangerous it was for a poet, who was not protected by his rank and connexions, to exercise his satirical talents on churchmen whose power was equal to their profligacy. Another dramatic poet of that period was James Wedderburn. He was the author of two plays, which

[1] Knox's Hist. of the Reformatioun, p. 22. Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scot. p. 66.

were both acted at Dundee: one of them was founded on the history of John the Baptist, the other on that of Dionysius the Sicilian tyrant. He likewise ventured to expose the corruptions of the church; but as his dramas were represented before a more obscure audience, they did not subject the author to the same fate.[1] Of the dramatic works of Kyllor and Wedderburn, it is to be regretted that not a single fragment is known to have descended to our time.

This period abounded with entertainments which, if not strictly dramatic, were at least allied to the drama. Some of these appear to have produced so much disorder, that they were prohibited by an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1555. It is there provided "that in all tymes cumming na maner of persoun be chosin Robert Hude nor Lytill Johne, Abbot of Vnressoun, Quenis of Maij, nor vtherwyse, nouther in burgh nor to landwart in ony tyme to-cum; and gif ony prouest, baillies, counsall, and communitie chesis sic ane personage as Robert Hude, Lytill Johne, Abbottis of Vnressoun, or Quenis of Maij within burgh, the chesaris of sic sall tyne thair fredome for the space of fyue yeiris, and vtherwyse salbe punist at the quenis grace will, and the acceptar of siclyke office salbe banist furth of the realme."[2] But the people could not so easily be prevented from recurring to their usual recreations; and six years after the date of this Act of Parliament, a formidable tumult took place in Edinburgh in consequence of such a prohibition. "The papists and the bischopes," says John Knox, "disapointed of thair principall purpois and interprys, did yet mak broylle for trouble: for the rascall multitude were steired up to mak a Robin Huid, quhilk inormity was of mony yeirs left and damned by statute and act of parliament; yet wald they not be forbiden, bot wald disobey and truble the toun, especially upoun the nicht: quhareat the bailyeis offendet, tuk from thame sum swords and ane enseyne, quhilk was occasioun that they the same nicht made a mutiny, kepit the ports of the toun, and intendit to have persewit sum men within thair own houses, bot that upoun restitutioun of thair swords was stayet. Bot yet

[1] Calderwood's ms. Hist. of the Church of Scotland, 1540.

[2] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 500.

they ceassit nòt to molest, alswell the inhabitants of Edinburgh, as divers cuntreymen, taking from thame money, and threatening sum with farder injuries: quharewith the magistrates of the toun hiely offendet, tuk more deligent heid to sick as resortet to the toun, and apprehendet ane of the principall of that misòrdour called Kyllone, a cordinar, quhome they put to ane assyis; and being convicted (for he culd not be absolved, for he was the cheif man that spoylled Johne Moubry of ten crowns of the Sone) they thocht to have executed jugement upoun him, and erectet a gibbet benethe the Croce. Bot (quhidèr it came be pactioun with the provest and sum uther, or by instigatioun of the craftsmen, quho ever have bene bent over mekle to mantean sick vanity and ryotousnes, we fully know not) suddanely thair did rys a tumult, the Tolbuthe was brokin upe, and not onely the said Kyllone was violently taiken furthe, bot also all uther malefactours war set at freedome, the gibbet was pullet doun, and despytfully broken."[1] After an interval of more than thirty years, the enactments of the Parliament and the censures of the church had not been able to suppress these festivities: in the year 1592, the General Assembly complained that the Sabbath was still profaned by the plays of Robin Hood.[2]

The nature of this entertainment cannot perhaps be very clearly defined.[3] On the subject of Robin Hood and the Friar, Lord Hailes refers to an English drama, entitled "A new Play for to be played in Maye games, very plesaunte, and full of pastyme;" in which the friar is represented as a profligate knave, and is introduced singing a song full of the most licentious ribaldry. "Hence it may be conjectured," he adds, "that the interludes of Robin Hood were occasionally employed to expose the friars to obloquy. The clergy, all-powerful in Parliament at the time of enacting this statute, could not much relish *the plesaunte pastyme* of slandering the most useful members of their community; and this will serve to account for the severity of the statute in suppressing entertainments of so dangerous a tendency."[4] The commendation which Bishop Lesley bestows upon

[1] Knox's Hist. of the Reformatioun, p. 269. [Laing's Works of Knox, vol. ii. p. 157.]

[2] Arnot's Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 79. Edinb. 1779, 4to.

[3] See Ritson's Rôbin Hood, vol. i. p. xcvii. Lond. 1795, 2 vols. 8vo.

[4] Hailes's Specimens of Notes on the Statute Law of Scotland, part ii. p. 25.

the same statute,[1] might be regarded as a confirmation of this conjecture; but if to expose the vices of any order of ecclesiastics had been an ordinary part of the entertainment, it would probably have received a more favourable mention from the pen of Knox. The Abbot of Unreason is supposed to have been a personage somewhat similar to the Abbot of Misrule; or, as he was denominated after the Reformation, Lord of Misrule; an officer who in the houses of the English nobility "presided over the Christmas gambols, and promoted mirth and jollity at that festive season."[2] According to the opinion of Lord Hailes, "he was probably a farcical character in the interludes of those days, who, under the garb of a dignified churchman, uttered and acted absurdities for the entertainment of a licentious rabble." But it is evident that this description does not include all his attributes: if he was known as a character in the interludes, it appears that he was likewise invested with certain official powers, corresponding to those of the Abbot of Misrule. The following anecdote, derived from an authentic source, reflects some light on his history. In the year 1547, a writ of excommunication was issued by the consistory court of St. Andrews, at the instance of George Hay of Mynzeane, against Lord Borthwick, on account of the contumacy of certain witnesses, who had perhaps been violently withheld by that powerful baron; and William Langlands, an apparitor of the court, proceeded to Borthwick to enjoin the curate of that parish to publish the writ in the church. He accordingly signified his intention of reciting it after the celebration of high mass; but a certain personage, commonly called "the Abbot of Unressone of Borthwick," beset the unfortunate messenger of the law, and being aided by various accomplices, conducted him to a mill-dam at the south side of the castle, and compelled him to plunge into the water. The abbot declared that this was not a good and sufficient ducking; and seizing him by the shoulders, gave the

[1] Leslæus de Rebus gestis Scotorum, p. 524.

[2] Percy's Notes on the Northumberland Household-book, p. 441. See likewise Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 207. Brand's Popular Antiquities, vol. i. p. 387. Archæologia, vol. xviii. p. 313. The council for the household of the Lady Mary inquires at Cardinal Wolsey, whether they "shall appoynte any Lord of Mysrule for the said honorable householde, provide for enterluds, disgysyngs, or pleys in the said fast, or for banket on twelf nyght." (H. Ellis's Original Letters, vol. i. p. 271.)

apparitor a complete immersion. Having returned to the church, Langland delivered the document to the curate; but he was still haunted by the unrelenting abbot, who snatched the paper, and having reduced it to the smallest fragments, mingled them with a glass of wine, and compelled him to swallow this bitter potion: this act he accompanied with a declaration that if any similar writ should arrive while he continued in office, it should go the same road. The curate of Borthwick was immediately cited to depose to the names of the abbot and his accomplices, in order that sentence of excommunication might be issued against them.[1] All these transactions took place in the month of May; and it may be inferred that this abbot had been appointed for celebrating the May-games.

In the city of Aberdeen, the same or a similar character was distinguished by the title of Abbot of Bon-Accord;[2] and it was a part of his duty to superintend the representations of the mysteries. "In process of time," says Mr. Kennedy, "such religious exhibitions became secular amusements, and profane subjects were introduced as the favourite topics of plays, which were performed by the citizens. These recreations, it would

[1] Scott's Provincial Antiquities of Scotland, pp. 37, 48.

[2] *Bon-Accord*, which had been the watch-word of the citizens of Aberdeen in a battle fought with the English in the year 1308, was afterwards assumed as the motto of the city-arms. (Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. i. p. 21.) To this motto we find many allusions. In a poem written by David Wedderburn, master of the grammar school of Aberdeen, and entitled "*Propemption Charitum Abredonensium*, the following passages occur:—

Scilicet his placuit *Bona* sic *Concordia* (nostræ
Lemma urbis) nostris adscripti ut civibus omen
Firment, jam leges Fatorum poscere, gentem
Utraque ut auspiciis gens his coalescat in unam.
Namque, ut nos hilares solida inter gaudia noctes
Egerimus, testes vestro hoc clamore secundo
Quæ fremuere viæ, *Bon-Accord*, Abredonia testis,
Testes tot choreæ Bacchi inter pocula lætæ

See Adamson's Planctus et Vota Musarum in Aug. Monarchæ Jacobi Recessu e Scotia in Angliam, pp. 16, 17. Edinb. 1618, fol. This poem, with the omission of a considerable number of lines, is likewise to be found in the Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii. p. 566. Here the sense as well as the prosody of the second verse is marred by reading "Limina urbis." In the life of Dr. William Forbes, Bishop of Edinburgh, prefixed to his posthumous work, we find a passage which must be unintelligible to those who are not aware of the allusion. This learned man was a native of Aberdeen; and on returning from his travels, "Consul senatusque Abredonensis omnibus humanitatis officiis complectuntur, et juxta *Bonæ Concordiæ* pristinam consuetudinem, ad testandum tam eximio viro, concivis filio, fœliciter reduci benevolentiam, municipem creant." (Forbesii Considerationes modestæ et pacificæ Controversiarum. Lond. 1658, 8vo.) His biographer and editor was T. G. that is, *Thomas Gallovidiensis*, Thomas Sydserff, Bishop of Galloway. (Murray's Life of Samuel Rutherford, p. 351. Edinb. 1828, 18mo.)

seem, had been too frequently practised; for they were afterwards ordained by the magistrates, to be restricted to certain days of the year, namely, the anniversary of Saint Nicholas, the tutelary saint of the burgh, the Sundays of May, and to other such festival days. On these occasions, the citizens dressed in their gayest array, assembled at the Woolmanhill and Playfield, where they received the Abbot and Prior of Bon-Accord with pompous ceremony. These personages, and their train of attendants, mounted on steeds, afterwards proceed in parade through the streets of the town. The remainder of the day was devoted to mirth and festivity, to dancing, and to the exhibition of games, farces, and plays, concluding with a banquet, which appears to have been not unfrequently attended with tumult and disorder. To be absent however on these festivals, was an offence which was punished with forfeiture of the offender's lease, if he held such of the community, or with a pecuniary fine, to be applied for the expense either of the lights or repairs of Saint Nicholas' Church. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, these lords of Bon-Accord assumed the characters of Robin Hood and Little John, two bold adventurers, who lived in England in the twelfth century, and are commemorated in entertaining songs and tales, for their predatory excursions and daring exploits. While exhibiting their games, in these new characters, they and their attendants were apparelled in green clothes, with yellow bows and brass arrows. But these ancient games, dances, farces and plays, often had a tendency to engender irregularities among the citizens; they were attended with unnecessary expenses to the lords of Bon-Accord, who vied with each other in their sumptuous banquets on Senzie day,[1] the first Sunday of May, and the Tuesday after Pasche, being the ordinary days appropriated for these exhibitions; and, at length, the people having become weary of such recreations and amusements, they appear to have gradually declined. There were various other plays and pageants, both secular and scriptural, exhibited towards the close of the fifteenth, and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, by the artificers, peculiar

[1] "It signifies such a procession, in honour of the saints, as is common in Popish countries, when their images are carried through the streets. Pasche signifies Easter."

to themselves. These consisted of processions of the artificers through the streets of the town, on Candlemas day, on the feast of Corpus Christi, and on other festivals, with pageants and banners, which were displayed by the several corporations, bearing the emblems of their respective tutelary saints. The members, exhibiting the badges of their occupations, walked in pairs; and the whole was concluded with a religious or secular drama, in honour of the occasion."[1]

In reference to the election of Queens of May, who are mentioned in the statute of 1555, Lord Hailes has remarked that "this was certainly a Pagan institution. It seems to have been a feast in honour of the goddess Vesta, and of Celtic origin. Learned men sometimes confound it with other festivals, which were celebrated in honour of Flora and of Castor and Pollux."[2] The Queen of May is familiarly mentioned in Peblis to the Play, a poem written by James the First, who died in the year 1437.

Than thai come to the townis end
Withouttin more delai,
He befoir, and scho befoir,
To see quha was maist gay.
All that luikit thame upon,
Leuche fast at thair array:
Sum said that thai were merkat folk,
Sum said the Quene of May
Was cumit
Of Peblis to the Play.

The May festivities gradually subsided into an entertainment for the mere populace. Alexander Scott, who flourished during the reign of Queen Mary, mentions them in the following terms:

In May quhen men yeid everichone
With Robene Hoid and Littill Johne,
To bring in bowis and birkin bobbynis;

[1] Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. i. p. 91. Mr. Kennedy, whose work is entitled to much commendation, has collected many other notices respecting the plays and pageants of this city. His materials are with much industry drawn from the municipal records. "In the year 1532," he remarks, "another drama, which is partly scriptural, partly legendary, is particularly mentioned; and was enjoined to be performed by the artificers, on Corpus Christi and Candlemas festivals, in honour of God, and the blessed Virgin Mary." The different companies furnished St. Sebastian and his tormentors, St. Laurence and his tormentors, St. Stephen and his tormentors, St. Martin, the coronation of our Lady, St. Nicholas, St. John, St. George, the Resurrection, and the bearers of the Cross. (Vol. i. p. 96.)

[2] Hailes's Notes on the Statute Law, part ii. p. 27.

Now all sic game is fastlingis gone,
Bot gif it be amangis clovin Robbynis.[1]

The statute further enacts that "gif ony wemen or vthers, about simmer trees singand, makis perturbatioun to the Quenis liegis in the passage throw burrowis and vthers landwart townis, the wemen perturbatouris for skafrie of money or vtherwyse, salbe takin, handellit, and put vpone the cukstulis of euerie burgh or towne;" that is, of every town where they appeared in this character. Here the penalties of the law are chiefly directed against female delinquents; and in consequence perhaps of this circumstance, a King was substituted for a Queen of May. In the year 1577, the General Assembly supplicated the Regent "that his grace would discharge the plays of Robin Huid, King of May, and sic utheris, on the Sabbath-day."[2] Bishop Percy has remarked that Sunday appears to have been the day originally selected for theatrical representations, probably because the first dramatic pieces were of a religious cast; and that during a great part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the playhouses were only licensed to be opened on that day.[3] But in Scotland these profane exhibitions attracted the attention of the church soon after the era of the Reformation. In 1574, the General Assembly had "thought meit and concludit that na clerk playes, comedies or tragedies, be maid of the canonical scriptures, new or auld, on Sabboth-day nor wark-day, in time coming: the contraveners hereof, if they be ministers, to be secludit fra the function; and if they be utheris, to be punished be the discipline of the Kirk: and ordaines an article to be given into sick as sitts upon the policie, that for uther playes, comedies, tragedies, and utheris profaine playes, as are not maid upon authentic pairtes of the scriptures, may be considered before they be proponit publicklie; and that they be not played upon the Sabboth-dayes."[4] In 1576, the Assembly refused permission to the bailie of Dunfermline to represent on Sunday afternoon

[1] Poems by Alexander Scott, p. 27. Edinb. 1821, 8vo.

[2] Hailes's Historical Memorials concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, p. 41. Edinb. 1769, 4to. From the *Book of the Universal Kirk*, an early record of the proceedings of the General Assembly, this learned writer has collected some curious passages regarding the history of the drama.

[3] Percy's Essay on the Origin of the English Stage, p. 155.

[4] Hailes's Historical Memorials, p. 41.

a certain play, which was not founded on the canonical parts of the Scriptures.[1] The following question was proposed in the year 1579: "Quhat ought to be done to sik persones, that after admonition, will pass to May-playes; and specially elders and deacones, and utheris quha beares offices within the Kirk?" It was answered by the Assembly that "they aucht not to be admittit to the sacraments without satisfaction; in special, elders and deacons."[2] These detached notices tend to evince that dramatic exhibitions were among the favourite recreations of our ancestors, nor can the interference of the clergy be considered as the result of illiberal zeal. "This sentence of lesser excommunication," says Lord Hailes, "is not too severe a punishment for those who, in matters indifferent at best, disregard the admonitions of authority."[3]

For many years subsequent to this period, no regular theatre was established in the Scotish metropolis. Plays were long represented in the open air; and the *play-field* was at Greenside, probably under the declivity of Calton Hill, a situation equally pleasant and convenient. Thus Windmill Hill at Aberdeen, and the Castle Hill at Cupar, were selected for the same purpose.[4] Before the year 1633, no fewer than nineteen play-houses had been opened in London,[5] so different was the progress of the drama in these two countries. The records of the city of Edinburgh contain various entries respecting dramatic exhibitions. The following "Precept anent the Expensis of the Play" occurs under the date of June 15, 1554: "The provest, baillies, and counsale ordanis the thesaurer Robert Grahame to pay to the werkmen, merchandis, carteris, paynteris, and utheris that furneist the graith to the convoy of the Moris

[1] Hailes's Historical Memorials, p. 41.

[2] Ibid. p. 41.

[3] Hailes's Notes on the Statute Law, part ii. p. 30.

[4] To the general history of the drama I find a curious contribution in Mr. Sargent's *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B.D.*, p. 424, 2d edit. Lond. 1819, 8vo. At Shiraz in Persia, Mr. Martyn "went to the vizier's, to see part of the tragedy of Hosyn's Death, which they contrive to spin out so as to make it last the ten first days of the Mohurrum. All the apparatus consisted of a few boards for a stage, two tables, and a pulpit, under an immense awning, in a court where the company were assembled. The *dramatis personæ* were two; the daughter of Hosyn, whose part was performed by a boy, and a messenger: they both read their parts. Every now and then loud sobs were heard all over the court. After this several feats of activity were exhibited before the talar, where the vizier sat with the Moolahs."

[5] Percy's Essay on the Origin of the English Stage, p. 151.

to the Abbay, and of the play maid thairat Saturday the tent day of Junii instant, the sowme of xxxvij li. xv s. ij d. as the compt producit be Sir William Makdowgall, maister of werk, thairupoun proportit: provyding alwayis that the said Sir Williame deliver to the dene of gyld the hand-senze and canves specefiit in the said tikkit to be kepit to the behoof of the toun." On the 27th of the same month, "the baillies, counsale, and dekinnis ordanit the thesaurer Robert Grahame to content and pay to the maister of wark of the makar of the playing-place, the sowme of xxiiij li. for compleiting thairof; quhilk being payit, salbe allowit." In the records of the same year, 12th October 1554, we find a curious enumeration of *play-geir*: "The provest, baillies, and counsale ordanis the thesaurer Robert Grahame to content and pay to Walter Bynnyng the sowme of v li. for the making of the play-graith and paynting of the hand-scenze and the playaris facis: providand alwyse that the said Walter mak the play-geir underwrittin furthcumand to the toun quhen thay haif ado thairwith, quhilks he hes now ressavit, viz. viij play-hattis, ane kingis crowne, ane myter, ane fulis hude, ane sceptour, ane pair angell wyngis, twa angell hair, ane chaiplet of triumphe." In the year 1558, on the occasion of the Queen's first marriage, the magistrates voted various sums of money for plays and triumphs. They ordain "James Adamsoun thesaurer to deliver to William Adamsoun, for his travell takin to make a playe, maid at the tryumphe of our soverane ladyis mariage, the sowme of foure lib.—Ordanis William Lamb, the sowme of aucht lib. by the fourtie schillingis quhilkis he hes ressavit, for his travell and lawboris tane upon him in setting furth of the playe maid at our souerane ladyis mariage.—Ordanis Patrick Doran, for his travell taken on him in making of certane playis agane the tryumphe of our souerane ladyis mariage, the sowme of four lib." Among other payments we likewise find a sum of forty shillings "to William Lauder for setting furth the play maid at the said marriage."[1]

[1] The same records contain a curious notice respecting another individual of the name of Lauder, 26th January 1552-53: "The quhilk day the provest, baillies, counsale, and dekynis, sittand in jugement anent the supplicatioun gevin in be James Lawder, prebendar of thair queir, grants licence to the said James to pas furth of the realme to the partis of Ingland and France, thair to remaine for the space of ane zeir nixt efter the dait heirof, to

The sum is so scanty that we can scarcely consider it as a remuneration for the composition of a play.

In the year 1599, a company of English comedians obtained the royal license to act plays in Edinburgh. This permission gave offence to the clergy, who began to "exclaim in their sermons against stage-players, their unruliness and immodest behaviour;"[1] and they even ventured to prohibit the people, under the pain of ecclesiastical censures, from attending the theatre. As the act of the church-session or consistory was a direct attempt to annul the King's license, it was resented as a contempt and indignity offered to his Majesty. An act of Privy Council, passed on the 8th of November, "ordanis ane officiar of armes to pas to the mercat-croce of Edinburgh, and thair be oppin proclamacioun in his hienes name and auctoritie to command and charge the haill personis of the saidis foure sessionis, becaus thay ar ane multitude, to convene thame-selffis in thair accustomat place of convening within thrie houris next eftir the said charge, and thair be ane speciall act, to cass, annwll, and discharge the vther act forsaid, and with that to gif ane speciall ordinance and directioun to thair haill ministeris, that thay eftir thair sermonis vpoun the nixt Sonday publischlie admonische thair awne flockis to reuerence and obay his maiestie, and to declair to thame that thay will not restreane nor censure ony of thair flokis that sall repair to the saidis commedeis and playis, considering his maiestie is not of purpois or intention to awthorize, allow, or command ony thing quhilk is prophane, or may cary ony offence or sclander with it: and to charge thame heirto vnder the pane of rebellioun and putting of thame to the horne." With these peremptory injunctions they found it expedient to comply; and on the 10th of the same month the Privy Council passed an act of the following tenor: "Forsamekle as the kingis maiestie haueing grantit ane warrand and libertie to certane Inglische commedianis to play within the burgh of Edinburgh, yit vpoun some sinister and wrangous reporte maid to the foure sessionis of the Kirk of Edinburgh be certane

the effect that he mon have and get better eruditioun in musik and playing nor he hes: proyding alwyse that the said James caus ane chaiplane to keip his fundatioun of Sanct Kathyranis alter be ane preist quhill the said zeir be done."

[1] Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 457.

malicious and restles bodyis, quha vpoun euerie licht occasioun misconstrewis his maiesties haill doingis and misinterpreitis his hienes gude intentionis quhatsumeuir, the saidis foure sessionis wer moved verie raschlie and vnaduisitlie to contramand be ane publict act his maiesteis said warrand, and thairwithall ordanit thair ministeris to publische the said contramand, and to threatine the censure of the kirk aganis the contravenaris thairof, vnaquenting his maiestie of befoir with ony lawfull ground or caus moveing thame thairto; with the quhilk thair errour and ouersicht thay being now bettir aduisit, and haueing all convenit on this mater, and willing nawise to be contentious with his maiestie, bot in all reuerence and humiletie to obay his hienes as becumis gude and obedient subiectis, in respect of the pruif quhilk thay haue euir had of his maiestie, that his hienes hes not commandit nor allowit ony thing careying with it ony offence or sclander, thay, eftir the dew acknawlegeing of thair formar errour, rasche and vnaduised proceidingis, haue now be ane vthir act cassit, annwilit and dischargeit thair formar act forsaid, and hes ordanit the same to be ineffectual heireftir, with the admonitionis gevin conforme thairto be the ministeris to thair floikis, in maner forsaid, sua that now not onely may the saidis commedianis friely inioy the benefite of his maiesteis libertie and warrand grantit to thame, bot all his maiesties subiectis inhabitantis within the said burgh, and vtheris quhatsumeuir, may friely at thair awne plessour repair to the saidis commedeis and playis without ony pane, skaith, censureing, reproche or sclander to be incurrit be thame thairthrow, and to be vncensureit, or fund fault with be the ministeris, magistratis, or sessionis of the said burgh in ony wise, notwithstanding the first act forsaid, and admonitionis gevin conforme thairto, or ony vtheris the like actis and admonitionis to be maid and gevin heirefter without his maiesties consent and allowance: and ordanis officiaris of armes to pas to the mercat-croce of Edinburgh, and thair be oppin proclamatioun mak publicatioun heirof, quhairthrow nane pretend ignorance of the same."

Soon after this period, another English company visited Edinburgh. "In the year 1601," says Mr. Kennedy, "James

made an application to Queen Elizabeth for her company of comedians to be sent down to Scotland, which was readily complied with; and, after they had tired his Majesty and the people of Edinburgh with their entertainment, the King ordered them to repair to Aberdeen, to amuse the citizens with the exhibition of their 'plays, comedies, and stage plays.' They were recommended by his special letter, addressed to the magistrates, and were under the management of Lawrence Fletcher, who, with the celebrated William Shakspeare, and others of their company, obtained the first license to perform plays in Britain. It was granted by King James, within two months after he had ascended the throne of England. The company of players who came to Aberdeen performed several times in the town, and were presented by the magistrates with thirty-two merks for their services; besides being entertained with a supper on one of the nights of performance. At the same time, the freedom of the town was conferred upon Lawrence Fletcher, the manager, and each of his company."[1]

At Edinburgh, in the year 1603, was published "Ane verie excellent and delectabill treatise, intitulit PHILOTUS," a comedy in rhyming stanzas.[2] From the language and style of this curious play we may infer that the composition and publication were nearly of the same date; though it is not improbable that an edition somewhat earlier may have existed. There is no evidence, and indeed no great probability of its having been written by Robert Semple, who has sometimes been suggested as the author. The work seems of a more modern date than the reign of James the Fifth; and from the following passage we may conclude that it was not composed during the reign of Queen Mary:—

Last, Sirs, now let vs pray with one accord
For to preserue the persoun of our King,

[1] Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. i. p. 173.

[2] Ane verie excellent and delectabill Treatise intitulit Philotus: qvhairin we may persave the greit inconveniences that fallis out in the Mariage betwene age and zouth. Imprinted at Edinburgh be Robert Charteris, 1603, 4to.—In a subsequent edition, Edinb. 1612, 4to, the work is described, not as a Treatise, but as a Comedie. Of this curious production there is a reprint in Pinkerton's Scotish Poems, vol. iii. To the first edition is subjoined a song, borrowed from Campion, which Mr. Crowe mentions as "the most extraordinary combination of English verse that is perhaps any where to be found." (Treatise on English Versification, p 105.)

Accounting ay this gift as of the Lord,
Ane prudent prince above vs for to ring.

The comedy of Philotus exhibits a plot sufficiently complex. The principal character, from whom the play derives its name, is a very rich and very old man, deeply enamoured of Emily, the young and beautiful daughter of Alberto. As she feels little inclination to listen to the addresses of such a lover, he employs a *macrell*, or procuress, "to allure the madyn;" though with his honourable intentions, it is not very obvious why he should have had recourse to an agent of this class. In the course of a long conference, she endeavours, but without success, to persuade Emily to marry Philotus. Some of her suggestions may be supposed to reflect considerable light on the usages of that period; and the subsequent passage may be quoted as an example:—

Till suppertyme then may ye chois
Unto your garden to repois,
Or merelie to tak ane glois,
Or tak ane buke and reid on:[1]
Syne to your supper ar ye brocht,
Till fair full far that hes bene socht,
And daintie disches deirlie bocht,
That ladies loves to feid on.

The organes than into your hall,
With schalme and tymbrell sound thay sall,
The vyole and the lute with all,
To gar your meate disgest:
The supper done than vp ye ryse,
To gang ane quhyle as is the gyse;
Be ye haue rowmit ane alley thryse,
It is ane myle almaist.

Than may ye to your chalmer gang,
Begyle the nicht gif it be lang,
With talk and merie mowes amang,
To eleuate the splene.

[1] Of the fashionable literature of that period, the following quotation from Alexander Hume's epistle to the reader will enable us to form an opinion: "In such sort that in princes courts, in the houses of greate men, and at the assemblies of yong gentilmen and yong damesels, the cheife pastime is to sing prophane sonnets, and vaine ballats of loue, or to rehearse some fabulous faits of Palermine, Amadis, or other such like raueries; and such as other haue the art or vaine poetike, of force they must shew themselves cunning followers of the dissolute ethnike poets, both in phrase and substance, or else they shall be had in no reputation." (Hymnes, or Sacred Songs. Edinb. 1599, 4to.)

For your collation tak and taist
Sum lytill licht thing till digest:
At nicht vse Rense wyne ay almaist,
For it is cauld and clene.

And for your back I dar be bould
That ye sall weir euen as ye would,
With doubill garnischings of gould,
And craip abone your hair:
Your veluote hat, your hude of stait,
Your myssel quhen ye gang to gait,
Fra sone and wind, baith air and lait,
To keip that face sa fair.

Of Pareis wark wrocht by the laif,
Your fyne half-cheinyeis ye sall haue,
For to decoir ane carkat craif
That cumlie collour-bane;
Your greit gould cheinyie for your neck:
Be bowsum to the carle and beck,
For he hes gould aneuch, quhat reck?
It will not stand on nane.

And for your gownes ay the new guyse
Ye with your tailyeours may deuyse,
To haue them louse with plets and plyis,
Or clasped clois behind:
The stuffe, my hart, ye neid not haine,
Pan veluot, raysde, figurit or plaine,
Silk, satyne, damayse or grograine,
The fynest ye can find.

Philotus afterwards addresses himself to Alberto, who very willingly listens to his proposal and endeavours to obtain his daughter's consent; but she declares her repugnance to such a match, and thus excites the violent indignation of her father. Flavius, a youthful lover, now makes his appearance, and finds a more favourable reception. He commences with a long and pedantic oration, interspersed with divers notices of Apollo, Daphne, Mars, Venus, Demosthenes, and other notable personages. We may suppose the young gentleman to be newly dismissed from the ancient University of St. Andrews, but the young gentlewoman seems to be equally familiar with Parnassus and Helicon:—

Last, sen ye may my meladie remeid,
Releiue your Sysiphus of his restles stane:
Your Titius breist that dois full ryfely bleid,
Grant grace thairto, befoir the grip be gane,
Cum stanche the thrist of Tantalus anone,
And cure the wounds geuin with Achilles knyfe:
Accept for yours fair maistres, such a one,
That for your saik dar sacrifice his lyfe.

EMILY.—Your orisoun, Sir, sounds with sic skil,
In Cupids court as ye had been vpbrocht,
Or fosterit in Parnassus forkit hill,
Quhair poetis hes thair flame and furie socht,
Nocht taisting of sweit Helicon for nocht,
As be your plesant preface dois appeir,
Tending thairby, quhill as we haue na thocht,
To mak vs to your purpois to adheir.

Emily assumes the dress of a young gentleman, and in this disguise leaves her father's house. In the meantime, her brother Philerno, returning after a long absence, is mistaken for Emily, to whom he bears a striking resemblance: he concurs in his sister's stratagem, and consents to marry Philotus; who commits his supposed bride to the custody of Brisilla, his daughter by a former marriage:—

Use hir euen as your awin my dow,
Keip hir, for sho sall ly with yow,
Quhill I may lawfullie avow
To lay yow be my syde.

PHILERNO.—I sall your dochter, husband sweit,
Na les nor my companyeoun treit,
And follow baith at bed and meit,
Quhill that I be ane bryde.

This youthful pair find themselves pleased with each other's company; and after certain invocations, Philerno pretends to be metamorphosed into a man:—

I am ane man, Brisilla, lo,
And with all necessaris thairto,
May all that onie man may do,
I sall gar yow considder.
Now sen the Goddis abone hes brocht
This wonderous wark, and hes it wrocht,
And grantit all euin as wee socht,
Let vs be glaid togidder.

BRISILLA.—Now sen the gods hes succour sent,
And done euen as wee did invent,
My joy, I hartly am content
To do as ye deuyse :
Throw Gods decreit, my onlie choyse,
In mutuall luif wee sall rejoyce ;
Our furious fathers baith suppose
Thay wald skip in the skyis.

An interval of a month is supposed to elapse between the elopement of Emily and the nuptials of Philotus; but the period at length arrives, and a clergyman performs the marriage ceremony with sufficient formality. Flavius, who had been secretly married to Emily, is struck with astonishment on witnessing the marriage of this old man to a person whom he supposes to be the real daughter of Alberto; and after various conjurations, he dismisses her as an evil spirit who had assumed an earthly shape. She returns to her father's house, and is there met by Philotus; the one complains of her husband, the other of his wife, and a comical situation is thus produced. The mystery being at length explained, Emily returns to Flavius, and Brisilla is married to Philerno. After this arrangement of their family affairs, Philotus expatiates on his own folly, and a person named the Messenger makes a concluding address to the audience.

This comedy, in its plan and execution, discovers a much nearer approximation to the modern drama than Sir David Lindsay's Satyre. It possesses the merit of easy versification, but the speeches are frequently too long and declamatory. The author has not divided his play into acts and scenes. The probability of the incidents is sometimes impaired by the introduction of a certain personage denominated the Pleasant, who, without any apparent concern in the business of the drama, intrudes himself into the most private conferences for the mere purpose of aiming at a joke.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE court of James the Sixth was frequented by many individuals distinguished by their talents and learning, and was eminently conspicuous for its love of poetry. The King himself was a copious writer of verse: Buchanan, the most illustrious of his subjects, was keeper of the privy seal; the great seal was afterwards in the custody of Lord Thirlstane, another votary of the Muses; and the Archbishop of St Andrews, Patrick Adamson, was more celebrated for his skill in Latin poetry, than in scholastic divinity. Many other officers or dependants of the court were greatly indebted to their literary talents; and among these we may perhaps class Thomas Hudson, who, though a native of England, appears to have cultivated Scotish poetry. But his principal work is an English translation of Du Bartas's poem on the story of Judith:[1] it was printed by Vautroullier in the year 1584, and was afterwards incorporated in several editions of the "most delightfull Workes" of Josuah Sylvester. From his dedication to the King it appears that Hudson undertook the translation at his Majesty's request, and that the King corrected it with his own hand. Like his royal patron, he boasts that in the number of his verses he has not exceeded the original. James has honoured the translator with a commendatory sonnet; in which, among other circumstances, he mentions that he was a foreigner:—

> Who though a straunger, yet he lovde so dere
> This realme and me, so as he spoilde his awne.

In the Return from Parnassus, a drama acted in St. John's Col-

[1] The Historie of Judith in forme of a Poeme: penned in French by the noble poet G. Salust, Lord of Bartas: Englished by Tho. Hudson. Edinb. 1584, 8vo.

lege, Cambridge, in the year 1606, Hudson is not mentioned with much respect;[1] but he has been commended by Sir John Harrington,[2] and many specimens of his poetry have found a place in England's Parnassus.[3] His Majesty's poetical compliment he returned in a sonnet prefixed to the Essayes of a Prentise; for it can scarcely be doubted that the initials T. H. denote this court poet. Another sonnet, subscribed with his name, is prefixed to Fowler's unpublished translation of the Trivmphs of Petrarke.

If conquering Cupid, captane of renoune,
Who chaines his captiwies to the chariot bright,
By Chastetie is chaist and beaten doune,
And by her virtew spoyled is of might;
If Deathe, the daunter of the humane wight,
Triumphe vpon that dame, and doeth hir thrall,
Surviving Fame clames bot hir propper right,
To liue through land or lak, as doth befall.
But thow, O Tyme, that long and short we call,
The triumphes of the rest thow wouldest retane,
Wer not Eternitie confounds tham all,
As nothing more triumphant may remane.
Than what abyds to Fowlar, thame hes pend?
Eternitie, to which he dois pertend.

It is however to be remarked that these two sonnets, and another which was formerly quoted, have little that is Scotish except the orthography; and the same remark is equally applicable to those of Robert Hudson. To this latter poet Montgomery has addressed several of his sonnets; and in one of them he extols his friend in magnificent terms:—

Thy Homer's style, thy Petrark's high invent
Sall vanquish death, and liue eternally;
Quhais boasting bou, thoght it be aluayis bent,
Sall neuer hurt the sone of Memorie.

[1] "Locke and Hudson; sleep you quiet, shavers, among the shavings of the press, and let your books lie in some old nooks amongst old boots and shoes, so you may avoid my censure." (Act i. sc. ii. Hawkins's Origin of the English Drama, vol. iii. p. 214.) What is stated by Mr. Hawkins in the following sentence, seems to be merely an inference from the text: "Locke and Hudson were the Bavius and Mævius of that time."

[2] "Which story the Lord Du Bertas, and rare French poet, contrived into an excellent poeme in French, and the same is translated into a verie good and sweet English verse by one M. Thomas Hudson." (Orlando Fvrioso in English heroical verse, by Sir John Harrington, notes on book xxxv. p. 296, edit. Lond. 1634, fol.)

[3] Englands Parnassus: or the choysest Flowers of our Moderne Poets. Lond. 1600, 8vo.

Thou onlie brother of the Sisters Nyne,
Shau to the King this poor Complant of myne.[1]

As a specimen of Robert Hudson's versification, I insert his sonnet in commendation of Fowler's translation from Petrarch:—

I saw ones all the Muses in my thought,
With poets als, bedeckt in scarlet gownes;
Before with sacred troupe Mercurius brought
A youth vpon whose face was yet bot downes.
Thair saw I thame present him laurell crownes,
And with the rest the Toscan Petrarch came;
Who said, my sonne, receawe these right renownes,
As he who dewlie dois deserve the same:
Bot more triumphant hes thow maid thy name
Vpon the throne of memorie to stand,
To chwise for patron suche a worthye dame,
Who onely is the Laura of this land.
Than Fowlar's laude so lowde I herd them sound,
That through the world his praise sall ay rebound.

It is probable that these two poets were brothers, or were otherwise nearly related, and that they were originally from the north of England, where Hudson is a common name. Their profession was that of musicians. Four violers of this name, Thomas, Robert, James, and William, belonged to the original establishment of the king's household in the month of March 1567; and all of them appear to have been still retained in the year 1590.[2] One of them is described as "mekill Thomas Hudsone." On the 5th of June 1586, he was appointed master of the Chapel Royal; and this appointment was ratified by two successive Acts of Parliament, passed in 1587 and 1592.[3]

Another court poet of that period was William Fowler, most of whose compositions still remain unpublished. In the title-page of one of his manuscripts, he describes himself as "P. of Hauicke," which is supposed to signify parson of Hawick, nor does it seem to admit of any other explanation. The same living, as we have already seen, was formerly held by Gavin Douglas, and the situation was far from being unfavourable to a

1. Montgomery's Poems, p. 77.
2. Ibid. Notes, p. 302. Edinb. 1821, 8vo.
3. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 489, 563. A sonnet by Robert Hudson [and also another by Thomas Hudson] on the death of Sir Richard Maitland, is printed in Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems, vol. ii. p. 351.

youthful poet. To what proficiency Fowler had attained in his professional studies, we have no means of ascertaining; but it is evident that he had devoted a considerable share of his attention to the art of love, or at least to the art of writing love-verses, which indeed have very often been produced without the aid of real passion.

Fowler had prepared a complete version of the Triumphs of Petrarch, which he evidently intended for publication: the manuscript is transcribed with much neatness, and besides a dedication to the lady of the Chancellor Maitland, it is provided with a considerable apparatus of commendatory poems.[1] The first of these is written by the King himself; and Fowler has composed two sonnets in praise of his Majesty's poetical vein,[2] one of which was translated into Latin verse by David Hume of Godscroft.[3] The Italian poets had now begun to be studied in Scotland, but they did not find many Scotish translators. After an interval of more than half a century, an English version of three of the Triumphs of Petrarch was published by Anna Hume, a daughter of the poet lately mentioned, and therefore a member of a family distinguished for its love of letters:[4] the father is well known as the author of a history of the house of Douglas, and as an elegant writer of Latin verses; and his son James acquired considerable reputation by his proficiency in science as well as literature.[5] Fowler's translation is paraphras-

[1] The Trivmphs of the most famovs Poet Mr. Frances Petrarke, translated ovt of Italian into Inglish by Mr. Wm. Fouler, P. of Hauicke. MS. fol. The dedication is dated at Edinburgh on the 17th of December 1587. The King's sonnet is followed by other two, written by E. D. in praise of her friend the translator; and after three sonnets by R. Hudson, R. Cokburne, and T. Hudson, occurs a hexastich by A. Colville.

[2] One of these sonnets occurs in his Maiesties Poeticall Exercises, and the other in the Essayes of a Prentise. The latter is only subscribed with the initials M. W. F., but these certainly denote Mr. William Fowler. One of the two sonnets prefixed to Hudson's Historie of Judith is subscribed M. V. F. As *v* and *w* were then such convertible letters, it is highly probable that these initials refer to the same individual.

[3] Humii Daphn-Amaryllis, p. 30. Lond. 1605, 4to.

[4] The Triumphs of Love, Chastitie, Death: translated out of Petrarch by Mris. Anna Hume. Edinburgh, printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the King's most excellent Majestie, 1644, 8vo. One of Drummond's letters is addressed "To the learned and worthy gentlewoman Mrs. Anne Hume, daughter to Mr. David Hume of Godscroft." (Works, p. 139.)

[5] It appears from the title of one of his publications that James Hume had taken the degree of Doctor of Physic: "Pantaleonis Vaticinia; Satyra, ad nobilissimum virum Dominum Robertum Therum Ancramium, Equitem Auratum, Serenissimoque Magnæ Britanniæ Regi a Camera: authore Jacobo Humio Theagrio, Scoto, Medicinæ Doctore." Rothomagi, 1633, 12mo This is a prose composition, on the model of Barclay's Satyricon. Some brief notices of Hume occur in Delambres "Hist. de l'Astronomie Moderne," tom. ii. pp. 240, 248.

tical, and cannot be highly commended for its spirit or elegance; its general characteristic seems indeed to be languor and diffuseness. But in order to enable the reader to form his own opinion, I shall transcribe a passage of some length from the beginning of the Triumph of Love:—

'That tyme that did my sohking sobbs and sorye sighs renew,
Through sweitt remembeřance of that day on which my lowe first grew,
Which was the first beginnar of my pains and future smart,
And of my longsome martyrdome that martered had my hart;
The sunn alreddye warmed had the Bull his doubled horne,
And Titan's wyfe Aurora cleir, vprysing reade at morne,
All ycye and most frostye lyk had then hir selff adrest
Vnto hir wounted ancient place, hir auld frequented rest.[1]
Lowe, greif, disdains, and plaining plaintis, and seasoun of the žier,
Had caused me to a secreit place my self for to reteir,
Whair all the causis and fashereis that did oppries my hart,
Might thairby all affected be, and all my doole auert.
Thair on the grass and plesant grene, my voyce be plaints maid waik,
My watching eyne, orcumd through sleip, at lenth sum rest did tak;
Quhair then I saw a mervellous light, and in the same muche wo,
With litill joy and sadnes full; and, as me seamed, lo,
Amidst thairof I saw a duke, victorious, high of might,
Lyk on who to the Capitoll triumphs in chariot bright.
Than I, who was not muche acquent with such unquented sight,
Evin through this noysum wicked world, so full of craft and slight,
In whiche to long I live, alace, and it of valeur voyde,
But full of pryde, of graces bair, which vertew hes destroyde;
The habit proude, vnsene, vnvsd, all new and unacquent,
I thair beheld with cairfull eyes, both heavie, tyrd, and faint:
Through lingring lowe and drowsie sleip this sight I did discerne,
For that I had no other ioy than such a sight to lerne.
Thair than I saw four coursers fair, more whyte than anye snaw,
A chyldish boy and youngling raw in fyrie chair to draw;
Who in his hand his bow did beare, his arrowes be his syde,
As nother helmet nor yet targe thair pearceing shottis can byde.
Abowe his shoulders they wer plaist, twoe fleing feddered wings,
Imbrowdered with ten thousand hewis, all bair in other things.
And round about him thair did stand, and round about his chaire,
A number of suche mortall men that none can tham declair:
Wherof than some wer prisoners by him in battall tane,
Some pearced by his pearcing darts, and some by him lay slane.

Among the translators of Italian poetry we may likewise

[1] These two lingering lines are intended as a translation of one verse:—
Correa gelata al suo antico soggiorno.

place Stewart of Baldynneis, who has compressed into twelve the forty-six cantos of Ariosto. This abridgment is perhaps of an earlier date than Sir John Harrington's English version of the Orlando Furioso, which was published in the year 1591. Stewart has left an ample volume of his poetry, transcribed with a considerable degree of elegance, and dedicated to the King, who is frequently lauded with all the abject flattery which characterized the courtiers of that period: this manuscript, stamped with the royal crown and initials, came into the possession of the late Duke of Roxburghe, and is now deposited in the Advocates' Library.[1] His original poems display very little fancy or feeling, and his versification has no peculiar merit. His diction is generally feeble, and is often very pedantic: he is particularly fond of French words; instead of timid damsel, he ventures to adopt such a phrase as *craintive pucelle.* The author has sufficient reason to apologize for his "inept orthographie." Of orthography there was indeed no standard at that period; but Stewart's general mode of spelling is uncouth and unsettled beyond the common example. The following is an extract from his abridgment of Ariosto:—

For ane at lenth did all the trewth declair,
But inquisition, of this cairfull cace,
Quhilk vas the pastor, quho in-to that place
Be broikin sychis did persawe his vo,
And till appaise his pansiwe spreit ane space,
Began the histoir of the luifers tuo:
First quhow that Medor deedlie vondit so
He thair did bring at Angelique's desyre,
Quha cuird his hurt; than quhow that scho did go
For him consuming all in luifis fyre,
Sua that of honor thochtles or impyre,
Scho to this sempill souldart did inclyn,
And band wp mariage for to quenche desyre.
Thus he the histoir rycht in euerie lyn
Did so discus, quhill that hir braslat fyn
He representit at that instant steed.
This vas the ax at last descendan syn
Vith deedlie dint, quhilk did ding af his heed:

[1] Ane Abbregement of Roland Fvriovs, translait ovt of Aroist: togither vith svm Rapsodies of the Avthor's zovthfvll braine, and last ane Schersing ovt of trew Felicitie; composit in Scotis meiter be J. Stewart of Baldynneis. MS. 4to.

Lang speitchles lay he, strukin almeist deed,
Quhill source of sorrow mycht no moir susteine,
Bot furiuslie out birstit, but remeed,
Sobs from his mouth and teiris frome his eine.
Bot most of all quhan solitar he beine,
Ane fluid aboundant bouting out besprent
His boudin brest all suellit vp in teine,
And both his cheaks bebathing but relent.
Deip in him now vas cauld dispair imprent:
Zit from his birnand bosome fast did flow
Hote flamming sychs quhilk neuir could be spent,
So fell and feruent vas the fyrie low,
Quhilk in his hart ay moir and moir did grow
But onie slaiking, thocht it fumit out:
His breath bot onlie did as belleis blow,
To kendle all his bodie round about;
And als his eine did serue bot for ane spout,
The vitale humeur from his lyf to draw;
For sorrow suir, not cled vith former dout,
Did all his arters viwe aschunder thraw.
Quho may the strese intolerabile schaw,
Quhilk did this valzant varior so torne?
Leile lychtleit luifers onlie may it knaw,
Quho haples fruite of jelousie hes schorne.
In bed he restles tumblit thus forlorne,
Quhilk did moir dour than dourest stone appeir:
Ilk softest fedder vas as poyntit thorne,
To prik his persone, or the scharpest breir.

This poem has so far the character of an original work, that the author has not rigidly confined himself to the text of Ariosto, but has occasionally introduced new thoughts or illustrations. Another of his productions bears the title of "Ane Schersing ovt of trew Felicitie." It is an allegorical poem, both long and tedious, discovering little invention in the design, and little spirit in the execution. His miscellaneous verses chiefly relate to subjects either pious or amatory. As a favourable specimen, I select the subsequent stanzas, addressed "To his awin Maistres:"—

Vith spreit opprest quhan I haid done depart
From my renownit Dian maist formose,
Quhais companie did reconfort my hart,
For plesours past to panse vas my repose.

In this estate vncertane quhat to chose,
Dame Fortoune led me solitar, alon,
In to ane garth quhair fouth of flours vprose,
Depaint vith hews of monie pretius ston ;

Sum rubie reed, and sum lyk topas scheine,
Sum jassink hewit, and sum as sapheir blew,
In valeis fair all cled vith emerauld greine
Quhois blossums clein maist seimlie schaddows schew,
Sum purpour fyn, and sum of cramsie hew,
Sum quhyt, sum van, broune, blae and violat,
Vith holsum smell my sensis to renew,
All glorious gilt in glansing aureat.

I did espy thair perfyt properteis
Rycht curabill for all contagius thing :
Than said I thus, O Flora's tapestreis,
Great vertew rair zour qualiteis dois bring ;
Bot zit, helas, no vertew sic dois spring
Vithin zour verdeur as may ons remeed
The maladie of luif quhilk dois me vring
Vith dalie dolor duynyng to the deed.

Soft vas the seson, blomit vas the meid ;
Apollo brycht his baneir so desplayt,
That Eolus durst not approtche for dreid :
Thair euerie trie agains him stuid arrayt.
Diana's troup mycht bathe thame vneffrayt
In ane depurit siluer spring past by,
Quhais christall streams maist purefeit essayt
To souud maist sueit beneth the sproutand spray.

The osile and the mawes meed great beir,
Quhois suggurit throts did merrie nots out bring :
Fair Philomela also did I heir,
Quhill all the rocks did vith the echo ring ;
And vther birdis merelie did sing
On tender tuists about me quhair I sat,
And sum surmonting in the air did spring,
Vith heawanlie vocis hicher eleuat.

The christall skyis vith color cleir celest
Maist cleinlie glistrit sched in siluer slops :
The bussie bies thair doucest honie drest,
Rycht blythlie buming on the flurist crops,
Decorit all vith daintie balmie drops,
As perle preclair or proper opals fyne,

All tuinkling on the flouris tender tops,
Quhill birnand Tytan, vith his vult deuyne,

Drank vp for drouthe that recent liquor sueit,
Ascending in his royal gouldine chair:
Helas, thocht I, God gif I var repleit
Vith mycht as thow, O fyrie Phebus fair!
Than suld I sie my ladie maist preclair,
Vith quham my thrallit hart dois ay remain;
For heir all confort turns me vnto cair,
Be laik of hir, so that I most complaine.

That tractiwe Dictane is ane souueraine cuir,
For to pull bak againe the deedlie dart
From sauuage deir; bot I sic duill induir,
That nothing suir may eise my painfull part:
I froune, I fant, I freise, I flam, I smart,
Vpheyst vith hoip, and drounit in despair:
The onlie reullar of my martrit hart
Is absent now, quha may confort my cair.

To atone for his barrenness of invention, this votary of the Muses has on some occasions resorted to a very fantastic mode of versification. A poem consisting of nearly one hundred lines, is composed upon the following laborious model:—

This rym I form to zour excellent grace,
Grace gyd zow ay, for God zow hes lent grace.
Grace lent from God ouwerns fra all mis deid:
Misdeid finds grace be doing almisdeid:
Deid dochtie done is justice to menteine;
Menteind vith mycht, thocht it do to men teine,
Tein sould we not, thocht vickit men vold greif vs:
Greif ws men may, bot zow to greif is greifus.

The subsequent verses, which he entitles "Ane literall Sonnet," exhibit a curious specimen of alliteration:—

Dull dolor dalie dois delyt destroy,
Vill vantith vit, vaist vorn vith vickit vo,
Cair cankert causith confortles conwoy,
Seueir sad sorrow scharplie schoris so,
My myrthles mynd may meruell monie mo.
Promp peirles proper plesand perll preclair,
Fair fremmit freind, firm fellest frownyng fo,
Rythche rubie, rycht renownit, royall, rair,

Send succor soone, so suadge sall sourest sair:
Grant griwous gronyng gratious guerdon guid.
For fauor flowing from fresche faces fair,
Restoris rychtlie restles rancor ruid;
Bot beutie, breding bittir boudin baill,
Dois dalie deedlie duynying dartis daill.

About the same period an insipid allegory was produced by John Burell, a burgess of Edinburgh. It is entitled, "The Passage of the Pilgremer, devidit into twa parts," and is evidently formed on the model of Montgomery's Cherrie and Slae, but possesses a very slender degree of merit. The worthy burgess is at least to be commended for his love of an elegant art; and he has further indulged his inclination for rhyme by writing "The Description of the Queens Maiesties maist honorable Entry into the Tovn of Edinburgh, vpon the 19. day of Maii, 1590."[1] This composition, if it exhibit no flights of fancy, contains a few gleanings of curious information. In the following stanzas, written in his usual homely style, he enumerates the various musical instruments employed on this festive occasion:—

Organs and regals thair did carpe
With thair gay goldin glittring strings,
Thair wes the hautbois and the harpe,
Playing maist sweit and pleasant springs;
And sum on lutis did play and sing,
Of instruments the onely king.

Viols and virginals were heir,
With girchorns maist iucundious;
Trumpets and timbrels maid gret beir
With instruments melodious,
The seistar and the sumphion,
With clarche pipe and clarion.

A more illustrious individual, who flourished at this period, is likewise to be classed among the writers of Scotish verse: this is John Napier of Merchistoun, who is universally known to men of science, but is seldom mentioned among the lovers of poetry. He was born in 1550, and died in 1617, after having

1 Burell's poems are both reprinted in Watson's Collection of Scots Poems, part ii.

acquired high reputation as an improver of science.[1] As his favourite investigations were remote from vulgar apprehension, and required days and nights of studious seclusion, his rustic neighbours considered him as a conjuror; and, according to a tradition which has been preserved, his familiar spirit attended him under the form of a large black cock.[2] At the summit of Merchistoun-tower, his chief place of residence, there is a small apartment to which he is supposed to have retired while employed in the construction of the Logarithms.[3] This venerable mansion, which belongs to his noble descendant, cannot but be regarded as an object of curiosity: it stands at the distance of about a mile from Edinburgh; although the original building has been retained, it has received some modern additions which are far from harmonizing with the first style of the architecture. Before Napier was distinguished as a mathematician, he published an exposition of the book of Revelation; and here, among other curious matter, he introduces some specimens of his poetry.[4] His work is prefaced by the following address to Antichrist:—

[1] According to the common account, he died on the 3d of April 1617, and was buried in St. Giles's Church; but according to James Hume, "il mourut l'an 1616, et fut enterré hors la porte occidentale d'Edinbourg, dans l'eglise de Sainct Cudbert." (Traité de la Trigonometrie, povr resoudre tovs Traingles Rectilignes et Spheriques, avec les Demonstrations de duex celebres Propositions du Baron de Merchiston, non encores demonstrées, p. 116. Paris, 1636, 8vo.) This publication of Hume is inscribed to the Earl of Ancram, whom he has likewise commended in some Latin verses.

[2] Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 290.

[3] Scott's Provincial Antiquities of Scotland, p. 93. Another tradition transfers him to Gartness in Stirlingshire. "Napier," says Dr. Anderson, "resided much for some years, when he was making his calculations, at Gartness, where there are some remarkable falls of the Endrick. When I visited the spot where the castle stood, in August 1804, the ruins were scarcely discernible." (Life of Smollett, p. 10, 5th edit. Edinb. 1806, 8vo.) But the tradition mentioned in the text seems to be that of his own family. (Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii. 290.) A contemporary collector of scraps has preserved the following curious notice of Napier: 1598, "The 28 of October, ane proclamatione of the laird of Merkistoun, that he tuik upone hand to make the land mair profitable nor it wes befoir, be the sawing of salt upone it." (Birrel's Diarey, p. 47.) This notice has not found a place in the Rev. Mr. Dacre's Testimonies in favor of Salt as a Manure. Manchester, 1825, 8vo. Virgil mentions the practice of fertilizing the seed, by mixing it with saltpetre and with the lees of oil. Georg. i. 193.

Semina vidi equidem multos medicare serentes,
Et nitro prius et nigra perfundere amurca,
Grandior ut fetus siliquis fallacibus esset.

[4] A plaine Discouery of the whole Reuelation of Saint John, set downe in two Treatises, etc. Set foorth by John Napeir, L. of Marchistoun younger. Wherevnto are annexed certaine Oracles of Sibylla, agreeing with the Reuelation and other places of Scripture. Edinbvrgh, printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the Kings Majestie, 1593, 4to. A French translation was soon afterwards published by George Thomson, who distinguished himself by a Latin treatise against Lipsius.

The book this bill sends to the Beast,
Craving amendment now in heast.

God first to John in Pathmos me presents,	Apoc. 1. 1, 9.
Who sent me syne the seuen Kirkes vntill,	Apoc. 1. 11.
As forth I foore with the two Testaments,	Apoc. 11. 3, 7.
God's trueth to teache, in witnessing his will:	
Thou, bloudie Beast, vs cruelly did kill,	Apoc. 11. 7.
In sack of schismes sieling vp our sense;	Apoc. 11. 8.
Our corps vnkend then stonished lay still,	Apoc. 11. 8.
Til seuentie yeares eighteen times passed hence:	Apoc. 11. 3, 9.
But now since comd is till our audience	Apoc. 11. 11. & 14. 6, 7.
God's worde from heauen the voice of veritie,	Apoc. 11. 12.
Quickning these corps with true intelligence,	Apoc. 11. 11.
So long supprest by thy subtilitie,	Apoc. 11. 2, & 15. 8.
I plaine proclaim, and prooue by prophecie,	Apoc. 10. 11.
That thou, O Rome, raisd vp on hilles seuen,	Apoc. 17. 9.
Citie supreme and seat of Sodomie,	
Vnder whose reigne our Lord to death was driuen,	Apoc. 17. 18, & 11. 8.
And many Martyres rudely rent and riuen,	Apoc. 17. 6, and 18. 24.
Art Heire and Eroy to great Babylone,	Apoc. 17. 5, 18.
Whereby her name here God hath to thee giuen,	Apoc. 17. & 18.
Thou whore that sittest the bloudie beast vpone:	Apoc. 17. 1, 3, 6.
Thy daies are done, thy glorie now is gone.	Apoc. 17. & 18.
Burnt shall thou be, and made a den of Deuills.	Apoc 18. 2, 8, 9.
Flie from her then, my flock, leave her alone,	Apoc. 14. & 17.
Lest that yee be partaker of her euills;	
For doth at hand approche the latter day,	Apoc 14. 14, 15.
When Christes Church shall reigne with him for ay.	Apoc. 11. 15.

Napier has versified "Certaine Notable Prophecies agreable to our purpose, extract out of the books of Sibylla."[1] He

"Ouverture de tous les Secrets de l'Apocalypse ou Revelation de S. Jean, etc. par Jean Napeir (c. a. d.) Nonpareil, Sieur de Merchiston: revue par lui-mesme; et mise en Francois par Georges Thomson Escossois." Rochelle, 1602. 4to. This was followed by a German translation, of which there were at least three editions. "Johannis Napeiri, Herren zu Merchiston, eines trefflichen Schottländischen Theologi, schöne vnd lang gewünschte Ausslegung der Offenbarung Johannis, u. s. w. Auss Begierdt der Warheit vnnd der Öffnung ihrer Geheymnüssen, nach dem Frantzösischen, Englischen vnnd Schottischen Exemplaren, dritter Edition, jetzund auch vnserm geliebten Teutschen Verstandt vbergeben." Franckfurt am Mayn, 1627. 8vo. The preface is dated at Basel on the first of August 1615, and is subscribed by Wolffang Maget, H. S. D., that is, doctor of divinity.

[1] Professor Thorlacius of Copenhagen has recently illustrated the Sibylline oracles in two different publications. The first of these is entitled "Libri Sibyllistarum veteris Ecclesiæ, crisi, quatenus Monumenta Christiana sunt, subjecti." Havniæ, 1815, 8vo. The other, entitled "Conspectus Doctrinæ Christianæ, qualis in Sibyllistarum Libris continetur," occurs in the "Miscellanea Hafniensia theologici et philosophici argumenti, edidit Dr. Fridericus Münter, Selandiæ Episcopus," tom. i. Little more than a century has elapsed since a writer of some note maintained not only the genuineness, but even the divine inspiration of a certain portion of

apparently follows, not the Greek text, but the Latin version of Castalio. A fragment of the eighth book he has rendered thus :—

O Rome, vpraised now with thy toppis hie,
The like ruine from heauen shall fall on thee :
Plaine beis thou made, down shall thy toppes turne, Apoc. 18. 21.
And flaming fire all whollie shall thee burne :
Far shalt thou flit into an vncouth land, Apoc. 17. 16, & 18. 8, 9.
Thy riches shall be reft out of thine hand : Apoc. 18. 17.
In thy wall-steds shall Wolues and toddes convene, Apoc. 18. 2.
Wast shall thou be, as thou had neuer bene. Ier. 50. 39.
Where then shall be thy Oracles deuyne ? Isay, 47. 12, 13.
What golden gods shall keepe or saue thee syne ;
What god, I say, of copper or of stone ?
Where then shall be the consultation
Of thy Senate ? What helps thy noble race
Of Saturne, Joue, or Rhea in this cace ?
Whose sensles scales and idoles thou before
Religiouslie did worship and adore :
Of whose greene graues vnhappie Crete avants,
Their figures dead vp doest thou set like Sants.[1]

Alexander Hume, the brother of a poet already mentioned, was likewise a votary of the Muses. He was the second son of the baron, that is, the proprietor of Polwarth, and was originally destined for the bar. He followed the usual method by completing his academical studies in France ; but being disgusted with the profession of a lawyer, he afterwards endeavoured to obtain preferment at court, where his elder brother possessed considerable influence. In an epistle, written when he was about thirty years of age, and addressed to Dr. Moncreiff,

these oracles. "Providence has therefore so far taken care in this matter, that we have still, at this day, preserved and extant among us those very Sibylline oracles, and that in good measure compleat and uncorrupt, which were anciently so very famous amongs the heathens, Josephus the Jew, and the first Christians ; and which of old were generally allow'd to be sacred books, and deriv'd from divine inspiration." (Whiston's Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles, p. 48. Lond. 1715, 8vo.) See likewise p. 82. Some of this writer's conclusions might have been worthy of the licentiate Balthasar Porreño, who published a work under the title of "Oraculos de las doçe Sibilas, Profetisas de Christo nuestro Señor entre los Gentiles." Cuença, 1621, 4to. It may not be improper to mention that an additional book of the Sibylline oracles has lately been discovered by Angelo Mái, the very meritorious keeper of the Vatican Library. Eight books have long been in circulation ; but this being numbered as the fourteenth, five must still be wanting. Sibyllæ liber xiv. editore et interprete Angelo Maio. Mediolani, 1817, 8vo.)

[1] Ἤξει σοί ποτ' ἄνωθεν ἴση, ὑψαύχενε Ῥώμη,
Οὐράνιος πλαγγὴ, κ.τ.λ.
Sibyllina Oracula, lib. viii. p. 226, edit. Basil. 1555, 8vo.

physician to the King, his "tender friend Montcreif medicinar," he communicates several particulars of his early history :—

> Quhen that I had employed my youth and paine
> Foure yeares in France, and was returned againe,
> I langd to learne, and curious was to knaw,
> The consuetude, the custome, and the law,
> Quhairby our natiue soile was guide aright,
> And iustice done till everie kind of wight :
> To that effect three yeares, or neare that space,
> I hanted maist our highest plaiding place,
> And senat quhair great causses reasoned were :
> My breast was brusd with leaning on the bar,
> My buttons brist, I partely spitted bloud,
> My gowne was trald and tramped where I stood,
> Mine eares were deafd with maissars cryes and din,
> Quhilk procutors and parties called in :
> I dayly learnd, but could not pleased be ;
> I saw sick things as pittie was to see.

His experience of the court was not more satisfactory ; and having finally directed his views to the church, he was appointed minister of Logie near Stirling. The rest of his history is imperfectly known ; but he appears to have died before the year 1633, and to have left no male issue.[1] One of his brother's descendants, as we have already seen, was elevated to the peerage.

His poems are contained in a small volume, printed by Waldegrave in the year 1599, and are almost entirely of a spiritual denomination.[2] They are creditable to the moral and religious feelings of the author, nor are they altogether destitute of energy : they cannot indeed be commended as containing much that deserves the name of poetry ; but they are at least superior to most of the pious effusions of that age. His sacred songs are eight in number, including a poem, chiefly descriptive, "Of the Day estivall," and another on the defeat of the Spanish Armada. His description is rather equable and pleasing than vivid and striking ; when he has selected proper images, he

1 Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 178.

2 Hymnes, or sacred Songs, wherein the right vse of Poësie may be espied. Be Alexander Hume. Wherevnto are added, the Experience of the Author's youth, and certaine Precepts, seruing to the practise of Sanctification. Edinb. 1599, 4to.—These precepts, which conclude the volume, are in prose.

seldom exhibits them with any powerful effect. The following stanzas contain a fair specimen of his descriptive vein :—

Begaried is the saphire pend
With spraings of skarlet hew,
And preciously from end till end
Damasked white and blew.

The ample heauen, of fabrik sure,
In cleannes dois surpas
The chrystall and the siluer pure,
Or clearest poleist glas.

The time sa tranquill is and still,
That na where sall ye find,
Saife on ane high and barren hill,
Ane aire of peeping wind.[1]

All trees and simples great and small,
That þalmie leife do beir,
Nor thay were painted on a wall,
Na mair they move or steir.

Calme is the deepe and purpour se,
Yee, smuther nor the sand ;
The wals that woltring wont to be,
Are stable like the land.

Sa silent is the cessile air,
That euery cry and call,
The hils, and dails, and forrest fair
Againe repeates them all.

Hume seldom reaches any considerable elevation of fancy, and he sometimes mars a passage by introducing mean thoughts or trivial expressions. His Recantation contains these lines :

That gaue thy seruant Dauid king
A scepter for a staffe,
Syne made him sacred Psalmes to sing,
A hundreth and a halfe.[2]

To his spiritual poems he has subjoined "Ane Epistle to

[1] Dr. Leyden, who is not a very scrupulous editor, has improved this passage by reading "*passing* wind." (Scotish Descriptive Poems, p. 206.) To peep, is to emit a small and shrill sound.

[2] This prosaic enumeration may remind some readers of a certain dialogue between the two kings of Brentford. (Rehearsal, act v. sc. i.)

1 KING. Here, take five ginneys for those warlike men.
2 KING. And here's five more ; that makes the sum just ten.

Maister Gilbert Mont-creif, Mediciner to the Kingis Majestie, wherein is set downe the experience of the Author's youth." In this epistle, which may be perused with interest, he expresses himself with a considerable degree of freedom and boldness. The corruption of the judges he mentions without reserve :—

> Sum senators, als weill as skaffing scribes,
> Are blinded oft with blinding buds and bribes,
> And mair respects the persone nor the cause,
> And finds for diuers persones diuers laws.

Of the Scotish court he speaks in the subsequent strain of bold animadversion :—

> I neede not now sick properties apply,
> Thou knawes our Scottish court als weill as I.
> Our princes ay, as we haue heard and sein,
> Thir mony yeares infortunat hes bein,
> And if I sould not speike with flattring tung,
> The greater part bot sluggishly hes rung.
> Our earles and lords, for their nobilitie,
> How ignorant and inexpert they be,
> Upon the priuie counsell mon be chused,
> Or else the king and concill ar abused,
> And if the prince augment not ay their rents,
> Quhat is their mair? they will be mal-contents. . . .
> Sum officers we se of naughtie braine,
> Meere ignorants, proud, vicious, and vaine,
> Of learning, wit, and vertue all denude,
> Maist blockish men, rash, riotous, and rude:
> And flattering fallowis oft ar mair regarded;
> A lying slaue will rather be rewarded,
> Nor they that dois with reasons rule conferre
> Thair kinde of life and actions, least they erre,
> Nor men discreit, wise, vertous, and modest,
> Of galland spreit, braue, trew and worthie trest,
> Quhilk far from hame ciuilitie hes sein,
> And be their maners shawis quhair they haue bein,
> Quhilk haue the word of God before their eyes,
> And weill can serue, but cannot princes pleis;
> For sum with reason will not pleased be,
> But that quhilk with their humour dois agree.
> Hes thow not heard in oppin audience,
> The purpos vaine, the feckles conference,

Th' informall reasons and impertinent
Of courtiours, quhilks in accouttrement
War gorgious, maist glorious, yong and gay ?
Bot in effect compare them weill I may
Till images quhilks ar in temples set :
Decorde without, and all with gold ou'rfret,
With colors fine, and carued curiouslie,
The place where they are set to beautifie ;
Bot when they are remarked all and sum,
They are bot stocks and stains, bos, deid, and dum.

James Melville was another Presbyterian clergyman, who frequently gratified his propensity for Scotish rhyme. He was the son of Richard Melville, and was born at Baldovy near Montrose on the 25th of July 1556 : here his father possessed a small estate, and was minister of the adjoining parish of Marytoun. The son was educated in the University of St. Andrews, and for some time taught mathematics, logic, and ethics in that of Glasgow. When his uncle was appointed principal of St. Mary's College, he returned to St. Andrews, where he was admitted professor of oriental languages, and was chiefly employed in teaching Hebrew. Having resigned his academical office in the year 1586, he settled in Fifeshire as a country clergyman, first at Anstruther, and three years afterwards at Kilrenny. His uncle Andrew Melville was a man of superior learning, and his commanding talents gave him great influence in the ecclesiastical affairs of that age : it is not however so easy to commend him for the moderation of his conduct ; and although moderation partakes of the nature of passive virtue, and seasons or enterprises of difficulty or danger require boldness and decision, it must yet be admitted that he sometimes exceeded the limits of a becoming zeal in his attempts to support the authority of the church.[1] That the authority of Christ is superior to

[1] Dr. Harris has formed a very impartial estimate of the character of Melville and his adherents. "The behaviour of the clergy was very rough, and bordered upon rudeness. They treated majesty with too much familiarity. They prostituted their pulpits to affairs of state, and rebuked after such a manner as tended more to provoke than to reclaim. In these things they were blame-worthy. But I should not do them justice were I to omit their zeal for what they thought truth, their labour and diligence in the business of the ministry, and their speaking the truth with all boldness. These were virtues for which James's clergy were eminent ; and therefore they were held in high esteem by the major part of that kingdom." (Historical and critical Account of the Life and Writings of James the First, King of Great Britain, p. 30. Lond. 1753, 8vo.)

the authority of the King, is not to be controverted: but the application of this maxim by any order of men who aver that His authority is delegated to them, may be attended with very dangerous consequences, and it would in all cases be prudent and necessary to require some unequivocal proof of their special commission.[1] On one occasion, when the King commanded him to be silent, he took his Majesty by the sleeve, and calling him "God's silly vassal," proceeded to inform him that in Scotland there were two kings and two kingdoms;[2] an expression obviously capable of this interpretation—the church is independent of the state. King James was not, however, disposed to adopt the same opinion; and his resentment of their factious conduct was not satisfied till both the uncle and the nephew were banished from their native country; but it must be admitted that in the proceedings against them the forms of law were very little regarded. The nephew was at first confined to Newcastle and a circumference of ten miles; and was afterwards permitted to reside at Berwick, where he died on the 19th of January 1614, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the eighth of his banishment. He was twice married, and left several children. He appears to have been an upright and disinterested man: his zeal, less fiery than that of his uncle, was equally uniform and consistent; nor did the offer of a bishopric shake his confidence in the divine right of presbytery, which was maintained with as much pertinacity and success as the divine right of episcopacy. His talents, as well as his taste, were much inferior to those of Andrew Melville, who wrote Latin verses with spirit and elegance, and who was indeed one of the most conspicuous characters of that age. The Scotish verses of James Melville can scarcely be said to reach mediocrity. His invention is barren; and his rhymes are rude: his poems are almost entirely of a spiritual denomination, and he

[1] "Unde igitur ἀνυπευθυνίας privilegium arrasent, qui, quamvis se *Apostolorum Successores* prædidicent, nequaquam his pares sunt, nullis extraordinariis donis prædíti, et modo moreque humano tantum vocati?" (Barbeyracii Oratio de Magistratu, forte peccante, e Pulpitis sacris non traducendo, p. 40.) This oration, written with the author's usual judgment, is subjoined to the fifth edition of Barbeyrac's translation of Puffendorf's Droit de la Nature et des Gens. Amst. 1734, 2 tom. 4to. He has translated it into French, and inserted it in the second volume of his Recueil de Discours sur diverses Matières importantes. Amst. 1731, 2 tom. 12mo.

[2] M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville, vol. ii. p. 66. Edinb. 1819, 2 vols. 8vo.

seems to have been less anxious to delight than to edify his readers. One of his publications bears the title of a Morning Vision, and is subjoined to a prose work of the same pious tendency. In the dedication of the volume to his spiritual flock at Kilrenny, he speaks thus: "Vnderstaning your custome to be, to ease the langour of time and irksomnes of your labours with singing, whilk is a gift naturallie given be God to many for that effect, and the mater of that musick amongst the common sorte to be vaine and profane, seruing to sop the saule in sinne and vncleannes, and steir vp the corrupt and filthy affectiones thereof to euill lustes, and seiking of occasiones to fulfill the wicked desires thereof; I thought it my dutie to indeuour to draw you to the right vse of musick and singing, the whilk being sanctified be gud and honest matter and holy disposition of heart, makes meikle for godlie edification and comfort. For the measures of poesie and harmonie of musick (as I finde be daily experience in my awin familie) delytes the mind, and sa helpes the memorie very meikle to embrace and keip fast the matter, and stirres vp and sets the force of the soules affectiones towards God in pleasand meditation thereof." His rhymes are homely enough to have been understood by the whole parish; and this Morning Vision chiefly consists of diffuse and feeble paraphrases of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, introduced by means of a small apparatus of allegorical machinery. Instead of selecting any specimen of this work, I shall transcribe a dedicatory sonnet, addressed "To my gracious and dreade Soveraigne, James the Sext, King of Scottes, and Prince of Poets in his language," and subscribed, "Your Majesties maist humble Oratour and new Prentise in Poesie, JA. MELUILL."

Redouted king, how dare I thus addresse
My simple poëme to your excellence,
Whome poëts all maist justlie mon confesse
Als high in verse as in præeminence?
Let not my bauldnesse work your offence;
For I was forst, to flie ingratitude,
And not commit a misschant negligence,
Miskenning him of whom I gat the gude.

Your precepts, Sir, and practise vnderstude,
How finely they poetick speitches frame,
This small essay of me your prentesse rude
Might shewe, gif I had rightlie seene the same.
But, Sir, your censure spare, your fauour grant:
I meane to mend, and mair your Muses hant.[1]

Another of Melville's metrical works is "The Black Bastel," a lamentation over the Church of Scotland, written at Berwick in the year 1611. An abridgment of it was published in 1634, and the entire poem is still preserved.[2] A manuscript, containing a very considerable collection of his verses, was lately presented to the Advocates' Library.[3] One of the principal poems in the volume is entitled "The wandering Sheepe, or David's tragique Fall;" which is however a very poor performance. Cupid, wandering up and down the earth, chances to fix his eyes upon Jerusalem; in due time he stations himself in the fair eyes of Bathsheba, and King David is led into a fatal snare.

[1] A Morning Vision: or, Poeme for the Practise of Pietie, in Devotion, Faith, and Repentance; wherein the Lordes Prayer, Beleefe, and Commands, and sa the whole Catechisme, and right vse thereof, is largely exponed. Edinbvrgh, printed by Robert Walde-graue, Printer to the Kings Maiestie, 4to. The prose part of the volume is entitled "A Spiritvall Propine of a Pastour to his People." The dedication is dated "from Ansteruther, the 20. day of November 1598."

[2] The Black Bastel; or a Lamentation in name of the Kirk of Scotland, composed by M. James Melvil, when he was confined at Berwick anno 1611. Abridged by N. 8vo. The only copy which I have ever seen belongs to the Advocates' Library. The date has been cut away by the bookbinder, but it is ascertained from a manuscript Catalogue of the Library of Robert Mylne. This abridgment is reprinted in Mr. Laing's Fugitive Scotish Poetry. Edinb. 1825, 8vo. The entire composition, consisting of 93 stanzas, is preserved in a MS. belonging to Robert Graham, Esq. of Eskbank, who has very politely afforded me an opportunity of examining this volume. In the printed copy, the poem is greatly curtailed and altered. The same volume contains another poem, supposed to be written by Melville, and entitled "Thrie may keip Counsell giue twa be away: or Eusebius, Democritus, Heraclitus." It extends to 69 stanzas, and is of the same spirit and tendency. Specimens of both these poems may be found in Dr. M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville, vol. ii. p. 506-8.

[3] By the Rev. William Blackie, minister of Yetholm. This manuscript had been exposed to some mutilations at the beginning and end, but is now in a better state of preservation. In the handwriting of James Melville, and doubtless of his composition, a translation of the first and part of the second book of the *Zodiacus Vitæ* of Marcellus Palingenius, occurs at the end of a manuscript belonging to the University Library, and bearing the title of "D. Andreæ Melvini Epistolæ, Londini e turri carceris ad Jacobum Melvinum Novo castri exulantem scriptæ, cum ejusdem Jacobi nonullis ad eundem." This version is extremely feeble and paraphrastic. The first distich of the second book is rendered by eight very languid verses.

Traxisti longam portu, mea cymba, quietem:
Jam tempus dare vela Notis, et solvere funem.

My schip hes lyen in the herbrie long:
Now is it tym to louse our cables strong,
To wey our ankers and to weind our seals,
For to receaue the gentle wastring geals,
And cheirfully to lainche furth in the deepe,
By skill and compas constant course to keepe,
Till we haue weill an vther voyage maid,
As doeth our Zodiac ws in order laid.

Of the author's taste and judgment in the construction of his poem, this may be considered as a sufficient specimen; nor are the defects of the design compensated by the merits of the execution. Beside several shorter poems, the volume likewise contains "The Song of Moses, translated out of Hebrew, and put in meter, first shortly, neere the text, and then more at large, paraphrasticallie; for the most necessarie vse of the church and everie faithfull member thairof in this declining and most vnthankfull and corrupt age of the world;" together with "The Song of Songs, which is Solomons, exponed by a large paraphrase in metree, for memorie and often meditatioun." From his shorter poems I select a sonnet, addressed to Sedan and St. Andrews; and in order to understand the allusions, it is necessary to recollect that after Andrew Melville had been deprived of his office at St. Andrews, he became professor of divinity at Sedan, a Protestant University in France:—

Sincerly long Christ's treuth thow hes profest,
Oft hes thow lodged his exyled men,
Sweit Sedan; now thy seid hes weill increst,
Thy talent thow hes multiplied to ten.
Sainctandros sorowfull may be thy song,
For smoring seid and talent vnder ground:
Therfore is Sedan vantag't be thy wrong,
Whom flemed Melvin hes a mother found.
Trew is that treuth quhilk Christ in gospell spak,
That such as hes shall grow and yit haue more;
And from the emptie he will even tak
What ev'r it was which they enioyed before.
Then Sedan bruik that God hes to the given,
Sainctandros sich that thou art all wanthriven.

Elizabeth Melville, better known by the name of Lady Culross, was the daughter of Sir James Melville of Halhill, and the wife of John Colville, who in the year 1640 succeeded to the honours of Lord Colville of Culross, but did not assume the title, apparently because his fortune was not adequate to his rank.[1] At an early period of life, she seems to have been distinguished as a pious lady, and as a writer of pious verses. Four years before the publication of her Dreame, Hume dedicated to her

[1] Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 355.

the collection of his Hymnes or sacred Songs, and in the dedication he expresses himself in the following terms: "I know ye delite in poesie yourselfe, and, as I vnfainedlie confes, excelles any of your sexe in that art, that euer I hard within this nation. I haue seene your compositiones so copious, so pregnant, so spirituall, that I doubt not but it is the gift of God in you." Almost the only composition of which she is known to be the author is her Godly Dreame; which, although it may not perhaps be thought to justify this friendly panegyric, is yet superior to many of the effusions of her contemporaries. It appears to have produced a powerful effect on the youthful imagination of Dr. Armstrong, a man of fine poetical talents. "Who was it," he asks, "that threw out those dreadful wild expressions of distraction and melancholy in *Lady Culross's Dream?* an old composition, now I am afraid lost, perhaps because it was almost too terrible for the ear."[1] From the remarks which precede and follow this passage, it may be inferred that the Dreame occurred to his recollection as a composition set to music: it however consists of no fewer than 480 verses, and, if connected with music, must have been chanted rather than sung. We may conjecture that the dreadful strains which had so strongly impressed his mind before he quitted the banks of Liddal, were such as appear in the subsequent stanzas:—

Into that pit quhen I did enter in,
I saw ane sicht quhilk maid my heart agast,
Puir damnit saullis, tormentit sair for sin,
In flaming fyre war frying wonder fast,
And vglie spreits; and as me thocht them past,
My heart grew faint, and I begouth to tyre.
Or I was war, ane gripit mee at last
And held me heich aboue ane flaming fyre.

The fyre was greit, the heit did peirs me sair,
My faith grew waik, my grip was wondrous smal;
I trembellit fast, my feir grew mair and mair,
My hands did shaik, that I him held withall;
At lenth thay lousit, than thay begouth to fall.
I cryit, O Lord, and caucht him fast againe:
Lord Jesus, cum and red me out of thrall.
Courage, said he, now thou art past the paine.[2]

[1] Armstrong's Miscellanies, vol. ii. p. 254. Lond. 1770, 2 vols. 8vo.

[2] Ane Godly Dreame, compylit in Scottish meter be M[rs.] M[elvill] Gentilwoman in Cul-

One of Lady Culross's younger sons, Samuel Colville, was likewise a poet of considerable reputation. He is described as a gentleman ;[1] an expression which is perhaps intended to signify that he belonged to no profession ; and his name occurs in a "bond of provision," executed by his father on the 5th of May 1643.[2] His popularity as a poet seems at least to have equalled his merit. His "Whiggs Supplication" was circulated before it appeared in print, and manuscript copies of it are still to be found : it was published in the year 1681, and has passed through several editions.[3] Colville is manifestly an imitator of Butler, but he displays a slender portion of Butler's wit and humour. The language of his poem was apparently intended for English, but is interspersed with many Scotish words and idioms.

James Cockburne belongs to the same class of poets with Lady Culross and Alexander Hume, and wrote about the same

ross, at the requeist of her freindes. Edinbvrgh, printed be Robert Charteris, 1603, 4to. The second edition, which bears no date, is likewise printed by Charteris : A Godly Dreame, compyled by Eliz. Melvil, Lady Culros yonger, at the request of a friend. Edinb. 4to. Both these editions are printed in black letter. The subsequent editions are numerous. Edinb. R. Charteris, 1606, 4to. Edinb. A. Hart, 1620, 8vo. Aberdeon, printed by Edward Raban, Laird of Letters, 1644, 8vo. Edinb. 1680, 12mo. Printed in the year 1686, 12mo. Printed in the year 1692, 18mo. Edinb. 1698, 18mo. Edinb. 1737, 12mo. The latest edition occurs in Mr. Laing's Early Metrical Tales. Edinb. 1826, 8vo. "A Sonnet sent to Blackness-Castle, to Mr. John Welsh, by the Lady Culross" was printed in a publication of half a sheet, entitled "A Collection of several Papers, some whereof were never before published." Printed in the year 1720, 12mo.

[1] Charters's Short Account of Scots Divines, p. 15. MS. Adv. Lib. His elder brother, Alexander Colville, D.D., who did not assume the title of Lord Colville of Culross, was professor of divinity in the University of Sedan, and afterwards principal of St. Mary's College at St. Andrews. He died in the year 1666. (Murray's Life of Samuel Rutherford, pp. 243-321. Edinb. 1828, 8vo.) "He was learned in the Hebrew, and was a great textuary, and well seen in divinitie." (T. Middleton's Appendix to Spotswood, p. 20.) S. Colville is mentioned by Cunningham as a strenuous defender of the Protestant religion. (Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 27.) He published a work under the title of "The grand Impostor discovered ; or an historical Dispute of the Papacy and Popish Religion : part I." Edinb. 1673, 4to. In the apology prefixed to his poem, he has quoted from one John Cockburn a stanza which reflects some light on his history :—

> Samuel was sent to France,
> To learn to sing and dance,
> And play upon a fiddle ;
> Now he's a man of great esteem :
> His mother got him in a dream,
> At Culross on a girdle.

[2] Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. i. p. 355.

[3] Mock Poem, or, Whiggs Supplication. Lond. 1681, 8vo. Whiggs Supplication, a mock-Poem in two parts. By S. C. Edinb. 1687, 8vo. Whiggs Supplication, a mock-Poem in two parts. By Sam Colvil. Edinb. 1695, 8vo. Whiggs Supplication, a mock-Poem in two parts. By S. C. Printed in the year 1702, 8vo. Mock Poem, or, Whiggs Supplication. Edinb. 1711, 8vo. The Whigs Supplication, or, the Scotch-Hudibras, a mock-Poem in two parts. By Samuel Colvil. Glasg. 1751, 8vo. The Whigs Supplication, or, the Scots Hudibras, a mock-Poem in two parts. By Samuel Colvil. St. Andrews, 1796, 12mo.

period. His dedication "To the honovrable Ladie of highest hope Mistresse Jeane Hammiltone, Lady Skirling," is dated at Cambusnethan, and it is probable that he was minister of that parish. He appears to have maintained some literary intercourse with William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, who has honoured his "heauenlie Muse" with eight commendatory lines, and has received as many in return. Cockburne displays a tolerable share of poetical spirit, but is more deficient in correctness and elegance of taste. One of his poems is entitled "Gabriels Salvtation to Marie." The situation of the Virgin Mary on the appearance of the angel is thus described:—

Amazde at first, but not greatlie agast,
To see his glorie great, she changed hew:
A blushing rednes swiftlie came and past,
And dayntilie her whitenes did subdew.
The lightning rayes that from her eye-lids flew,
When sodaine ioy made tumbling teares ouerflow,
Would soone haue set an heape of hearts on low.

The first seene signe of her trew chastitie
Round fleeting flew, and cannopyed her skinne:
Two frothie globes of equall quantitie
Playde on her breast, with vaynes blew, blushing, thin:
Her tempting mouth aboue her dimpled chin,
Her rankis of pearle, her half vp-spreading roses
Still other kist, while still each other closes.

Betweene the branches of her body lay
Great Egypts wonders in the holy print;[1]
Whereon she reade, and hauing reade would stay
To meditate how Moses meeke was sent
To that proud prince who neuer would repent,
Till all his chariotes wheeles and assle trees
Indented were with sandes amidst the seyes.

Whiles would she turne and ouer-turne the leafe,
Whiles grauelie gather vp some sentence darke,
Whiles sadlie sit twixt doubting and beleefe,
How the first age was closde within an arke:
Whiles with her foremest ioynt she would remarke
The trimbling sacrifice that Abram old
Made of his tender sonne with courage bold.[2]

[1] Here the necessity of rhyme has induced the author to antedate the invention of printing by fourteen centuries and a half.

[2] Gabriels Salvtation to Marie. Made by James Cockbvrne. Edinbvrgh, printed by Robert Charteris, Printer to the Kings most

She afterwards addresses the angel in a speech, of which the following stanzas form a part:—

I neuer went to see nor to be seene,
To tymbrell sound I neuer caroll song;
I neuer danced in cabinet nor greene
Short passages nor mouing measures long:
Earings of gold in treasses neuer hang
Lyke twinkling stars: I neuer learnde to smyle
With rolling eyes nor morging minzearde style.

I neuer shew my snow-white swelling globes,
To giue the insolent the more delyte;
I neuer walked in silken shyning robes,
The feeders of our facill appetyte;
Dittayes of loue I neuer did indyte,
I neuer vsde perfumde nor paynted face,
Nor cutted courtlie beck with minsing pace.

These passages are not destitute of poetical conception; but a subject of this nature required a more delicate hand. His other poem, "Judas Kisse to the Sonne of Marie," possesses similar merits and defects. The subsequent passage may be produced as a favourable specimen:—

Now had darke silent night, high treasons freend,
Ouermantled all the earth in sable hew;
Wrapt was the moone in mist that latelie shynde,
The fyrie lampes of heauen themselues withdrew:
Horror and darknesse vylde possest the skye,
The fittest tyme for foullest tragedye.

Within their wings sweete birds their billes they hide,
Rockt with the windes on toppes of troubled trees;
Feeld-feeding flocks to cliftes and caues they slide,
Such was the raging of the roaring seyes:
No sound of comfort-sweete possest the eares,
Saue serpents hisse and crocodilishe teares.

Excellent Majestie, MDCV. 4to. This poem is followed by "Jvdas Kisse to the Sonne of Marie," which has a separate title with the same imprint. The volume concludes with the subsequent address to W. A.; that is, William Alexander:—

Then, Monstrie, thou whose fame out-flees the Greeke,
That made the sensles rocks for rueth to speake,
Greene wods to weepe, wan waters sound laments,
For death of murthred kings in fields and tents;
Intreate thy Muse to quintescence thy vaine,
Returne thy mourning pen from kings prophaine,
Come end the end. by me perbroyled so,
Of thine, mine Lord with well-wailde words of wo.

George Muschet, minister of Dunning, shall close our present catalogue of pious versifiers. His "Complaint of a Christian Sovle," discovers less fancy and vivacity than the two poems of Cockburne, but is not entirely devoid of merit in the versification. It consists of such quatrains as the following:—

On Dauids harpe oft should my finger strike,
Yea Davids heart in my breast should be found;
That heuenlie voice which from my lippes shold brek,
Most echo-like among the rocks should sound.

No musick should but Hebrue songs delight me,
Thogh all the Muses with their mirth were broght:
I know the lecherous finger will despight me,
But all his sonnets should I set at noght.

Good Ezechias to thy house should lead me,
With David to the temple should I passe;
And holie Moses throgh the courts should guide me,
In Sions songs should be our merinesse.

But who can sing in such a monstrous graue,
Or praise thy name in this infernall place?
Who can be glade who doth not grace receaue
To see the sweetnes of thy heauenlie face?[1]

[1] The Complaint of a Christian Sovle. Containing certaine remedies and comforts against the trouble and conflict of Conscience. Newlie written in meter. Printed at Edinburgh by Robert Charters, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie, M.D.C.X. 4to. The author's name, which is not inserted in the title-page, is affixed to the dedication to the Earl of Monfrose, and again occurs at the end of the poem: "M. George Muschet, Minister of the Evangell at Dunning."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE political character of King James, and the public transactions of his reign, have been detailed by writers of every denomination; but at present we are chiefly interested in his character as a scholar and a poet, and must have less regard to his rank in this kingdom, than in the republic of letters. If his literary attainments are to be estimated by the panegyrics of contemporary writers, he must be viewed as a scholar of the first magnitude: he has been mentioned in terms of the warmest applause by authors of almost every learned nation,[1] and several of his encomiasts were themselves of the highest celebrity; for among their number we discover the names of Bacon, Grotius, and Casaubon; but the honours which he obtained from his contemporaries have not been confirmed by the sanction of a more impartial posterity; the dead author cannot participate in the splendours of the living monarch; and when he is thus deprived of adventitious support, we can neither regard him as a great poet nor as a great king. His Scotish poems are more remarkable for their number than their excellence, but they are not perhaps so despicable as they have sometimes been represented; and a royal poet, who affords so unequivocal a proof of his love of letters, may fairly claim a considerable degree of courtesy.[2]

James Charles Stewart, the son of Queen Mary by her second husband, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, was born in the Castle of Edinburgh on the 19th of June 1566. His father, the eldest son of the Earl of Lennox, had captivated the Queen by his

[1] The following quotation from a work of Scipio Gentilis, an eminent professor of the civil law, may serve as a specimen of the incense which James received from learned foreigners. "Sed eam firmat maximus et sapientissimus regum, idemque Magnæ Britanniæ primus monarcha Jacobus I. in lib. iii. Demonologiæ," (In Apuleii Apologiam, Commentarius, p. 162. Hanoviæ, 1607, 8vo.)

[2] We should in kings, as loth their state to touch,
Speake sparingly of vice, praise vertue much.
STIRLING'S Alexandræan Tragedy, p. 129.

handsome person and superficial accomplishments; but he possessed a weak and capricious mind, and was incapable of securing the affection which he had so easily excited. Her fond love was succeeded by deadly hatred; Henry was murdered in the year 1567, and there are many strong reasons for believing that the Queen was accessory to this foul deed. In the course of the same eventful year, she was imprisoned in the Castle of Lochleven, and compelled to sign a formal abdication of her kingdom.[1] Her infant son was crowned at Stirling on the 29th of July; and during his long minority the direction of public affairs was committed to four successive Regents, the Earls of Murray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton. Soon after his birth, James had been intrusted to the care of the Earl of Mar, a nobleman of a highly honourable and disinterested character; and when he arrived at a proper age, the chief superintendence of his education was left to the earl's brother, Alexander Erskine, another individual of unblemished reputation. The King's principal tutor was George Buchanan, and the preceptors associated with him were Peter Young and the two abbots of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, both related to the noble house of Mar. So great were the talents, and so elevated the spirit of Buchanan, that he conferred more honour than he received by this employment: if the pupil had been worthy of such a preceptor, he might have transmitted an illustrious name to posterity. His proficiency in literature was however such as reflected no discredit on his early instructors: he acquired a very considerable share of scholastic knowledge, and he now imbibed that love of letters for which he always continued to be distinguished.[2] In the year 1584, when he had only reached the age of eighteen, he published his earliest work under the title of "The Essayes of a Prentise in the

[1] The appendix to a Danish history of Queen Mary, written by M. C. Bergenhammer, contains some original documents relative to the detention of her paramour Bothwell in Denmark. (Den Skotske Dronning Maria Stuarts Historie, med et Anhang af forhen utrykte Papirer. Kiöbenhavn, 1803, 8vo.)

[2] Quæ tam docta fuit, quamvis privata, juventus?
O decus ingenii, & pulsæ regalibus aulis
Doctrinæ super una fides, tibi sacra supellex
Chartarum, quascunque manus scripsere beatæ,
Pro jaculis arcuque fuit: nec quærere tantum,
Si qua Caledoniis fera palaretur in agris,
Quantum Pierios juvit lustrasse recessus.
Hinc studiis reparatus honos, et Scotica nunquam
Socraticas tellus animosior ivit in artes
Æmula naturæ, palmamque negavit Athenis.

GROTII Poemata, p. 64.

divine Art of Poesie."[1] The title-page does not bear the author's name, which however is sufficiently revealed by the encomiastic verses of some of his admiring subjects. His paraphrase of the Revelation of St. John, a work of a different complexion, must have been composed soon after this period; for, as Bishop Montague affirms, it was written before the author had completed the twentieth year of his age.

His subsequent publications amount to a formidable number: his poetical and theological studies seem to have occupied a very considerable portion of his time and attention, while the affairs of the kingdom were conducted with no uncommon degree of political wisdom. He was eager to seize every opportunity of displaying his scholastic attainments; and, if we may credit certain historians, he inspired his subjects with the highest admiration of his erudition and sagacity. Although we cannot at present undertake a complete review of his literary history,[2] it may not here be improper to mention one of his theological exploits. Dr. James Gordon, a distinguished Jesuit related to the Earl of Huntley,[3] had been sent on a mission to his native country with the view of promoting the papal interest. The young monarch, as the champion of the Protestant cause, challenged him to a formal disputation in the palace of Holyrood House; and although he was only in the twenty-first year of his age, he acquitted himself with such dexterity, that the clergy and other spectators either were, or pretended to be, filled with astonishment. He discussed the leading topics of controversy between the two churches; and after a confutation, which appeared altogether satisfactory to the Protestant part of his auditory, he graciously dismissed his learned antagonist

[1] The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie. Imprinted at Edinbrugh by Thomas Vautroullier, 1584, 4to.

[2] Many particulars of his literary history may be found in Dr. Harris's Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of James the First, King of Great Britain. Lond. 1753, 8vo.

[3] Dr. Geddes has commemorated this Jesuit as "one of the most acute and artful adversaries of the present Hebrew text. It was to oppose his little tract *De Verbo Dei*, that Glassius wrote his *Philologia Sacra*. Gordon's style is clear and concise, and his arguments generally conclusive. It must be confessed, however, that he extols the Vulgate above measure, and advances some unsupportable propositions." (Prospectus of a new Translation of the Bible, p. 9. Glasg. 1786, 4to.) He is commonly called *Huntlæus* to distinguish him from J. Gordonus *Lesmorensis*, another learned Jesuit, connected with the family of Lesmore. (Sotvelli Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu, p. 366. Romæ, 1676, fol.)

whom all his arguments could not convert from the errors of Popery.[1]

The King was now recognised as a scholar and a poet; and in the course of the same year, 1587, he appeared as a contributor to the Cambridge collection of verses on the lamented death of Sir Philip Sidney. The first poem in this volume is a a Scotish sonnet by his Majesty; which is followed by the Latin versions of the author himself and three of his subjects. The following hexastich was likewise contributed by the royal poet:—

Vidit ut exanimem tristis Cytheræa Philippum,
Flevit, et hunc Martem credidit esse suum:
Eripuit digitis gemmas, colloque monile,
Marti iterum nunquam ceu placitura foret.
Mortuus humana qui lusit imagine divam,
Quid faceret jam, si viveret, ille, rogo.[2]

James had concluded a treaty of marriage with a daughter of Frederick the Second, King of Denmark, and his future consort had embarked for Scotland, but the fleet which conveyed her was suddenly compelled to seek shelter under the coast of Norway. His gallantry being roused by this disappointment, he prepared a squadron with secrecy and despatch; and, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor Maitland, and a numerous train of attendants, he arrived on the 22d of October 1589, at a small haven in the vicinity of Upslo, where the Princess Anne was then residing. Their nuptials were solemnized on the 24th of November, and they afterwards proceeded to Copenhagen, where they spent the winter and the ensuing spring. The gaiety of so joyful an occasion, added to the usual gaiety of a court, did not render James unmindful of his literary character. The celebrated Danish astronomer Tyge Brahe had before this period begun to distinguish himself as an improver of science: the Scotish king, attended by a train of courtiers, paid him a visit at his Castle of Uraniaborg,[3] and conversed with him on various

[1] Johnstoni Rerum Britannicarum Historia, p. 125. Amst. 1655, fol.

[2] Academiæ Cantabrigiensis Lachrymæ Tumulo noblissimi Equitis D. Philippi Sidneii sacratæ per Alexandrum Nevillum. Lond. 1587, 4to. The King's verses are placed before the contributions of the Cambridge poets.

[3] "We passed," says Dr. Henderson, "the island of Ilveen, famous on account of its having been the residence of the celebrated astronomer Tycho Brahe. A more eligible

subjects connected with the studies which he had cultivated with such eminent success. In the library he recognised a portrait of his deceased preceptor Buchanan, which had been presented by Sir Peter Young, during one of his embassies to the court of Denmark.[1] James was highly gratified with this interview, and not only presented him with several tokens of his regard, but likewise granted him a formal privilege relative to the circulation of his works in the kingdom of Scotland. Brahe requested his Majesty to adorn one of his publications with a poetical encomium; and he afterwards had the honour of receiving two copies of Latin verses, written with the King's own hand.[2] Nor was James inattentive to subjects more connected with the science of government; it has been remarked that he appears from his own works to have spent more time in

spot he could not perhaps have found, as the island lies high, and the coasts on both sides being low, a most extensive horizon presents itself to the view. The observatory, which he erected here, and to which, from its destination, he gave the name of *Uraniaborg*, was raised at great expense, part of which was borne by the King of Denmark, and the rest defrayed by the astronomer himself. He is said to have expended no less than 100,000 rix-dollars on its erection. It was not only built in a highly ornamental style, but regularly fortified; yet it did not remain in a perfect state for more than twenty years, and now there is scarcely a single vestige remaining to tell the inquisitive traveller where it stood. Some years ago, I recollect having spent a night here with Major Stuart, a natural son of the Pretender, in whose possession the place at that time was; but all I could discover was merely the remainder of a vault, and a few slight traces of the fortification." (Iceland, or a Journal of a residence in that Island, vol. i. p. 4. Edinb. 1818, 2 vols. 8vo.)

[1] Gassendi Vita Tychonis Brahei, p. 123. Paris, 1654, 4to. For the following document respecting a portrait of Buchanan, I am indebted to Thomas Thomson, Esq. It consists of the painter's bill, with a precept for its payment:—

Certane portraitures maid be me at his Majesties command, and delyuerit laitlie to his hienes, quhairof I haue resauit as yit na payement.

Ane portraict of his Majestie, fra the belt vpward, last delyverit, price thairof xvj *lib.*

Ane other portraict of Mr. George Buchanane . . . viij *lib*

Ane portraict of his Majestie, full lenth . . . xl *lib.*

Summa . . lxiiij *lib.*

REX.

Thesaurair, we greit zow weill. It is our will, and we charge yow, that ye incontinent efter the sycht heirof answer our louit seruitour Arnold Bronckhorst, our painter, of the sowme of thrie score four pundis restand awand him for the thrie portraictures and pieces abone mentionat, maid and delyuerit to ws at our command, and siclyke of the sowme of ane hundreth merkis money, quhilk we have grantit him as ane gratitude for his repairing to this countrey, to be thankfullie allowit to yow in your comptis, keeping this our precept togither with the said Arnold's acquittance thairvpoun for your warrand. Subscryuit with our hand, at Halyrudehouse the nynt day of September 1580.

JAMES R.

ANGUS. ARGYLL.

[2] These two poems, as well the "Privilegium Regis Scotorum," which is dated in the year 1593, are inserted in Brahe's *Astronomiæ instauratæ Progymnasmata*. The poems have this colophon:—"Jacobus R. f. manuque propria scripsit." They may likewise be found in Gassendi, Vita Tychonis Brahei, p. 123, and in the Lives of the Scotish Poets, vol. ii. p. 219. Of the King's sonnet on the Spanish Armada, Gassendi, p. 302, ascribes to Brahe a Latin version which appears to have been written by the Chancellor Maitland. (R. James's Workes, p. 89.)

the Danish courts of justice, than in attending upon his consort.[1] It is however probable that some portion of time was passed in a more riotous manner: one of his letters is dated "from the castell of Croneburg, quhaire we are drinking and dryuing our in the auld maner." Having spent half a year in Denmark, he conducted his young Queen to Scotland; and on their arrival at Leith on the first of May 1590, they were welcomed by the people with the usual expressions of public joy.

He soon resumed his favourite studies, and in the course of the ensuing year published "His Maiesties poeticall Exercises at vacant Houres."[2] Among the encomiums prefixed to this volume are Greek and Latin verses by Hadrian Damman,[3] and an English sonnet by Henry Constable. The same year was marked by the death of Archbishop Adamson, who had contributed his share of panegyric to the King's first publication. He was a man of learning and talents, but lived in difficult and unquiet times. James, who had once distinguished him by various proofs of his regard, composed the following sonnet in commendation of his paraphrase of the book of Job :—

In vandring vealth through burbling brooks and bewis,
Of tripping troups and flocks on fertil ground,
In cattell great of syndrie schaips and hewis,
Vith hoifes all haill or in a parted round,

[1] Barrington's Observations upon the Statutes, p. 427.

[2] His Maiesties poeticall Exercises at vacant Houres. At Edinburgh printed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the Kings Majestie, 1591, 4to. In the general title there is no date, but it occurs in the title of Du Bartas's version of the Lepanto. Both his Majesty's poetical volumes have lately been reprinted.

[3] Hadrian Damman of Bysterveldt was born in the neighbourhood of Ghent, and there he was for some time employed in teaching the classics. (Sanderus de Gandvensibus eruditionis Fama claris, p. 13. Antv. 1624, 4to. Andreæ Bibliotheca Belgica, p. 9, edit. Lovan. 1643, 4to.) According to these writers, he was invited to Scotland by Buchanan. He was appointed professor of law in the University of Edinburgh; he was the second individual who filled that chair; but, like his predecessor Adam Newton, he only gave public lectures on humanity: and the endowment was finally diverted from its original purpose. (Crawford's Hist. of the University of Edinburgh, p. 40.) He retained this office for a few years, and was afterwards resident of the States-General at the court of Scotland. In this country he appears to have purchased some property: for in his paraphrase of Du Bartas he describes himself as "Dominus de Fair-hill." The literary historians of Flanders mention some of his poems as having been printed on the Continent; and after his settlement in Scotland, he published the following works: Schediasmata. Edinb. 1590, 4to. Bartasias, qui de Mundi Creatione libri septem; e Guilielmi Salustii Dn. de Bartas Septimana, poemate Francico, liberius tralati, et multis in locis aucti. Edinb. 1600, 8vo. Both these volumes were printed by Waldegrave.

In heapes of gold, and riches in all vaies,
As Job exceld all vthers micht be found
Of monarchs great or princes in his daies;
So this translatour merites no les praise
For giftes of spreit nor ho for giftes of geir;
And God in grace hath giuen such counterpoise,
As his translation to the vork is peir;
He did in him his giftes so visely mell,
Whose heauenlie vealth Jobs earthlie vealth doeth tell.[1]

Before his accession to the English throne, he published several of his prose works, and some of them excited no small degree of attention. Queen Elizabeth died in the year 1603, after having nominated James as her successor,[2] and on the 5th. of April he began his progress towards his new dominions. This addition of power seems to have excited fresh curiosity with respect to his literary character. During the same year, his principal work, the Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον, which had been printed in 1599, was reprinted in London, was translated into Latin verse by Peacham, was paraphrased in English and Latin verse by William Willymat, and was translated into French by Villiers Hotman, a son of the famous civilian.[3] Two years after his accession, he paid a visit to the University of Oxford, and was accompanied by the Queen, and by their eldest son Prince Henry. The members were highly gratified by this mark of their learned sovereign's regard, and were equally anxious to convince him of their loyalty and erudition: his ears were soothed by the orations of Dr. Abbot the vice-chancellor, and of other officers of the University; and the students exerted all their skill in the representation of different dramas.[4] Much

[1] Adamsoni Poemata sacra. Lond. 1619, 4to.

[2] Davies, the very ingenious author of *Nosce Teipsum*, a poem more commonly known by the title of "The Original, Nature, and Immortality of the Soul," attended Lord Hunsdon in his mission to Scotland for the purpose of congratulating James on his succession to the English throne. When they were presented to the King, he "enquired the names of those gentlemen who were in the company of the said lord, and he naming John Davies among those who stood behind them, the King straitway asked, whether he was *Nosce Teipsum*; and being answered that he was the same, he graciously embraced him." (Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. col. 401.) Davies afterwards received the honour of knighthood, and other marks of the royal favour, was at length appointed Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, but died suddenly before he was admitted to the office.

[3] See the Lives of the Scotish Poets, vol. ii. p. 231. Nichols's Progresses of King James, vol. i. p. 148.

[4] Sir Isaac Wake, at that time public orator, published a copious account of the King's visit to Oxford, under the title of "Rex Platonicus: sive de Potentissimi Principis Jacobi Britanniarum Regis ad Illustrissimam Academiam Oxoniensem Adventu, Aug. 27, an. 1605."

satisfaction was thus received and communicated; the King occasionally interfered as moderator at the public disputations, and the pulpit was thus stuck into the throne.[1] In the year 1614, he again honoured this University with his presence.[2] The University of Cambridge likewise attracted a due portion of his regard; he paid it a visit in March 1615, and again in the following May. On both occasions he was gratified with the representation of *Ignoramus*, a comedy written by George Ruggle, Fellow of Clare Hall, and replenished with ridicule of the common lawyers, to whom the King bore no particular affection: it was for the pleasure of seeing this play a second time, that he was so speedily induced to revisit Cambridge.[3] The second representation was rendered still more agreeable by a new prologue, containing a bitter and sarcastic exhibition of Gaspar Scioppius, the most virulent of all his Majesty's literary antagonists. James paid a third visit to Cambridge in the month of March 1623; and was then regaled with the Latin comedy of *Loïala*, written by John Hacket, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.[4] Another anecdote of this University must not be omitted: and it will appear with most effect in the quaint and pedantic phraseology of Bishop Hacket. "All the helps of that faculty," he remarks, in allusion to the King's eloquence, "were extreamly perfect in him, abounding in wit by nature, in art by education, in wisdom by experience. Mr. George Herbert being prælector in the rhetorique school in

Oxonii, 1607, 4to. See likewise Nichols's Progresses, Processions, and magnificent Festivities of King James the First, vol. i. p. 530.

[1] O, cried the goddess, for some pedant reign!
Some gentle James, to bless the land again;
To stick the doctor's chair into the throne,
Give law to words, or war with words alone,
Senates and courts with Greek and Latin rule,
And turn the council to a grammar-school!
For sure if Dulness sees a grateful day,
'Tis in the shade of arbitrary sway.
O! if my sons may learn one earthly thing,
Teach but that one, sufficient for a king,
That which my priests, and mine alone, maintain,
Which, as it dies or lives, we fall or reign:
May you, my Cam and Isis, preach it long!
"The right divine of kings to govern wrong."
POPE'S Dunciad, book iv. 175.

[2] Nichols's Progresses of King James, vol. iii. p. 23.

[3] J. S. Hawkins's Life of Ruggle (p. xli.) prefixed to Ignoramus, comœdia. Lond. 1787, 8vo. Nichols's Progresses of King James, vol. iii. p. 82.

[4] Nichols's Progresses of King James, vol. iii. pp. 835, 1114. We again find him at Cambridge in the month of December 1624; but he was then afflicted with the gout, and there seems to have been little parade or entertainment. (Nichols, vol. iii. p. 1008.)

Cambridg anno 1618, passed by those fluent orators that domineered in the pulpits of Athens and Rome, and insisted to read upon an oration of King James, which he analysed, shew'd the concinnity of the parts, the propriety of the phrase, the height, and power of it to move affections, the style utterly unknown to the ancients, who could not conceive what kingly eloquence was, in respect of which, those noted demagogi were but hirelings and tributary rhetoricians."[1]

The rest of his literary career has little connexion with the history of poetry. He engaged in different controversies, embracing a mixture of divinity and politics; and a mere catalogue of the publications relating to those controversies, would occupy several pages.[2] His antagonists, it may readily be supposed, were all foreigners, or residing in foreign countries, and some of them were persons of high rank and reputation. The violence of the controversial spirit that now prevailed, suggested a project which at this distant period cannot but appear a little singular. We are informed by an early historian that Dr. Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, "first brought the king to begin a new college by Chelsey, wherein the choice and ablest scholars of the kingdom, and the most pregnant wits in matters of controversies were to be associated under a provost, with a fair and ample allowance, not exceeding three thousand pounds a year, whose design was to answer all popish books, or others that vented their malignant spirit against the Protestant religion, either the heresies of the papists, or the errors of those that struck at hierarchie, so that they should be two-edged fellows that would make old cutting and slashing; and this he forwarded with all industry during his time; and there is yet a formal act of parliament in being for the establishment of it. But after his death the king wisely considered that nothing begets more contention than opposition, and such fuellers would be apt to inflame rather than quench the heat which would arise from

[1] Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, part i. p. 175. Lond. 1693, fol.

[2] As a specimen of these publications, I shall only mention that of Suarez, a Spanish Jesuit, who was professor of divinity in the University of Coimbra: "Defensio Fidei Catholicæ et Apostolicæ adversus Anglicanæ Sectæ Errores, cum Responsione ad Apologiam pro Juramento Fidelitatis et Præfationem monitoriam serenissimi Jacobi Angliæ Regis: authore P. D. Francisco Suario Granatensi." Conimbricæ, 1613, fol. The text consists of 730 pages in double columns.

those embers; . . . and there is only so much building standing by the Thames-side, as to show that what he tended to plant should be well watered."[1] The same spot was afterwards destined for a more useful purpose; it was converted to the use of fellows accustomed to cutting and slashing with different weapons; and all that it now retains of its original destination is the name of "The College," which is still applied to Chelsea Hospital by the inhabitants of the immediate neighbourhood.

Before his departure from Scotland, James had publicly promised to return at short intervals, but many years had now elapsed without his recollecting this engagement. In 1617 he however paid a final visit to his native country, and was received with demonstrations of joy which had every appearance of being sincere. The men of letters vied with each other in the extravagance of their panegyrics: the Universities published collections of the learned lumber which the loyalty of their members had accumulated; and almost every inhabitant of the kingdom who was accustomed to write verses in Greek, Latin, English, or Scotish, seemed eager to avail himself of so auspicious an occasion.[2] He paid a formal visit to the University of St. Andrews, when he once more assumed the character of moderator of the schools. Dr. Baron, afterwards Bishop-elect of Orkney, was at that time a beardless youth, but he displayed such learning and dexterity as astonished the King and the rest of the auditory.[3] The practice of conferring degrees in divinity had been discontinued in the Scotish universities, as too nearly allied to Popery; but it was now revived by this erudite monarch, who did not entertain the same prejudice. His chaplain Dr. Young created several doctors of divinity; among whom were different individuals who rose to higher distinction, particularly William Forbes, Bishop of Edinburgh, David Lindsay, successively Bishop of Brechin and Edinburgh, John Strang,

[1] Wilson's Hist. of the Reign of King James, p. 53. Lond. 1653, fol. See the Glory of Chelsey Colledge revived, etc. By John Darley, B.D. and of Northill in the county of Cornwall, Rector." Lond. 1662, 4to.

[2] Of these verses an ample collection was formed by John Adamson, and published under the title of "Τα των Μουσων Εισοδια. The Muses Welcome to the high and mightie Prince James by the grace of God King of Great Britaine," etc. Edinb. 1618, fol. This is followed by a much smaller collection of poems on the King's departure.

[3] A. Clementii Præf. in Baronii Metaphysicam. Lugd. 1657, 8vo.

Principal of the University of Glasgow, and Robert Howie, Principal of St Mary's College.[1] The professors of the University of Edinburgh were appointed to attend the King at Stirling, and, at his request, they proceeded to regale him with a choice disputation; at the conclusion of which he was graciously pleased to compliment them in a string of puns upon their several names.[2] As a further proof of his approbation, he requested that their seminary should be distinguished by the name of King James's College, and this name it accordingly bears, but without any other permanent mark of his royal bounty.

In the year 1616 a collection of his prose works had been published by Dr. Montague, Bishop of Winchester, and Dean of the Chapel Royal; and in 1619 they were published in Latin by the same zealous editor.[3] Both editions are inscribed to Prince Charles, and the dedication is followed by such a preface as might have been expected. His premonition to all Christian monarchs is the only prose work which he composed in Latin: this tract, according to the editor, was written by his Majesty both in English and Latin. His declaration against Vorstius,[4] and his defence of the right of kings, were originally composed in French, and with the author's permission translated into English. During his latter years he was engaged in a version of the Psalms; but this he did not live to publish,

[1] See Sydserff's Life of Bishop Forbes, prefixed to his Considerationes modestæ et pacificæ Controversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio, Invocatione Sanctorum, Christo Mediatore, et Eucharistia. Lond. 1658, 8vo. This work was reprinted at Helmstad in 1704. (Bibliothèque Choisie, tom. v. p. 396.)

[2] Muses Welcome to King James, p. 231. Crawford's Hist. of the University of Edinburgh, p. 84.

[3] The Workes of the most high and mightie Prince, James by the grace of God King of Great Britaine, etc., published by James, Bishop of Winton, and Deane of his Maiesties Chappel Royall. Lond. 1616, fol. Serenissimi et potentissimi Principis Jacobi, Dei gratia, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, Opera, edita ab Jacobo Montacuto, Wintoniensi Episcopo, et Sacelli Regii Decano. Lond. 1619, fol.

[4] An ample account of Vorstius, who was a professor of divinity at Leyden, may be found in Molleri Cimbria Literata, tom. ii. p. 931. See likewise Gualtheri de Vita et Obitu Conradi Vorstii Oratio. Fredericopoli, 1624, 4to. The King's Declaration against Vorstius is dedicated "To the honovr of ovr Lord and Saviovr Jesus Christ," etc. Dedications of this kind were not then uncommon. Bishop Hall has inscribed a Passion sermon, preached in the year 1609, "To the onely honovr and glory of God my deare and blessed Saviovr (which hath done and suffered all these things for my sovle.") Baretti has correctly stated that "many authors and editors have the custom in Spain to dedicate books to the Almighty, to his angels, to his saints, and even to those of their images that are in reputation of being miraculous." (Journey from London to Genoa, vol. ii. p. 382.) I have observed various works dedicated to miraculous images of the Blessed Virgin.

and whether he lived to complete it, may be considered as somewhat doubtful. He died on the 27th of March 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His mortal disease was apparently a fever supervening upon an ague: but some of his contemporaries ascribed his death to a very different cause; Dr. Eglisham, one of the king's physicians, publicly charged the Duke of Buckingham with the crime of having effected it by poison.[1] This accusation did not perhaps obtain very general credit; and the accuser seems to have been a person of a morose and perverse disposition.

Neither the moral nor the intellectual qualities of King James were of the first order. As a sovereign, he may safely be commended for his love of peace; but his notions of the royal prerogative were extravagant, and the conduct which resulted from these notions was often reprehensible and pernicious.[2] In private life, his vices were at least as conspicuous as his virtues. To the want of true generosity he added a total want of personal courage, insomuch that the sight of a naked sword inspired him with visible apprehension. His conversation, which was fluent and copious, was better calculated than his actions to excite a favourable opinion of his capacity. It was a frequent expression of some contemporary observer, that King James was the wisest fool in Christendom: he was a wise man in trivial, but a fool in important affairs.[3] His habits of life were more completely literary than those of any other sovereign of modern times; and his very meals were seasoned with learning.[4] With many of the eminent scholars

[1] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 554. Nichols's Progresses of King James, vol. iii. p. 1033.

[2] The spirit of his government in England has been very ably discussed by Mr. Brodie, Hist. of the British Empire, vol. i. p. 327. Lord Bolingbroke is of opinion "that this prince hath been the original cause of a series of misfortunes to this nation, as deplorable as a lasting infection of our air, of our water, or our earth, would have been." (Dissertation upon Parties, p. 15.)

[3] Of his personal habits and peculiarities some minute particulars are recorded in Sir Anthony Weldon's "Court and Character of King James." Lond. 1650, 8vo. This work was attacked in a publication ascribed to the virulent Dr. Heylin: "*Aulicus Coquinariæ*; or a Vindication in answer to a pamphlet intituled The Court and Character of King James." Lond. 1650, 8vo. Weldon had communicated the summary of the King's character to Sir James Balfour, who, after substituting his own vile orthography, inserted it in his Annales of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 108. This character is published, as an original paper, in Fragments of Scotish History. Edinb. 1798, 4to.

[4] "Mox ut ad Serenissimum Regem accessi, inveni ipsum illam ipsam Apologiam inter epulas legentem." (Casauboni Exercitationes ad Baronium, p. 44.)

which that age produced, he affected to maintain a friendly intercourse: some of his letters to Scaliger, Casaubon, and other celebrated writers, are still preserved. From contemporary authors, both domestic and foreign, he received the most gross adulation.[1] His Majesty could return poetical compliments, but on some occasions he was less disposed to pay his literary flatterers in the current coin of the realm: Baudius confessed himself to be sadly disappointed when he took a voyage to England, in the expectation of being paid for the poetical honours which he had bestowed on the King and his eldest son.[2]

His literary merits were not more extolled by his contemporaries than they have been disparaged by posterity; and it is in this manner that something approaching to an equal distribution of critical justice is at last obtained. But his share of learning was by no means inconsiderable; and although good sense was not the first characteristic of his mind, he was not destitute of a certain specious talent for disquisition. The age to which he belonged was an age of pedantry, and his taste may be supposed to partake of the general infection; but the style of his prose compositions, when compared with the ordinary standard of that period, will not be considered as mean or contemptible. One of his productions most obnoxious to ridicule, namely, the *Dæmonologie*, contains the current opinions of his own times; and as every age has its peculiar follies,[3] those opinions are not to be censoriously imputed to an individual, who shared them with almost all his contemporaries.

[1] Lord Bacon has pronounced a high encomium on the Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον. (Of the Advancement of Learning, p. 250.) Sir Henry Savile, in his dedication of St. Chrysostom to King James, has extolled the same composition as superior to any similar work which had then been produced. But the most singular panegyric on the various merits and endowments of this learned monarch is perhaps to be found in a publication of Thomas Rose, bearing the following title: "Idæa, sive de Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ, Galliæ, et Hyberniæ, præstantissimi et augustissimi Regis, Virtutibus et Ornamentis, dilucida Enarratio, ejusque cum laudatissimis veterum Regibus, Monarchis, et Imperatoribus, Comparatio exacta et enucleata." Lond. 1608, 8vo. Op. 330. In his dedication he addresses the King, "Princeps omnium quotquot sunt, fuerunt, aut erunt nisi fallunt fata, longe Maxime, et, velint nolint, omnium Optime."

[2] "Sed hac fine stetit omnis regia liberalitas, nec truncio factus sum propensior, ut vel meo exemplo liquere possit, magnos terrarum dominos posse perdere, non donare." (Baudii Epistolæ, 298, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1650, 12mo.) Some of his panegyrists were however more fortunate. In the thirteenth of the King's reign, 1615-1616, Dempster received a free gift of two hundred pounds. (Nichols, vol. iii. p. 136.)

[3] And what is most commended at this time,
Succeeding ages may account a crime.
STIRLING'S Darius, p. 67.

The censure which has recently been passed on his poetical works may be regarded as too severe. They do not indeed evince any considerable vigour of imagination or elegance of taste; but they are not entirely destitute of fancy, and the versification occasionally rises above mediocrity.[1] His most successful effort bears the title of "Ane metaphoricall Invention of a Tragedie called Phoenix." In this production some traces of a poetical invention may be discovered; and we ought to recollect that it was published when the author was only about eighteen years of age. The metaphorical invention however it is not very easy to explain. Under the allegory of the Phœnix it has been supposed that "the author attempts to exhibit a sketch of the matchless beauty and sufferings of his unfortunate mother whom he represents as dead; but performs his task with so much caution, and with such a timid, trembling hand, that one can scarcely recognise the resemblance."[2] It is indeed so difficult to recognise the resemblance, that we must search for some other explanation; and it appears much more probable that the poem relates to the author's kinsman and favourite, Esme Stewart, Duke of Lennox. A powerful faction having compelled James to banish him from the kingdom in 1582, he returned to France, which was his native country, and died there in the course of the following year. The Phœnix, which was published in 1584, contains many passages applicable to the story of this lamented favourite; and an acrostich on the Duke's name is prefixed to the poem, apparently as an indication of the royal subject. The royal poet commences his longer poem with the following stanzas:—

The dyuers falls that Fortune geuis to men,
  By turning ouer her quheill to their annoy,
When I do heare them grudge, although they ken
  That olde blind Dame delytes to let the ioy
  Of all, such is her vse, which dois conuoy
Her quheill by gess, not looking to the right,
Bot still turnis vp that pairt quhilk is too light.

[1] Several specimens of King James's poetry have found admission into "Englands Parnassus, or the choysest Flowers of our moderne Poets." Lond. 1600, 8vo. See pp. 231, 232, 238, 236, 238, 422.

[2] Sibbald, vol. iii. p. 475.

Thus quhen I hard so many did complaine,
Some for the losse of worldly wealth and geir,
Some death of frends, quho can not come againe,
Some losse of health, which vnto all is deir,
Some losse of fame, which still with it dois beir
Ane greif to them who mereits it indeid:
Yet for all this appearis there some remeid.

For as to geir, lyke chance as made you want it,
Restore you may the same againe or mair:
For death of frends, although the same, I grant it,
Can noght returne, yet men are not so rair,
Bot ye may get the lyke: for seiknes sair,
Your health may come, or to ane better place
Ye must: for fame, good deids will mend disgrace.

Then, fra I saw, as I already told,
How men complaind for things whilk might amend,
How Dauid Lyndsay did complaine of old
His Papingo, her death, and sudden end,
Ane common foule, whose kinde be all is kend:
All these hes moved me presently to tell
Ane Tragedie, in griefs thir to excell,

For I complaine not of sic common cace,
Which diuersly by diuers means dois fall;
But I lament my Phoenix rare, whose race,
Whose kynde, whose kyn, whose offspring, they be all
In her alone whome I the Phoenix call;
That fowle which only one at onis did liue,
Not liues, alas! though I her praise reviue.

In Arabie cald Fœlix was she bredd,
This fowle, excelling Iris farr in hew,
Whose body whole with purpour was owercledd,
Whose taill of coulour was celestial blew,
With skarlat pennis that through it mixed grew:
Her craig was like the yallowe burnisht gold,
And she herself thre hundreth yeare was old.[1]

By the race of this Phœnix we are apparently to understand the royal house of Stewart, which, if we compute from the birth

[1] This poem occurs in the earliest of his Majesty's poetical publications. On the subject of the Phœnix, a large quantity of prose and verse may be found in the work of a Spanish author of some note, Don Joseph Pellicer de Salas y Tobar: "El Fenix y su Historia Natural, escrita en veinte y dos Exercitaciones," etc. Madrid, 1630, 8vo.

of Robert the Second, had now endured for nearly three hundred years. The mysterious fowl abandons Arabia Fœlix, and at length arrives in Scotland.

Ilk man did maruell at her forme most rare.
The winter came, and storms cled all the feild;
Which storms the land of fruit and corne made bare:
Then did she flie into an house for beild,
Which from the storms might saue her as an sheild:
There in that house she first began to tame;
I came, syne took her furth out of the same.

In this and the following stanzas we have a dim and shadowy view of Lennox's gracious reception on his arrival from France, of the high favour which he speedily obtained at court, of the persecution to which this favour at length exposed him, and of his subsequent return to the land of his nativity. The death of the Phœnix is afterwards related, and then follows a stanza which bears an apparent allusion to Lodovick, the young Duke of Lennox, who arrived from France in the month of November 1583.

Then fra ther newis, in sorrows soped haill,
Had made vs both a while to holde our peace,
Then he began and said, Pairt of my taill
Is yet vntolde; lo here one of her race,
Ane worme bred of her ashe: though she, alace,
Said he, be brunt, this lacks but plumes and breath
To be lyke her, new gendred by her death.

The Lepanto, a poem on the famous victory obtained over the Turks in 1571, is of much greater length, but of inferior merit. The subject, though sufficiently animating, has not inspired his Majesty with any degree of poetical fervour; nor does this production, extending to upwards of a thousand lines, contain a single passage conspicuous for its elevation of thought or felicity of expression. Near the beginning of the poem we encounter the following verses:—

Then, as I els began to say,
One day it did fall out,
As glorious God in glistering throne,
With angels round about,

Did sit, and Christ at his right hand,
That craftie Satan came,
Deceauer, Lyar, hating man,
And God's most sacred name.
This olde abuser stood into
The presence of the Lord;
Then in this manner Christ accus'de
The sower of discord.
I know thou from that city comes,
Constantinople great,
Where thou hast by thy malice made
The faithles Turkes to freat:
Thou hast inflamde their maddest mindes
With raging fire of wraith,
Against them all that doe professe
My name with feruent fayth.
How long, ô Father, shall they thus
Quite vnder foote be tred
By faithles folkes, who executes
What in this snake is bred?
Then Satan answerd; Fayth? quoth he;
Their faith it is too small:
They striue me thinke on either part
Who farthest backe can fall.
Hast thou not giuen them in my hands,
Euen both the sides, I say,
That I, as best doth seeme to me,
May vse them euery way?
Then Jehova, whose nod doth make
The heauens and mountaines quake,
Whose smallest wrath the centres makes
Of all the earth to shake;
Whose worde did make the worlde of nought,
And whose approouing syne
Did stablish all even as wee see,
By force of voice deuine;
This God began, etc.

The author afterwards introduces a description of Venice, but certainly not a poetical description. The angel Gabriel is then represented as assuming the figure of a man, and encouraging the Venetians to make war on the infidels.

This towne it stands within the sea,
Fiue miles or there about,

Vpon no ile nor ground ; the sea
Runnes all the streets throughout.
Who stood vpon the steeple head
Should see a wondrous sight,
A towne to stand without a ground,
Her ground is made by slight :
Strong timber props, dung in the sea,
Do bear her vp by art ;
An ile is all her market place,
A large and spacious part.
A duke with senate joynd doth rule,
Saint Marke is patron chiefe ;
Ilk yeare they wedde the Sea with rings,
To be their sure reliefe.
The angell then arriu'd into
This artificiall towne,
And chang'd in likenes of a man,
He walkes both vp and downe,
While time he met some man of spreit,
And then began to say,
What doe we all ? me think we sleep :
Are we not day by day
By cruell Turks and infidels
Most spitefully opprest ?
They kill our knights, they brash our forts,
They let us neuer rest.
Go too, go too, once make a proofe ;
No more let us desist :
To bold attempts God giues successe,
If once assay we list.

I shall now present the reader with a specimen of the royal poet's battle-piece, which is meanly conceived, and meanly executed :—

This warning giuen to Christians, they
With Turks yoake heere and there ;
And first the sixe aforesaid ships
That were so large and fair,
And placed were in the former ranks,
Did first of all persew
With bullets, raisers, chaines, and nailes
That from their peeces flew :
Their cannons rummisht all at once,
Whose mortall thudding draue

The fatall Turks to be content
With Thetis for their graue.
The fishes were astonisht all
To heare such hideous sound,
The azur skie was dim'd with smoke ;
The dinne that did aboùnd,
Like thunder rearding rumling raue
With roares the highest heauen,
And pearst with pith the glistering vaults
Of all the planets seauen.
The piteous plaints, the hideous howles,
The greeuous cries and mones,
Of millions wounded sundrie waies,
But dying all at ones,
Conjoynd with former horrible sound,
Distemperd all the aire,
And made the seas for terrour shake
With braying euery way where :
Yet all these unacquainted roarés,
The feareful threatning sound,
Joynd with the groning murmuring howles,
The courage could not wound
So farre of Turquish chieftaines braue,
As them to lit or fray
With boldest speed their greeuous harmes
With like for to repay ;
Who made their cannons bray so fast,
And hagbuts cracke so thicke,
As Christians dead in number almost
Did countervaile the quicke.

His expressions are sometimes so mean as to become ridiculous. In confirmation of this remark, I need only quote the following instances :—

A rude recounter then they made.
Together galleis clipt,
And each on other rasht her nose,
That in the sea was dipt.

A Macedonian souldier then,
Great honour for to win,
Before the rest in earnest hope
To Basha bold did rin,
And with a cutlace sharpe and fyne
Did whip mee off his head.

As a specimen of his tropes and figures, I subjoin the following simile :—

Then as into a spacious towne,
At breaking of the day,
The busie worke-men doe prepare
Their worklumes euery way ;
The wright doth sharpe his hacking axe,
The smith his grinding file,
Glasse-makers beets their fire that burnes
Continual, not a while,
The painter mixes colours viue,
The printer letters sets,
The mason clickes on marble stones,
Which hardlie drest he gets :
Euen so, how soon this warrior world
With earnest eies did see
Yon signe of warre, they all prepared
To win or else to die :
Here hagbutters prepard with speed
A number of bullets round,
Their cannoners their canons steild,
To make destroying sound,
Here knights, etc.

The original of the Lepanto was accompanied by a French version, executed by Du Bartas, a poet of no small celebrity, whose name was afterwards rendered familiar to English readers by the persevering labours of Josuah Sylvester. James had formerly done him the honour of translating one of his poems; and in order to insure a return of the same service, he had invited him to Scotland, and had treated him with peculiar attention ; besides defraying the expense of his voyage, he presented him at his departure with a thousand pounds, and with a gold chain of the same value ; he also conferred upon him the cheaper favour of knighthood, and having accompanied him to the sea-shore, exacted a promise that he would pay him a second visit. He had conducted his distinguished guest to St. Andrews, where they were entertained by the Archbishop, and where they heard Adamson and Melville enforce their respective notions of ecclesiastical polity.[1] They likewise partook of a collation in St. Mary's College, of which the undaunted Mel-

[1] M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 368.

ville was at that time Principal. All these courtesies, which took place in the year 1587, could not fail to excite the gratitude of Du Bartas; and as gratitude has a tendency to foster admiration, there might be a considerable mixture of sincerity in his extravagant commendation of the royal author and his work. In the preface, he speaks of the Lepanto as a production worthy of Homer; and in an introductory poem, he insinuates that the author marches with more than mortal steps.[1] Of these royal strains, which appeared so sublime to the French poet, and which appear so humble to us, a Latin translation was published by Thomas Murray in the year 1604.[2]

King James's translation of "The Uraine, or Heavenly Mvse" of Du Bartas, entitles him to considerable praise as a versifier: his couplets sometimes approach much nearer to the elegance and compression of modern English poetry than could be expected by those who have read the preceding extracts from the Lepanto. It opens with the following lines:—

Scarce had I yet in springtyme of my years,
When greening great for fame aboue my pears
Did make me lose my wonted chere and rest,
Essaying learned works with curious brest.
But as the Pilgrim, who for lack of light,
Cumd to the parting of two wayes at night,
He stayes assone, and in his mynde doeth cast
What way to take while moonlight yet doth last;
So I amongst the paths vpon that hill
Where Phœbus crownes all verses euer still
Of endles praise, with Laurers euer grene,
Did stay confusde, in doubt what way to mene.
I whyles essaide the Grece in Frenche to praise,
Whyles in that toung I gaue a lustie glaise

[1] The Earl of Stirling has contrived to introduce into his poem of Dooms-day (hour iv. st. 65) a splendid compliment to the Lepanto:—

What turband band abandons Thetis bowres,
By their misfortune fortunate to fame,
Who by a royall pens eternall powers
Reft back from death, life, whilst men breath do claime?
How those, still Turks, were baptiz'd in few houres,
Where azure fields foam'd forth a hoarie streame;
This my great Phœbus tun'd to trumpets sounds,
Whose stately accents each strange tongue rebounds.

[2] Naupactiados, sive Lepantiados Jacobi Magni, Britanniarum, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis, Metaphrasis poetica, authore Thoma Moravio Scoto. Lond. 1604, 4to. Thomas Murray was tutor to the Duke of York, and afterwards provost of Eton College, where he succeeded Sir Henry Savile in 1622, and was himself succeeded by Sir Henry Wotton in 1623. He died on the 9th of April 1623, at the age of fifty-nine.

For to descryue the Troian kings of olde,
And them that Thebes and Mycens crowns did holde :
And whilés I had the storye of Fraunce elected,
Which to the Muses I should haue directed :
My holie furie with consent of nane
Made Frenche the Mein, and nowyse Dutche the Sein.
Whiles thought I to set foorth with flattering pen
The praise vntrewe of kings and noble men ;
And that I might both golde and honours haue,
With courage basse I made my Muse a slaue.
And whyles I thought to sing the fickle boy
Of Cypris soft, and loues tŏ-swete anoy,
To lofty sprits that are therewith made blynd ;
To which discours my nature and age inclynd.
But whill I was in doubt what way to go,
With wind ambitious tossed to and fro,
A holy beuty did to mee appeare,
The Thundrers daughter seeming as she weare :
Her potre was angellike with angels face,
With comely shape and toung of heuenly grace ;
Her nynevoced mouth resembled into sound
The daunce harmonious making heauen resound.

The subsequent passage may even boast of somewhat of the enthusiasm of genuine poetry :—

So Hesiod, Line, and he whose lute they say
Made rocks and forrests come to hear him play,
Durst well their heauenly secrets all discloes
In-learned verse that softly slydes and goes.
O ye that wolde your brows with Laurel bind,
What larger feild I pray you can you find,
Then is his praise who brydles heauens most cleare,
Maks mountaines tremble, and lowest hells to feare ;
That is a horne of plenty well repleat,
That is a storehouse riche, a learning seat,
An ocean hudge, both lacking shore and ground,
Of heauenly eloquence a spring profound ?
From subiects base a base discours dois spring,
A lofty subiect of it selfe deth bring
Graue words and weghtie, of it selfe diuine,
And makes the authors holy honour shine.

In this translation he confesses that he has not rigidly adhered to the rules which he has himself prescribed in his treatise on Scotish poetry, and for this deviation he assigns

several apologetic reasons. "I must also desire yow to bear with it, albeit it be replete with innumerable and intolerable faultes, sic as ryming in tearmes, and dyuers others whilkis ar forbidden in my own treatise of the art of poesie, in the hinder end of this booke; I must, I say, praye you to appardone mee for three causes. First, because that translations are limitat and restrained in some things more then free inuentions are; therefore reasoun would that it had more libertie in others. Secoundlie, because I made noght my treatise of that intention, that eyther I or any others behoued astricktly to follow it; but that onely it should shew the perfection of poesie, wherevnto fewe or none can attaine. Thirdly, because that (as I shewe alreadye) I auow it not for a iust translation. Besydes that, I haue but ten feete in my lyne, where he hath twelue, and yet translates him lyne by lyne."

This translation appeared in his Essayes of a Prentise; and his Poeticall Exercises include a version of Du Bartas's Furies, written in the same measure as the Lepanto. It is the more ancient English verse of fourteen syllables, divided into two lines. As four verses require only a single rhyme, the poet is not much restrained in his course, and is very apt to fall into a species of doggrel. Where the lines frequently run into each other, the verse is more fully recognised by the eye than the ear. His Majesty's translation of the Furies, which extends beyond 1500 verses, contains many feeble, and some ludicrous passages.

James has written a considerable number of sonnets, which possess very unequal degrees of merit. One of them has already been quoted, and I now subjoin his "Sonnet decifring the Perfyte Poete."

Ane rype ingyne, an quicke and walkned witt,
With sommair reasons, suddenlie applyit,
For euery purpose vsing reasons fitt,
With skilfulnes, where learning my be spyit,
With pithie wordis for to expres you by it
His full intention in his proper leid,
The puritie quhairof weill hes he tryit;
With memorie to keip quhat he dois reid,
With skilfulnes and figuris, quhilks proceid
From rhetorique, with euerlasting fame,

With vthers woundring, preassing with all speid
For to atteine to merite sic a name:
All thir into the perfyte poete be.
Goddis grant I may obteine the laurell trie.

The sonnet which he has prefixed to the *Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον* contains some tolerably sonorous lines:—

God giues not kings the stile of Gods in vaine,
For on his throne his scepter doe they swey;
And as their subiects ought them to obey,
So kings should feare and serue their God againe.
If then ye would enioy a happie raigne,
Obserue the statutes of your heauenlie King
And from his lawe make all your lawe to spring:
Since his lieuetenant heere ye should remaine,
Reward the iust, be stedfast, true, and plaine,
Represse the proude, maintayning aye the right,
Walke alwaies so as euer in his sight
Who guardes the godlie, plaguing the profane;
And so ye shall in princelie vertues shine,
Resembling richt your mightie King diuine.[1]

But the sonnet subjoined to his Lepanto affords a more favourable specimen of his Majesty's vein:—

The azur'd vaulte, the crystall circles bright,
The gleaming fyrie torches powdred there,
The changing round, the shyning beamie light,
The sad and bearded fyres, the monsters faire,
The prodiges appearing in the aire,
The rearding thunders and the blustering winds,
The foules, in hew, in shape, in nature raire,
The prettie notes that wing'd musiciens finds;
In earth the sau'rie floures, the metall'd minds,
The wholesome hearbes, the hautie pleasant trees,
The syluer streames, the beasts of sundrie kinds,
The bounded roares, and fishes of the seas:
All these for teaching man the Lord did frame,
To do his will whose glorie shines in thame.

It has already been hinted that the genuineness of the complete version of the Psalms which bears his name, is somewhat doubtful. In his funeral sermon, preached by Dr. Williams,

[1] *Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον*: or his Maiesties Instrvctions to his dearest Sonne, Henry the Prince. Edinbvrgh, printed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the King's Majestie, 1603, 8vo.

afterwards Archbishop of York, it is clearly stated that his labours did not extend beyond the thirty-first psalm;[1] but several years after the King's death, a complete version was printed at Oxford under the title of "The Psalms of King David translated by King James." On the one side we have the averment of this prelate, and on the other that of the supposed translator's son and successor.[2] According to Sir Henry Wotton, he translated some of the Psalms for the use of his grandson the young Prince of Bohemia;[3] but we have his own authority for asserting that he had made some progress in such an undertaking so early as the year 1591.[4] A translation of the hundred and fourth psalm appears among his Essays, printed in 1584, but it has no resemblance to that which occurs in the complete version, and indeed it is not written in a measure adapted to church music. In the genuine verses of King James, and particularly in those of his later volume, the phraseology is not very decidedly Scotish; but the phraseology of the Psalms is so materially English, that they must all have passed through other hands. It is therefore highly probable that his portion was revised, and the translation completed, by some court poet; and this poet appears to have been William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling. In a letter addressed to Drummond, and dated in the year 1620, he apparently speaks of the King and himself being both employed in versifying the Psalms. "I received your last letter, with the psalm you sent, which I think very well done: I had done the same long before it came, but he prefers his own to all else, tho' perchance, when you see it, you will think it the worst of the three. No man must meddle

[1] "Hee was in hand (when God call'd him to sing psalmes with the angels) with the translation of our church psalmes, which hee intended to haue finished and dedicated withall to the onely saint of his deuotion, the church of Great Britaine, and that of Ireland. This worke was staied in the one and thirty psalme." (Williams's Great Britains Salomon; a Sermon preached at the magnificent Funerall of the most high and mighty King James, p. 42. Lond. 1625, 4to.)

[2] This publication bears the following privilege: "Charles R. Haueing caused this translation of the Psalmes (whereof oure late deare father was author) to be perused, and it being found to be exactly and truely done, wee doe hereby authorize the same to be imprinted according to the patent granted therevpon, and doe allow them to be song in all the churches of our dominiones, recommending them to all oure goode subjects for that effect."

[3] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 558.

[4] In the preface to His Maiesties poeticall Exercises, he expresses himself thus: "Rough and vnpolished as they are, I offer them vnto thee: which beeing well accepted, will moue mee to hast the presenting vnto thee of my Apocalyps, and also such nomber of the Psalmes as I haue perfited."

with that subject, and therefore I advise you to take no more pains therin."[1] In 1627, two years after the King's death, Sir William Alexander obtained a patent securing to him the sole right, for thirty-one years, of printing or causing to be printed the Psalms of King David translated by King James;[2] and if the version had experienced a favourable reception, and been willingly adopted by both Churches, this privilege might have proved a source of great emolument. From the circumstances which have already been stated, it is sufficiently probable that his interest in this production was not merely pecuniary; and certain it is that some of his contemporaries supposed him to possess a valid claim to be considered as its principal author.[3] In the handwriting of the King, a version of thirty of the psalms has been preserved among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum;[4] but it differs very widely from the version published under the name of the royal poet. His genuine version of the twenty-ninth psalm stands thus:—

Ye princes sonnes yeild to the Lorde,
  Yeild him all force and gloire,
And yeild to him the honoure deu
  Unto his name thairfoire.
Inclyne and bou youre selfis adoune;
  Adore Jehoua great,
Quho sittis most gloriously upon
  His throne and holy seat.

The uoyce of God on uattiris ringis
  And makis a wondrousse sound;
Strong gloriouse God doth thunder, his uoyce
  On uattiris that abound:

[1] Drummond's Works, p. 151. Edinb. 1711. fol. "The revising of the Psalms he made his own labor, and at such hours as he might spare from the publick cares went through a number of them, commending the rest to a faithful and learned servant, who hath therein answered his Majesties expectation." (Spotswood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 466.)

[2] The writ of Privy-Seal has been printed in the appendix to a book entitled a Memorial for the Bible Societies of Scotland, No. xxi. Edinb. 1824, 8vo. I have been informed that there is a record of an English patent to the same effect.

[3] "The people call them Menstries Psalmes; bot we heir that another, if not others, also hath had ane hand in them, and that these have revised King James his part." See Reasons against the publick Vse of this new Metaphrase of the Psalmes, p. 13, printed in the Bannatyne Miscellany.

[4] MSS. Reg. 18, B. xvi. The same volume likewise contains a paraphrase of the twelfth chapter of Ecclesiastes, of the Lord's Prayer, and of the Song of Moses. Mr. Ritson informs us that "in the library of St. Martin's parish, Westminster, is a MS. volume, containing all the King's short poems that are not printed."

The ioyce of God cummis semely furth,
His ioyce cummis furth with micht;
Jehouas ioyce the cedres brekis,
Euin Lebans cedres micht,

And makis thaime as a calf to skipp:
Hudge Liban, Sirion eik,
Lyke to the faune of vnicornis,
Will leap quhen he doth speik.
His ioyce makis wildernesses murne,
And quenchis flammes of fyre;
Euen the desertis of Kades large
May not abyde his yre.

Jehouas ioice makis hyndis to calue,
And tirris the forrestis grene;
Bot in his temple all his gloire
He shouis and makis be sene.
Jehoua satt in the deluge,
And sittis a King for aye,
He also to his people giues
The force thay haue alluaye.

The same Jehoua great doth blesse
His people well belouid.
With great tranquillitie and peace,
Pray it be not remouid.

But every reader will find some difficulty in recognising the same version in the printed editions:—

Giue freely to the Lord, O yee
That doe excell in micht,
Giue glory to the Lord, and strength,
As due to him of right.
Giue him the glory of his name,
And, humbly bow'd, afford,
With holynesse well beautified,
Due honour to the Lord.

The Lord his voice on waters is,
The God of glory high:
He thunder doth, the Lord he doth
On many waters flie.
The Lord his voice is full of power,
And doth in state exceed:
It breaks the cedars, cedars breaks,
That Lebanon doth breed.

Hee makes them like a calfe to leap,
Which once most solid stood,
Even Lebanon and Schirion,
Like vnicornes young brood.
The Lord his voyce doth cut the flames,
The wildernesse doth shake,
The wildernesse of Kadesh oft
It doth astonish'd make.

The Lord his voyce makes hindes to calue
And makes the forrests bare:
And in his temple every one
His glory doth declare.
The Lord doth sit vpon the floods,
The Lord for ever raignes;
The Lord will give his people strength,
And blesse with peace their paines.

As a further specimen of this version, I shall likewise transcribe the twenty-seventh psalm from the first edition:—

The Lord my light and safety is,
How can I frighted be?
The Lord is of my life the strength,
And who can trouble me?
When wicked foes to eat my flesh,
Against me warre did make,
They straight did stumble and fell downe,
A prey for me to take.

Though even an hoast against me pitch,
No feare can taint my brest,
Though roaring warre against me rise,
In this secure I rest.
This one thing aske I from the Lord,
And earnestly request,
That all the dayes I haue to liue,
I in his house may rest,

There to contemplate and behold
The beauty of the Lord,
And in his temple to enquire
According to thy word.
For his pavilion mee shall hide,
When trouble doth molest,

His tents derne part it shall mee hide,[4]
He makes a rocke my vest.

He shall aboue my foes about
My head with glorie raise;
I in his tabernacle glad
Shall offer, sing, and praise.
Heare me, O Lord, when with my voice
I call aloud to thee;
Thy gratious favour then extend,
And yeeld thine eare to mee.

When in thy presence to repaire
Thou will'd me by thy grace,
My ravish'd heart did answer, Lord,
Lord, I will seeke thy face.
Hide not thy face, nor put away
Thy servant in thine yre:
Thou hast me help'd, my safeties God,
Doe not from mee retire.

My father and my mother both,
Though they doe mee forsake,
Yet thou, O Lord, even then of mee
Wilt the protection take.
Teach thou, O Lord, thy way to mee,
And guide mee by thy grace
A straight plaine path, because of foes
That all my steps doe trace.

To satisfie my foes desires,
Doe not deliver mee:
False witnesses with malice rise,
And cruelties decree.
I fainted had, but that I hop'd
Thy goodnesse to enjoy,
Even in the land of them that liue
As yet design'd for joy.

Doe thou vpon the Lord attend,
With courage alwaies stor'd,
For he will fortifie thy heart,
Wait therefore on the Lord.

[4] *Derne* is a Scotish word, signifying secret. In the subsequent editions, these four verses are completely changed:—

For his pavilion me shall hide
In stormy times, and he
In his tents secret me shall hide,
And on a rock set me.

King Charles appears to have felt a considerable degree of anxiety that this version should be sung in the churches, and he recommended it to all his good subjects for that purpose: but his recommendation produced very little effect in England;[1] and in the sister kingdom, the royal version encountered violent opposition, because it had not been undertaken with the approbation of the Church, and was regarded as too full of poetical phrases to be sufficiently intelligible to the common people.[2] It was associated with the liturgy introduced into the Church of Scotland in the year 1637; but although it passed through several editions,[3] its success was neither great nor permanent. Another version of the Psalms was completed by Zachary Boyd,[4]

[1] Todd's Observations upon the metrical Version of the Psalms, made by Sternhold, Hopkins, and others, p. 69. Lond. 1822, 8vo.

[2] Among Wodrow's MSS. in the Advocates' Library, there are several papers against King James's version of the Psalms (M. vi. 9.) They have lately been printed in the Bannatyne Miscellany. The papers contained in the volume appear to have been collected by David Calderwood.

[3] The Psalmes of King David translated by King James. Oxford, 1631, 12mo. Without place or date, 8vo. Lond. 1636, fol. Edinb. 1712, 8vo. This last edition is printed with the Scotish liturgy. The edition which I suppose to be the second has the same ornaments with that of 1631, and was probably printed at Oxford. The first and second editions differ very widely from each other; and the third varies, though not so materially, from the second. Many of the expressions were at first considered as too poetical; and Lord Stirling seems to have laboured with no small assiduity to introduce a more familiar phraseology; nor are these numerous changes confined to one part of the version. It is therefore evident that a very small share, if indeed any share, of the property can be adjudged to King James. A short quotation from Psalm cxlviii. will convey some idea of the process by which the poetical ornaments were withdrawn:—

His praise at length dilate,
You flaming lord of light,
And with the starres in state,
Pale lady of the night.
Edit. 1631, p. 316.

His praise at length dilate,
Thou sun that shin'st so bright;
Praise him with stars in state,
Thou moon that clear'st the night.
Edit. 1636, p. 146.

[4] The Psalmes of David in meeter: by Mr. Zachary Boyd, Preacher of Gods Word. The third edition. Printed at Glasgow by George Anderson, *anno* 1646, 12mo. As a specimen of this work, I shall transcribe his version of the Twenty-third Psalm:—

The Lord's my shepheard, I'le not want;
He makes me by good will
Ly in green pastures, he me leads
Beside the waters still.
My soul likewise he doth restore,
And me to lead doth take
Into the paths of righteousnesse,
And that for his names sake.

Yea, though through valley of deaths shade
I walk, I'le fear no ill,
For thou art with me, thy rod and
Thy staffe me comfort still.
Thou set'st in presence of my foes
A table me before,
Mine head with oyl thou dost anoint,
My cup it runneth o're.

Goodnesse and mercy all the dayes
Of my life surely shall
Me follow, and in the Lords house
For ever I will dwell.

Zachary Boyd, though a very unsuccessful votary of the Muses, seems to have been a person of a respectable character; and, as Mr. Pinkerton remarks, his just fame as a benefactor to learning has been obscured by a cloud of miserable rhymes. In the preface to his Last Battell of the Sovle, he informs us that he had spent sixteen years of his life in France, "where it pleased God to mak 'him'

and a third by Sir William Moore of Rowallan: the latter was never printed, but the original manuscript is still preserved, though not without some mutilations. The version finally adopted, after innumerable alterations, was that of Francis Rouse, which was approved by the Westminster Assembly, and reprinted in the year 1646.[1] One of Baillie's letters, dated in 1644, reflects some light on this subject: "An old most honest member of the House of Commons, Mr. Rous, has helped the old Psalter, in the most places faulty. His friends are very pressing in the assembly that his book may be examined, and helped by the author in what places it should be found meet, and then be commended to the Parliament, that they may enjoin the publick use of it. One of their considerations is the great private advantage which would by this book come to their friend: but many do oppose the motion; the most, because the work is not so well done as they think it might. Mr. Nye spake much against a tie to any Psalter, and something against the singing of paraphrases, as of preaching of homilies. We underhand will mightily oppose it; for the Psalter is a great part of our uniformity, which we cannot let pass till our church be well advised with it. I wish I had Rowallan's Psalter here; for I like it much better than any yet I have seen."[2] Rouse had been appointed Provost of Eton College, and afterwards became

a preacher of his word the space of foure yeares." After his return, he was appointed minister of the Barony church at Glasgow; and at his death he bequeathed to the University, of which he had for some time been Vice-chancellor, the sum of 20,000*l.* in Scotish money; a sum by no means inconsiderable at that period. (Macure's View of the City of Glasgow, p. 228.) His portrait may be found in Pinkerton's Iconographia Scotica. The most extensive of his metrical publications is entitled "The Garden of Zion: wherein the life and death of godly and wicked men in Scriptures are to be seene, from Adam unto the last of the Kings of Judah and Israel, with the good uses of their life and death." Glasg. 1644, 2 vols. 8vo. But he undertook a work of still greater extent, a metrical paraphrase of the Scriptures; and the manuscript is preserved in the public library of the University of Glasgow. This singular performance was long ago ridiculed by Colville in the apology prefixed to his poem. Among other prose works, Boyd published the following:—The last Battell of the Sovle in Death, diuided into eight conferences. Edinb. 1629, 2 vols. 8vo. The Sword of the Lord and of Gideon: to which is subjoined a Prayer for an Armie going to Battell, and a thanksgiving after the Victorie. Glasg. 1643, 8vo. 1. Crosses; 2. Comforts; 3. Counsels: needful to be considered, and carefully to be laid up in the Hearts of the Godly, in these boysterous broiles, and bloody times. Glasg. 1643, 8vo.

[1] The Psalms of David in English meeter. London, printed by Miles Flesher, for the Company of Stationers, 1646, 12mo. Dr. Cotton has inadvertently divided Rouse's paraphrase into two. (List of the Editions of the Bible in English, pp. 68, 69. Oxford, 1821, 8vo.) Wood supposes that all or most of it had been printed in 1641. (Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. iii. col. 468.)

[2] Baillie's Letters and Journals, i. p. 411.

a member of Cromwell's House of Lords.[1] In the year 1647, after his version had received the approbation of the Westminster Assembly, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland having considered the report of a committee to which the subject had been referred, found that a further revision was still necessary; and accordingly appointed John Adamson to examine the first forty psalms, Thomas Crawford the second forty, John Row the third forty, and John Nevey the remaining thirty. The act enjoins that, "in their examination, they shall not only observe what they think needs to be amended, but also to set down their own essay for correcting thereof; and for this purpose recommends them to make use of the travels of Rowallen, Master Zachary Boyd, or any other on that subject, but especially of our own paraphrase, that what they finde better in any of these works may be chosen."[2] The next Assembly ordered that the corrections which had been proposed by the persons thus appointed, should be transmitted to the different presbyteries for the benefit of their remarks. It was at the same time recommended to Adamson and Crawford, who were both members of the University, "to revise the labours of Mr. Zachary Boyd upon the other scriptural songs, and to prepare a report thereof to the commission for publick affairs."[3] Both of them must have possessed too much taste to think very favourably of Mr. Zachary's "travels." In the Assembly of 1649 the subject of Rouse's paraphrase was again resumed: six individuals were appointed to complete the revision, and to make a final report to the commission at its meeting in the month of November; the commission was authorized to sanction the corrected paraphrase, and to publish it for general use.[4] The version of Rouse was thus subjected to innumerable changes and modifications; nor would it have been suffered to retain many poetical ornaments if it had originally possessed them.[5]

[1] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, iii. col. 466.

[2] Acts of the General Assemblies, p. 353. 1682, 8vo.

[3] Acts of the General Assemblies, p. 428.

[4] Ibid. p. 479.

[5] Mr. Merrick, one of the most poetical versifiers of the Psalms, has made the following remark in the preface to the Psalms translated or paraphrased in English verse, 2d edit. Reading, 1766, 12mo. "The translator knew not how, without neglecting the poetry, to write in such language as the common sort of people would be likely to understand."

CHAPTER XXIV.

It is remarked by Bishop Hurd that there is "in the revolutions of taste and language, a certain point which is more favourable to the purposes of poetry than any other. It may be difficult to fix this point with exactness. But we shall hardly mistake in supposing it lies somewhere between the rude essays of unconnected fancy, on the one hand, and the refinements of reason and science, on the other."[1] The Scotish nation seemed nearly to have reached this point, when an event occurred which was ultimately productive of many advantages, but which for the space of nearly a century, had nevertheless an obvious tendency to retard the progress of intellectual improvement. This was the union of the two crowns; an event which was not completed by conquest and submission, but by the quiet succession of the King of Scotland to his relative the Queen of England. After all the open hostilities and jealous alliances which had subsisted between the two countries for three hundred years, King James, the descendant of Henry the Seventh, succeeded to the English throne as peaceably as a private person commonly succeeds to his inheritance. The population and the wealth of England were at that crisis, as they are at present, much greater than the population and the wealth of Scotland; and although the latter might originally appear to stand on the vantage-ground, in consequence of its native sovereign's succession to the rival kingdom, it was yet an unavoidable consequence of such a union that the poorer country should in some respects be treated like a conquered province, rather than like an independent state. Its ancient capital, being deserted by the court, subsided to the level of a provincial city, and was deprived of

[1] Hurd's Moral and Political Dialogues, vol. i. p. 197.

many of those incitements which influence literary exertion. The language spoken by Wallace and Bruce, by Buchanan and Napier, having ceased to be the language of courtiers, began to be considered as a provincial dialect. Poets who expected to please politer ears were constrained to adopt a foreign speech; and as it was difficult for them to reject their native idioms, they were apt to write without sufficient purity and elegance; for when they professed to write in English, their compositions were to be tried by the English standard. It was only by a few men of rank or fortune, who had better opportunities of refining their taste, that such verses as an English reader could approve were now produced. Nor was it the national taste alone that was depressed by this material change in the domestic relations of the kingdom: the policy pursued by four successive monarchs was generally unwise, and was often deeply reprehensible; the power and the resources of the one kingdom encouraged them to exercise a tyrannical sway in the other; and the measures adopted in Scotland by the two last princes of the house of Stewart, were equally disgraceful to themselves and pernicious to their subjects. Under the galling yoke of those heartless despots, who were incapable of deriving wisdom from experience, and whom their fathers' fate had not reclaimed from their fathers' errors, the ancient kingdom of Scotland was miserably sunk and degraded; nor was it to be expected that the studies of poetry and eloquence should flourish in so troubled and ungenial an atmosphere.[1]

The remainder of our subject presents little more than a barren waste, an extended wilderness interspersed with very few spots of verdure. Our inquiries are professedly restricted to poets who wrote in the Scotish language; but the succession of those who wrote with any considerable degree of fancy or feeling, was exposed to so long and dismal an interruption, that it may not here be improper to devote a few digressive pages to the most conspicuous Scotish writers who cultivated English poetry soon after the period of the Union. Among these we cannot fail to place Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, who enjoyed a

[1] The influence of the Union on the national genius has been ably unfolded by Dr. Robertson, Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 196.

high reputation during his lifetime, and whose name is still mentioned with respect. His remote ancestor was Alexander Macdonald, who obtained in *feu* from the noble family of Argyle the estate of Menstrie in the county of Clackmannan, and whose posterity assumed the name of Alexander from his Christian name.[1] The poet was the son of Alexander Alexander, and was born in the year 1580. He is said to have been educated in the University of Glasgow:[2] his accomplishments recommended him as a proper person to accompany the Earl of Argyle on his travels; and his reputation as a poet had perhaps a still stronger tendency to establish his interest at court. He attracted the particular notice of Prince Henry, and afterwards received many marks of favour from King James and his successor. By a charter, dated on the 10th of September 1621, he obtained a grant of the territory of Nova Scotia in America. As an encouragement for the colonization of this new settlement, an extraordinary expedient was now devised: he was authorized to divide the land into one hundred parcels, and to dispose of these, along with the title of Baronet, to such individuals as were able and willing to pay the stipulated price, which amounted to about two hundred pounds for each title;[3] for this was in reality a sale of titles, nor would the parcels of land themselves have attracted many purchasers.[4] Another expedient, not more unexceptionable, consisted in granting to the founder of this colony the privilege of issuing a base copper

[1] Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 535.

[2] Macure's View of the City of Glasgow, p. 229. Glasg. 1736, 8vo.

[3] King James devised a similar plan, which was never carried into execution. Twenty-four gentlemen of a certain fortune were "to be moved to disburst £300 sterling each man in monie or victuals, for maintainance of the gold mynes of Scotland; for which disbursement each was to have the honour of Knighthood bestowed upon him, and so for ever to be called the Knight of the Golden Mynes, or the Golden Knight." (Atkinson's Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mynes in Scotland, p. 45. Edinb. 1825, 4to.)

[4] Sir Thomas Urquhart, apparently scandalized at this sale of knightly honours, mentions the noble poet with some degree of indignation. "The purity of this gentleman's vein was quite spoiled by the corruptness of his courtiership; and so much the greater pity; for by all appearance, had he been contented with that mediocrity of fortune he was born unto, and not aspired to those grandeurs of the court, which could not without pride be prosecuted, nor maintained without covetousness, he might have made a far better account of himself. It did not satisfie his ambition to have a laurel from the Muses, and to be esteemed a king amongst poets, but he must be king of some new-found-land; and, like another Alexander indeed, searching after new worlds, have the soveraignty of Nova Scotia." (Εκσκυβαλαυρον: or, the Discovery of a most exquisite Jewel, p. 207. Lond. 1652, 8vo.)

coin, denominated Turners. About this period he built a large house in Stirling; and having inscribed upon it his family motto, "Per mare, per terras," some person parodied it, in allusion to the sources of his wealth, "Per metre, per turners." He gradually rose to various offices of dignity and emolument: in 1625, we find him described as Master of Requests for Scotland;[1] he was appointed Secretary of State in 1626, Keeper of the Signet in 1627, a Commissioner of Exchequer in 1628, and one of the Extraordinary Judges of the Court of Session in 1631. Having been raised to the peerage, he was finally created Earl of Stirling, Viscount of Canada, and Lord Alexander of Tullibody, by a patent dated at Dalkeith on the 14th of June 1633. In 1635, he obtained from the council of New England an extensive grant of land, including what was then called Stirling, and afterwards Long Island; and he is to be considered as the founder of that settlement which after the lapse of a century and a half produced the State of New York. The Earl terminated his busy and prosperous career at London in the month of February 1640; and his body having been embalmed, was conveyed by sea to Stirling, where it was interred in the church on the 12th of April.[2] By his wife, Janet the daughter and coheiress of Sir William Erskine, related to the noble family of Mar, he left several children.

His literary offspring was likewise numerous.[3] He is rather the poet of sentiment than of imagination: his works are less frequently distinguished by bold flights of fancy, than by a philosophical vein of reflection; but he often displays considerable vigour of conception, and expresses his thoughts with suitable force and dignity. The Earl of Orford has characterized him as a poet "greatly superior to the age;"[4] and if we compare

[1] He is so described in the dedication of a work entitled "Encovragements for such as shall have intention to bee Vnder-takers in the new Plantation of Cape Briton, now New Galloway, in America, by mee Lochinvar." Edinb. 1625, 4to. The author of this tract, Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, had obtained a grant of the island; and in endeavouring to recommend his new settlement, he displays considerable address.

[2] Balfour's Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 427.

[3] His lordship is the author of some works in prose. A Supplement of a Defect in the third Part of Sidney's Arcadia. Dublin, 1621, fol. An Encouragement to Colonies. Lond. 1625, 4to. This tract afterwards appeared under a different title: A Map and Description of New England, with a Discourse of Plantation and the Colonies, etc. Lond. 1630, 4to.

[4] Orford's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. v. p. 73. The Earl of Stirling received many compliments from the English poets of his own age, and, among the rest,

him with such writers as Donne and Cowley, he certainly appears to no small advantage. His style, though not entirely free from Scoticisms, and from harsh combinations, is frequently conspicuous for its nervous simplicity, while many of the celebrated poets of that period are alike remarkable for their affectation of thought and harshness of expression :—

And all that is affected, hath no grace.[1]

Among the most prominent of his compositions we must evidently class his Monarchicke Tragedies, which are four in number; namely, Crœsus, Darius, the Alexandræan Tragedie, and Julius Cæsar.[2] The author does not appear to have intended them for representation, nor is their spirit very dramatic. The reader's attention is not attracted by plots and incidents : there is too little action, and too much disquisition; almost all the characters are apt to indulge in moral and political reflections; and some of the speeches extend to a most unreasonable length; there is in short little that bears any striking resemblance to the manners and passions of real life.[3] The Alexandræan Tragedie commences with a speech of five folio pages, delivered by the ghost of Alexander the Great;[4] and the Tragedie of

from Drayton, in his Epistle to Henry Reynolds, Esquire, from Daniel in the Epistle prefixed to the Tragedy of Philotas, from Habington in his Castara, p. 114, edit. Lond. 1640, 12mo.

[1] Stirling's Parænesis to Prince Henry, st. 12.

[2] Of the different editions of Lord Stirling's tragedies I shall here subjoin a brief notice. The Tragedie of Darivs. Edinb. 1603, 4to. The Tragedy of Crœsus, with Darius. Lond. 1604, 4to. The Monarchicke Tragedies, Crœsus, Darius, the Alexandræan, Julius Cæsar, newly enlarged. Lond. 1607, 4to. The Monarchicke Tragedies. The third edition. Lond. 1616, 8vo. In his Recreations with the Muses. Lond. 1637, fol. To the first edition of Darius he has prefixed a poetical dedication to the King, and a prose address to the reader. His tragedy is commended in two sonnets by John Murray and Walter Quin, and in a Latin tetrastich by the latter. "The language of this poeme," says the author, "is, as thou seest, mixt of the English and Scottish dialects; which perhaps may be vnpleasant and irksome to some readers of both nations. But I hope the gentle and judicious Englishe reader will beare with me, if I retaine some badge of mine owne countrie, by vsing sometimes words that are peculiar therevnto, especiallie when I finde them propre and significant. And as for my owne countrymen, they may not justly finde fault with me, if for the more part I vse the English phrase, as worthie to be preferred before our owne for the elegancie and perfection thereof." Many passages were corrected in the subsequent editions.

[3] Langbaine has bestowed sufficient commendation on the dramatic performances of the noble poet. "These plays," he remarks, "seem to be writ with great judgment, and (if I mistake not) the author has propos'd the ancients for his pattern, by bringing in the chorus between the acts. They are grave and sententious throughout, like the tragedies of Seneca; and yet where the softer and more tender passions are toucht, they seem as moving as the plays so much in vogue with the ladies of this age." (Account of the English Dramatick Poets, p. 1. Oxford, 1691, 8vo.)

[4] The opening of this Tragedie is not unlike that of the Hecuba of Euripides.

Julius Cæsar commences with another of the same length, delivered by Juno. Each of those four dramas exhibits a series of events, not sufficiently interwoven with each other. One of them is indeed, as his lordship describes it, a "polytragicke tragedie;" it comprehends the fortunes and fate of all the chief leaders who, after the death of Alexander, contended for empire and for life. He has so far conformed to the model of the ancients as to introduce a chorus into each of his tragedies; but he has not paid much attention to the unities of time, place, and action. He seems rather to have formed his taste by the study of Seneca, than of the Greek dramatists: both poets are equally fond of declamation and of pointed sentences. His familiarity with the classics may perhaps be inferred from his various imitations, and yet his false quantities in several ancient names might lead us to doubt the accuracy of his classical knowledge. Thus he speaks of Darĭus, Ixĭon, Mausolĕum, Nicănor, Orĭon, Pandĭon, Eumēnes, and Thomīris. Nor are his dramas entirely free from anachronisms; for example, he represents the contemporaries of Crœsus as familiar with the Stoic philosophy, which derived its origin from a much more recent era. Errors of this kind may however be detected in the greatest of the ancient, as well as modern poets. In the Electra of Sophocles, the characters are very familiar with the Pythian games; and in the Phœnissæ of Euripides, the war between Eumolpus and the Athenians is placed in the same period with the contention between the sons of Œdipus, that is, about four generations too late.[1] The dramatic poets of a more recent age abound with similar errors; and not a few have been detected in Milton's Samson Agonistes, a very striking production formed upon the ancient model.[2] "Such anachronisms," says Lord Holland, "affect not the interest of the plot, the justness of the sentiments, or the consistency of the characters. They are frequent in our early tragedies, where they neither excite nor deserve the attention of judicious critics. As far as they diminish the probability of the story, and offend the recollections of a well-

[1] Grotii prolegomena in Euripidis Phœnissas. Paris, 1630, 8vo. Valckenaer ad Phœniss. v. 861. Francq. 1755, 4to.

[2] See the Rambler, No. 140, and the preface to Mr. Glasse's Greek version of Samson Agonistes. Oxon. 1788, 8vo.

informed audience; they are blemishes; but as they neither impair the beauty of the design, nor deaden the effect of the execution, they can in no degree detract from the character of a poet."[1]

The Earl of Stirling has adopted a mode of versification by no means suited to dramatic composition.[2] Sir John Davies had employed the quatrain measure, and with no mean energy, in his philosophical poem on the Soul; Sir William Davenant afterwards employed it in his heroic poem of Gondibert, and his choice is strongly condemned by Rymer, an early critic of no small reputation among his contemporaries.[3] More modern poets have with superior taste and judgment appropriated it to tender and pathetic subjects, to which its cadence is peculiarly adapted. The quatrains of Stirling are occasionally interspersed with couplets, particularly where, in imitation of the Greek dramatists, he distributes the dialogue into alternate verses. Of his style and manner, the following extract from a speech of Darius may afford a fair specimen :—

Whilst loftie thoughts tumultuous mindes do tosse,
  Which are puft up with popular applause,
A state extended by our neighbour's losse,
  For further trouble but procures a cause.
If Fortunes dark ecclipse cloud glories light,
  Then what avails that pomp which pride doth claim ?
A meere illusion made to mock the sight,
  Whose best was but the shadow of a dreame.
Of glassie scepters let fraile greatnesse vaunt,
  Not scepters, no, but reeds, which rais'd up, break ;
And let eye-flatt'ring shows our wits enchaunt,
  All perish'd are, ere of their pomp men speak :

[1] Holland's Lives of Lope de Vega and Guillen de Castro, vol. ii. p. 117.

[2] Lord Stirling has left no specimens of blank verse; and with respect to couplets, he had perhaps adopted the opinion of an eminent English poet. "I must confesse," says Daniel, "that to mine owne eare those continuall cadences of couplets vsed in long and continued poems are very tiresome and vnpleasing, by reason that stil me thinks they runne on with a sound of one nature, and a kind of certaintie, which stuffs the delight rather than intertaines it." (Defence of Ryme, sig. H. 6. Lond. 1603, 8vo.)

[3] "The sort of verse he made choice of, might, I suppose, contribute much to the vitiating of his stile; for thereby he obliges himself to stretch every period to the end of four lines. Thus the sense is broken perpetually with parentheses, the words jumbl'd in confusion, and a darkness spread over all; that the sense is either not discern'd, or found not sufficient for one just verse, which is sprinkl'd on the whole tretrastick." (Rymer's preface to Rapin's Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise of Poesie. Lond. 1694, 8vo.)

Those golden palaces, those gorgeous Halls,
With furniture superfluously faire,
Those stately Courts, those skie-encountring walls,
Do vanish all like vapours in the ayre.
O! what affliction jealous greatnesse bears,
Which still must travell to hold others downe,
Whilst all our guards not guard us from our fears,
Such toile attends the glory of a Crowne!
Where are they all who at my feet did bow,
Whilst I was made the idoll of so many?
What joy had I not then? what have I now?
Of all once honour'd, and now scarce of any.
Our painted pleasures but apparrell paine;
We spend our nights in feare, our dayes in dangers,
Balls toss'd by Starres, thrals bound to Fortunes raigne,
Though known to all, yet to our selves but strangers.
A golden Crowne doth cover leaden cares;
The Scepter cannot lull their thoughts asleep,
Whose souls are drown'd with flouds of cold despaires,
Of which base vulgars cannot sound the deep.
The Bramble grows, although it be obscure,
Whilst loftie Cedars feele the blust'ring windes,
And mild plebeian souls may live secure,
While mighty tempests tosse imperiall mindes.[1]

As a further specimen, I quote the subsequent passage from a speech of Olympias in the fourth act of the Alexandræan Tragedie:—

O happie woman, of true pleasure sure,
Who in the Countrey lead'st a guiltlesse life!
From Fortunes reach retyr'd, obscure, secure,
Though not a Queene, yet a contented wife.
Thy Mate, more deare to thee then is the light
Though low in state, loves in a high degree,
And with his presence still to blesse thy sight,
Doth scorne great Courts whilst he lives courting thee.
And as thou wound'st him not with hid disgrace,
He with no jealous thought doth rack thy brest:
Thus both lye downe to rest, and rise in peace,
Then, if they strive, they strive who should love best.
What though thou have not, as the mighty ones,
Thy neck surcharg'd with chains—ah, chains indeed!—
Nor eares weigh'd down with orientall stones,
Nor Robes, whose worth may admiration breed?

[1] Recreations with the Mvses, p. 96.

So want'st thou that which we have ever had,
Sad mis-contentments, jealousie, and spite;
And though thy back be not with purple clad,
Thy thoughts are deck't with innocencies white.
As birds, whose cage of gold the sight deceives,
Do seeme to sing whilst they but waile their state,
So with the mighty match'd, made glorious slaves,
We happy seeme whilst we but curse our fate.
That blesse whose shew in us vaine eyes doth please,
Makes thee indeed with pleasures spend thy breath,
Who liv'st while yong in mirth, whilst ag'd in ease,
And know'st not what it is to dye till death.

One of his biographers has quoted the following quatrain from the tragedy of Crœsus, "to show that this nobleman sometimes wrote in a very good vein:"[1]—

Love is a joy which upon paine depends,
A drop of sweet, drown'd in a sea of sowres;
What folly doth begin, oft fury ends,
They hate for ever who have lov'd for houres.[2]

In the choruses of the Greek writers we recognise many sublime strains of poetry; and those of Mr. Mason, who has endeavoured to revive the spirit of the ancient drama, are not unworthy of such models. But the choruses of Lord Stirling are sententious, rather than poetical. The subsequent stanzas, which may be produced as a specimen, form a part of the concluding chorus of Darius:—

Yet princes must be serv'd, and with all sorts;
Some both to do, and counsell what is best,
Some serve for Cyphers to set out the rest
Like life-lesse pictures which adorne the ports.
Fair Palaces replenish'd are with feares,
Those seeming pleasures are but snares,
The royall robe doth cover cares,
Th' Assyrian dye deare buys he who it beares:
Those dainty delicates, and farre-fetch'd food,
Oft, through suspition, savour out of season,
Embrodred beds and tapestries hatch treason,
The golden Goblets mingled are with bloud.
Such shows the shadows are when Greatnesse shines,
Whose state by them the gazing world divines.

[1] Jacob's Poetical Register, or Lives and Characters of all the English Poets, vol. i. p. 4. Lond. 1723; 2 vols. 8vo.

[2] Ibid. p. 20.

O happie he who farre from Fame at home,
Securely sitting by a quiet fire,
Though having little, doth not more desire,
But first himselfe, then all things doth o'recome.
His purchase weigh'd, or what his parents left,
He squares his charges to his store,
And takes not what he must restore,
Nor eats the spoyles that from the poore were reft.
Not proud nor base, he, scorning creeping art,
From jealous thoughts and envy free,
No poyson feares in cups of tree;
No treason harbours in so poore a part:
No heavy dreame doth vex him when he sleeps,
A guiltlesse minde the guardlesse cottage keeps.

The longest of his poems bears the title of "Dooms-day, or the great Day of the Lord's Judgment." It is divided into twelve Hours, four of which were printed in 1614,[1] and the whole in 1637. In reference to a poem on the same subject, written by a more modern author, it has been remarked by Dr. Johnson that "the plan is too much extended, and a succession of images divides and weakens the general conception."[2] If the objection is applicable to the Last Day of Dr. Young, it applies with sevenfold force to the Dooms-day of Lord Stirling, which contains more than eleven thousand verses. The poem is indeed extended to so extravagant a length, that it would have required a singular degree of talent and address to prevent his pages from appearing tedious. The same theme has been more briefly discussed by other two poets of the same age and nation: Drummond has left his Shadow of the Judgment incomplete; and the Doomes-day of Sir William Moore is chiefly to be commended for its moderate length. This worthy knight, who was an assiduous writer of English verse, has commonly directed his attention to religious topics; and one of his poems, "The trve Crucifix for true Catholickes," is of no inconsiderable extent; but he very seldom evinces any tolerable portion of

[1] Doomes-day, or, the great Day of the Lord's Jvdgement. By Sr. William Alexander, Knight. *Printed by Andro Hart*, 1614, 4to. The work is dedicated to the Earl of Somerset, and is preceded by Drummond's commendatory sonnet. This dedication the author did not think it advisable to reprint. The first two books of Doomes-day were long afterwards edited by A. Johnstoun, 1720, 8vo.

[2] Johnson's Lives of English Poets, vol. iv. p. 423.

fancy or taste.[1] It may easily be imagined that the noble author does not strictly confine himself to his professed subject: as he has not merely considered the day of judgment, but likewise the motives and the actions which are then to affect the destiny of the human race, he has found occasion to introduce an immense variety of characters, allusions, and details, borrowed from sacred and profane history. We cannot but admit that he has evinced a singular degree of perseverance, nor is this the only commendation to which he is entitled: his varied knowledge, his power of reflection, and his vigour of intellect, are on many occasions conspicuously displayed; but to have supported the fervour of poetry through so extended a work on such a subject, would have demanded genius of the first order. Some of his speculations are strangely minute, some of his opinions are too uncharitable, and some of his inquiries are perhaps too presumptuous.

The exhortation or Parænesis to Prince Henry[2] is generally considered as his most classical performance. Mr. Pinkerton, who is not commonly inclined to scatter praise with too lavish a hand, has characterized it as "a noble poem, being his masterpiece, and a work that does the patron and poet great credit."[3]

[1] Sir William Moore of Rowallan, Bart., was the representative of a family from which the king derives his descent, through Elizabeth the consort of Robert the Second. He was a steady adherent of the Covenant, and bore a commission in the army which invaded England, but he was very far from approving of the King's execution. We are informed that after living a religious life, he died like a Christian in 1657, in the sixty-third year of his age. He was twice married, and had many children; but the estate finally descended to heirs-female, and is now inherited by the Marchioness of Hastings. His earliest publication seems to have been a poem of nineteen stanzas, addressed to King James, and inserted in Adamson's Muses Welcome, p. 271. The following metrical works were published during his lifetime: 1. A spiritvall Hymne, or the Sacrifice of a Sinner, to be offred vpon the Altar of a humbled Heart, to Christ our Redeemer: inverted in English Sapphicks from the Latine of that reverend, religious, and learned divine Mr. Robert Boyd of Trochorege. Is also anfexed a Poeme entituled Doomes-day, containing Hell's horrour and Heaven's happinesse. Edinb. 1628, 8vo. 2. The trve Crvcifixe for true Catholickes; or the Way for true Catholickes to have the true Crucifixe. Edinb. 1629, 8vo. 3. The Cry of Blood and of a broken Covenant. Edinb. 1650, 4to. His manuscript version of the Psalms has already been mentioned, p. 517. A poem bearing the title of "Caledons Complaint against infamous Libells," and published in the year 1641, has been supposed from the initials of the author's name to be the production of Sir William Moore. It is reprinted in Mr. Laing's Fugitive Scotish Poetry. Edinb. 1825, 8vo. The Rev. William Muir, master of Dysart school, has lately published a tract of this author, entitled "The Historie and Descent of the House of Rowallane." Glasg. 1825, 8vo. In the first of the three metrical publications mentioned above, he spells his name Mure, but in the second and third he spells it Moore.

[2] A Parænesis to the Prince by William Alexander of Menstrie. Lond. 1604. 4to.

[3] Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. cxxii.

It is more uniformly supported with spirit and energy than any portion of his works comprising an equal number of verses. It contains some wholesome counsel, delivered in a strain of manly freedom; and the author even ventures so far as to suggest that princes may sometimes be dethroned for their crimes :—

He who by tyranny his throne doth reare,
And dispossesse another of his right,
Whose panting heart dare never trust his eare,
Since still made odious in the people's sight,
Whilst he both hath and gives great cause of feare,
I, spoyling all, at last spoil'd of the light;
And those that are descended of his bloud,
Ere that they be believ'd, must long be good.

Yet though we see it is an easie thing
For such a one his state still to maintaine,
Who by his birth-right borne to be a king,
Doth with the countrey's love the crowne obtaine,
The same doth many to confusion bring,
Whilst, for that cause, they care not how they raigne.
O! never throne establish'd was so sure,
Whose fall a vitious prince might not procure.

Thus do a number to destruction runne;
And so did Tarquin once abuse his place,
Who for the filthy life he had begun,
Was barr'd from Rome, and ruin'd all his race:
So he whose father to no king was sonne,
Was father to no king; but in disgrace
From Sicile banish'd by the people's hate,
Did dye in Corinth in an abject state.

And as that monarch merits endlesse praise,
Who by his virtue doth a state acquire,
So all the world with scornfull eyes may gaze
On their degener'd stemmes which might aspire,
As having greater pow'r, their power to raise,
Yet of their race the ruine do conspire,
And for their wrong-spent life with shame do end:
Kings chastis'd once, are not allowed t'amend.[1]

This hopeful prince died in the flower of his youth, and his loss was very generally and very sincerely lamented. His death

[1] Recreations with the Mvses, p. 292.

was bewailed by Stirling, Drummond, Browne, Donne, Wither, Chapman, and many other poets of both kingdoms.[1] The Elegie published by Lord Stirling is, like his other elegies, written in alternate verses of great and unequal length.[2]

Another publication of this noble poet which still remains to be noticed, bears the title of AURORA,[3] borrowed from the poetical appellation of his mistress. This was his earliest collection of verses, printed when he was twenty-four years of age; nor did he afterwards think proper to assign it a place among his Recreations with the Muses,[4] where he appears in a more grave

[1] See Nichols's Progresses of King James, vol. ii. p. 504. James Maxwell, A.M., published "The laudable Life, and deplorable Death of our late peerlesse Prince Henry, briefly represented: together with some other Poemes." Lond. 1612, 4to. In another work, he describes himself as "sonnes sonne to William, sonne to the laird of Kirkonnell, and once, man-at-armes to the most Christian King; and seruant to two most noble and renowned Queen Maries, the mother and daughter." See "Carolanna, that is to say, a Poeme in honovr of ovr King Charles-James, Qveene Anne, and Prince Charles, etc. By James Anneson, Antiquarie and Maister of Arts." Lond. 4to. His real name appears towards the end of the little volume, where he introduces a list of twenty-one "such workes as hee hath partly written, partly begun to write in Latine or English, poesie or prose, vpon royall arguments, genealogicall, historicall, politicall, or mixt." He published other works beside those which have now been quoted. One person of his name and surname was groom of the bed-chamber to King Charles, and another was usher of the house of lords; but it does not appear that either of these is to be identified with the poet. In the year 1606, certain parcels of land in the parish of Cannobie were granted to James Maxwell, gentleman-usher to Prince Henry, and to Robert Douglas, one of the Prince's esquires. (Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 329.) These lands were to be erected into a free barony, to be called the barony of Tarras. But as the poet makes no allusion to his having belonged to the Prince's household, we can scarcely suppose this to have been the same individual.

[2] An Elegie on the Death of Prince Henrie. By Sr. William Alexander of Menstrie, Gentleman of his Priuie Chamber. Edinbvrgh, printed by Andro Hart, 1612, 4to; 1613, 4to. Both editions, of excessive rarity, are to be found in the Advocates' Library; and a copy of the first edition belongs to the public library of the University. At the end of the elegy occurs an address of ten lines "To his Majestie," and a sonnet, or at least a poem of fourteen lines, entitled "A short View of the State of Man."

[3] Avrora; containing the first fancies of the author's youth, William Alexander of Menstrie. Lond. 1604, 4to. This little volume is dedicated to the Countess of Argyle.

[4] Recreations with the Mvses. By William Earle of Sterline. Lond. 1637, fol. A portrait of the author is to be found in some copies, but is of such rare occurrence as to sell for a very extravagant price. It has however been engraved for Mr. Park's edition of Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors. This collection of his poems neither includes the Aurora, nor the Elegie on Prince Henrie. The concluding poem in the collection is printed for the first time: it is entitled "Jonathan: an heroicke Poeme intended. The first booke." Mr. Pinkerton mentions an edition of the Recreations published about 1727, 12mo. Several of Lord Stirling's poems and letters may be found among Drummond's Works. Edinb. 1711, fol. He has furnished commendatory poems to Drayton's Heroicall Epistles, to Walter Quin's Elegiac Poem on Bernard Stuart, Lord Aubigni, to Cockburne's Gabriels Salvtation, and to Abernethy's Christian and heavenly Treatise containing Physicke for the Sovle: newly corrected and inlarged by the author. Lond. 1622, 4to. John Abernethy, D.D., the author of this treatise, was minister of Jedburgh, and on being appointed Bishop of Caithness, he retained his parsonage. His work is often quoted in Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy.

and philosophical character. Of these "first fancies of the author's youth," the complexion is entirely amorous: the collection consists of songs, sonnets, elegies, madrigals, and other short compositions; and the tender descant is here prolonged with the usual mixture of hyperbolical and mythological strains, discovering no mean proportion of fancy and ingenuity interspersed with a multitude of quaint conceits. Such strains as these cannot easily be received as the dictates of genuine affection; and to a very numerous class of love-sick swains we may not unaptly apply the words of the noble writer himself:—

> 'I pitie not their sighes that pierce the ayre;
> To weepe at will were a degree of mirth.[1]

It has been remarked that the pieces which the author denominates songs "are lengthened out to irregular odes."[2] Of these amatory poems the sonnets are the most numerous class, amounting to one hundred and six. Three of them I shall transcribe as a specimen; and the reader will perceive that his rhymes are not always adjusted according to the Italian model.

> Then whilst that Lathmos did containe her blisse,
> Chast Phœbe left her church so much admir'd,
> And when her brother from that bounds retir'd,
> Would of the sleepie shepheard steale a kisse.
> But to no greater grace I craue to clime,
> Then of my goddesse whiles, whilst she reposes,
> That I might kisse the stil-selfe kissing roses,
> And steale of her that which was stolne of him:
> And though I know that this would onely proue
> A maim'd delight, whereof th' one halfe would want,
> Yet whilst the light did Morpheus power supplant,
> If that my theft did her displeasure moue,
> I render would all that I rob'd againe,[3]
> And for each kisse I take would giue her twaine.[4]
>
> Lo, now reuiuing my disast'rous stile,
> I prosecute the tenor of my fate,
> And follow forth at dangers highest rate
> In forraine realmes my fortune for a while.

[1] Aurora, sonnet 71.

[2] Park's edition of Orford's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. v. p. 77.

[3] And if displeas'd ye of the match complaine,
Ye shall have leave to take them back againe.
DRUMMOND'S Poems, p. 35.

[4] Aurora, sonnet 28.

I might haue learn'd this by my last exile,
That change of countries cannot change my state:
Where euer that my bodie seeke a seate,
I leaue my heart in Albion's glorious yle;
And since then banisht from a louely sight,
I married have my mind to sad conceits,
Though to the furthest part that fame dilates,
I might on Pegasus addresse my flight,
Yet should I still, whilst I might breath or moue,
Remaine the monster of mishap and loue.[1]

Long time I did thy cruelties detest,
And blaz'd thy rigor in a thousand lines;
But now through my complaints thy virtue shines,
That was but working all things for the best.
Thou of my rash affections held'st the raines,
And spying dangerous sparkes come from my fires,
Didst wisely temper my enflam'd desires,
With some chast fauours, mixt with sweet disdaines;
And when thou saw'st I did all hope despise,
And look'd like one that wrestled with despaire,
Then of my safetie the exceeding care
Shew'd that I kept thine heart, thou but thine eyes:
For whilst thy reason did thy fancies tame,
I saw the smoke, although thou hidst the flame.[2]

Another conspicuous ornament of our literature at that period was William Drummond, one of Lord Stirling's intimate friends. His father was Sir John Drummond, descended from the family of Carnock, a branch of the more illustrious family of Stobhall, from which the King derives his remote lineage through Anabella Drummond, the mother of James the First. The poet's mother was Anne, the daughter of Sir William Fowler, secretary to Queen Anne;[3] and she is described as "a woman of excellent breeding, and of a good and virtuous life." He was born

[1] Aurora, sonnet 56.

[2] Sonnet 104.—This is evidently the language of a fortunate lover; and it is probably an erroneous opinion that his mistress proved cruel, and bestowed her hand upon another and a more aged admirer. (Ellis's Specimens of the Early English Poets, vol. iii. p. 34.) When in his hundredth sonnet he speaks of seeing the morning matched "With one that's in the euening of his age," he may be understood as expressing his jealous fears, without referring to an event that had actually happened. In the concluding poem of this collection, he declares his devotion to Juno as a patroness of marriage, and welcomes the easy yoke of matrimony.

[3] The following extract from the Comptroller's Accounts, 1601, describes his office and salary: "Item to Mr. William Fowlar, secretar to the quenis grace, for his fee of the termes foirsaidis [Whitsuntide and Martinmas] as his acquittance producit upoun compt beris, iiij c *lib.*"

at Hawthornden on the 13th of December 1585. The earlier part of his education he received at the High School of Edinburgh, where he began to distinguish himself by the superiority of his talents; and being afterwards removed to the University, which was then a very recent institution, he took the degree of A.M. in the year 1605. We are particularly informed that he did not confine his attention to the metaphysical learning commonly taught in the schools, but likewise applied himself to the study of mathematics and of ancient authors. During the following year, his father sent him to complete his education in France; and in the University of Bourges he devoted himself with great assiduity and success to the study of the civil law; a study necessary to a lawyer, and useful to a scholar. After an absence of four years, he returned to his native country in 1610; and his friends now expected that he would devote himself to the practice of a lucrative profession, for which he seemed to be eminently qualified by his talents and learning. The bar must however have presented very few attractions to a youth of his elegant taste and delicate sensibility: the municipal law was then but a dreary path, beset with thorns which never blossomed; and, what was particularly discouraging, there was not a single elementary book, there were no institutions of our law, from which a young student could derive a comprehensive knowledge of those principles which were afterwards to direct his practice. His systematic doctrines were indeed to a great extent borrowed from the ancient civilians, and the study of the civil law was generally prosecuted in some foreign university; but, besides an indispensable attendance in the courts, his final preparation for the practice of his profession consisted in reading the Statute Law, the Regiam Majestatem, and such collections of maxims and reports as were then circulated in manuscript. Nor was Drummond compelled by any domestic considerations to overcome his repugnance: he was beyond the reach of that original impulse which has directed many a lawyer to reputation and emolument; for the death of his father, about the period of his return from the Continent, left him in possession of an estate sufficient to maintain him in the liberal style of a gentleman. He now retired to his family residence at

Hawthornden, about six miles from Edinburgh, and resumed the study of the Greek and Latin classics. The immediate vicinity presents an air of such romantic beauty, that a poet could scarcely have found a more suitable habitation: his house is erected on the edge of a woody cliff which overhangs the river Esk; and at one extremity of the variegated and sequestered glen stand the ruins of the baronial castle and collegiate church of Roslin. The ancient caves of Hawthornden, and the adjacent moor of Roslin, where Comyn and Fraser gained a signal victory over the English, have likewise their peculiar effect in impressing the imagination. Near the poet's house is a seat hewn in the solid rock, and still described by the name of the Cypress-grove; a name which it obtained from the circumstance of his having frequented this spot when engaged in the composition of a work which bears that title.

> Here Damon 'sate' whose songs did sometime grace
> The murmuring Esk;—may roses shade the place.

In this delightful seclusion he devoted himself to the general improvement of his mind, and to the occasional exercise of his fine talents; and many of his poems appear to have been composed about this period of his life.[1] He chiefly cultivated the familiarity of the University men, and other individuals of genius and learning: among his own countrymen, he enjoyed the particular friendship of the Earl of Stirling, the Earl of Ancram, Dr. Arthur Johnston, and John Adamson;[2] and among

[1] The first edition of his poems bears the following title: "Poems amorous, funerall, divine, pastorall, in Sonnets, Songs, Sextains, Madrigals. By W. D., the author of the Teares on the Death of Moeliades. Edinburgh, printed by Andro Hart," 1616, 4to. The same edition was speedily exhibited with a new title: "Poems: by William Drvmmond of Hawthorn-denne. The second Impression. Edinbvrgh, printed by Andro Hart," 1616.

[2] John Adamson was the son of Henry Adamson, provost of Perth. He was born in the year 1576, as appears from the dedication which he prefixed to Charles Ferme's Analysis logica in Epistolam Apostoli Pauli ad Romanos. Edinb. 1651, 8vo. He prosecuted his studies in the University of Edinburgh, where he took the degree of A.M. in 1597; and at the beginning of the ensuing year he was appointed one of the Regents. Having retained this situation for about seven years, he was successively minister of North Berwick and Liberton. On the 21st of November 1623, he was admitted to the office of Principal of the University. (Crawford's Hist. of the University of Edinburgh, pp. 42, 97.) He probably survived till 1653, when we find this office conferred upon Dr. Leighton, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow. During the troubles of those unhappy times, he adhered to the Covenanters; but from Baillie's Letters it would appear that he did not stand very high in the confidence of that party. "As for the College of Edinburgh," says Bishop Guthrie, "there needed no pains

the English poets his greatest intimacy and correspondence was with Ben Jonson and Michael Drayton. The grandfather of Jonson was originally from Annandale, where *Johnstone* is still a very prevalent name.[1] In the year 1619, when this celebrated poet had attained the age of forty-five, he travelled from London on foot, for the express purpose of paying Drummond a visit; and at Hawthornden he spent three or four weeks with

to be taken, in regard Mr. John Adamson, primer thereof, was furious enough in their cause, albeit many thought it was not from persuasion, but in policy, to eschew their wrath." (Memoirs, p. 63.) Adamson is the author of several works, of which I have only seen the following two: Στοιχειωσις Eloquiorum Dei, sive Methodus Religionis Christianæ catachetica, in usum Academiæ Jacobi Regis, et Scholarum Edinburgensium conscripta. Secunda editio priore emendatior. Edinb. 1637, 8vo. Dioptra Gloriæ divinæ: seu Enarratio Psalmi xix. et in eundem Meditationes. Edinburgi, in Academia Jacobi Regis excudebat Georgius Andersonus, 1637, 4to. Other two publications by Adamson are mentioned in Laurence Charters's Short Account of Scots Divines, p. 10. MS. Adv. Lib. He has already been noticed, p. 496, as the editor of the Muses Welcome to King James. Edinb. 1618, fol. To this collection he has prefixed verses in Greek, Latin, and English. Another of his Latin poems, which he has not reprinted, occurs in the Νοστωδαι: in serenissimi, potentissimi, et invictissimi Monarchæ, Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ, etc. Regis, felicem in Scotiam Reditum, Academiæ Edinburgensis Congratulatio, p. 19. Edinb. 1617, 4to. Adamson afterwards contributed Greek and Latin verses to the Εισοδια Musarum Edinensium in Caroli Regis, Musarum Tutani, Ingressu in Scotiam. Edinb. 1633, 4to. Some of his Latin and English poems may be found in other publications, particularly in Ferme's Analysis, H. Adamson's Muses Threnodie, Moore's True Crucifixe, Symson's Heptameron, Bishop Cowper's Works, Person's Varieties, Robertsoni Vita Roberti Rollok, Sibbaldi Commentarius in Vitam Buchanani. J. Row Hebraicæ Linguæ Institutiones. Glasg. 1644, 12mo. See likewise Dr. Pennecuik's Poems, p. 56.

Henry Adamson, whose name is also connected with that of Drummond, was the son of James Adamson, provost of Perth from 1609 to 1611. He is said to have been the nephew of Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrews (M'Crie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 446); and he certainly was the nephew of Henry Anderson, a merchant of Perth, who appears as a contributor to the Muses Welcome, p. 142, and to the Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 18. That he was of the same family with the Archbishop, appears from a Latin poem, written by Thomas Crawford, and prefixed to the Muses Threnodie.

Tertius hinc ortus, gentilis et ipse nepotis,
Clarus in arctoo Phœbus et orbe fuit.

That is, this third individual was related to Anderson's nephew. Adamson, who describes himself as a "student in divine and humane learning," is the author of some facetious poems published under the title of "The Muses Threnodie; or, mirthful Mournings on the Death of Master Gall, etc. Printed at Edinburgh in King James's College by George Anderson," 1638, 4to. Prefixed is a letter, dated at Edinburgh on the 12th of July 1637, and addressed "To my worthie friend Mr. Hen. Adamson." It is only subscribed with the initials W. D., but it is described as "a letter of the prime poet of our kingdome." Before the publication of his work, Adamson died at a premature age. The poems, which evince some share of humour, were evidently intended for English, but are interspersed with many Scotish words and idioms. They contain some curious particulars connected with the history of his native town; and much topographical and historical information was added in an edition published by Mr. James Cant. Perth, 1774, 8vo. Adamson is the author of a Latin poem inserted in the Muses Welcome, p. 155.

[1] Robert Johnstone, LL.D., appears to have been connected with the same district, although Crawford mentions him as the son of an honest citizen of Edinburgh. (Hist. of the University of Edinburgh, p. 140.) He bequeathed legacies to some of his cousins in Annandale, £500 sterling in trust to Lord Johnstone for building a bridge over the river Annan, and £1000 in trust to the same nobleman for the maintenance of a grammar school at Moffat. The amount of his property

every appearance of satisfaction.[1] The heads of some of Jonson's conversations on subjects of literature, together with his own impressions of Jonson's character, he committed to writing, with the manifest intention of occasionally referring to this as a private record: many years after his death, this paper was communicated to the public, apparently in a somewhat mutilated form; and as it does not represent his distinguished guest as altogether faultless, the amiable and esteemed writer has incurred the virulent and unmeasured censure of Mr. Gifford, the late editor of Jonson's works.[2] If Drummond had resembled some more recent authors, who have violated all the decencies of private life by ministering to the gross appetite of the public with ridiculous or disparaging tales of their friends and acquaintance, the justice of this strong condemnation could not safely have been disputed; but what person of ordinary candour will thus censure an act which, to all human appearance,

was very considerable; and the greatest part of it was left for charitable and benevolent purposes. It is however to be suspected that his laudable intentions were in some cases frustrated: the bridge was never built over the Annan, and the school was never founded at Moffat. He had been appointed one of the executors of Heriot; and he bequeathed £1100 to the hospital. He bequeathed £1000 "towards the maintenance of eight poor scholars" in the University of Edinburgh, where he had himself studied. The destination of his library is thus stated: "As for my books, I do appoint the books of humanity, Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ, Lexicon Græcum, to be sent unto Moffat, in Annandale, when the aforesaid school is ereckted, with the Latin poets and commentaries: as for the Italian, French, and Spanish books, I would have them changed for books of philosophy, to be sent unto the College of Edinburgh: for my civil law books, and books of history, I give also to the said College of Edinburgh; and my English books I give unto my said servant Hendr Heron." Dr. Johnstone's will, extracted from the register of the prerogative court of Canterbury, may be found in the Memoirs of George Heriot, p. 163. Edinb. 1822, 8vo. The codicil is dated on the 12th of October 1639, and the probate was granted to one of the executors six days afterwards; so that the testator must have died in that interval. He describes himself as "Robert Johnstone, of the parish of St. Anne, Blackfryers, London, Esquire." Dempster mentions him as "Baroni Killosensi Brusio dum vivebat charus. . . . Vivit adhuc Londini virtutis merito, licet non aulicus, regi acceptus." (Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum, p. 394.) He had prepared a copious history of his own time, and the earliest portion of it appeared under the title of "Historiarum libri duo." Amst. 1642, 12mo. Such parts of the volume as relate to Scotish history were afterwards translated into English: "The Historie of Scotland, during the Minority of King James. Written in Latine by Robert Johnston. Done into English by T. M." Lond. 1646, 12mo. This translator was perhaps Thomas Middleton, author of the Appendix to Spotswood's History. Johnstone's entire work at length made its appearance in an ample volume: "Historia Rerum Britannicarum, ut et multarum Gallicarum, Belgicarum, et Germanicarum, tam politicarum quam ecclesiasticarum, ab anno 1572 ad annum 1628." Amst. 1655, fol.

[1] To this visit another poet of exquisite talents makes the following allusion:—

Then will I dress once more the faded bower,
Where Jonson sat in Drummond's classic shade.—COLLINS'S Ode to John Home.

[2] Gifford's Memoirs of Jonson, p. cxxx.—This charge has been sufficiently repelled by Sir Walter Scott in his Provincial Antiquities of Scotland, p. 133. See likewise Dr. Drake's Mornings in Spring, vol. ii. p. 286.

was entirely unconnected with malevolent or ungenerous motives?

The poet's tranquillity was exposed to a severe interruption from the unfortunate issue of his first love. He became deeply enamoured of a beautiful young lady, the daughter of Cunningham of Barnes; he met with a suitable return, and a day was fixed for their nuptials, but before that day arrived her life was terminated by a rapid fever. Such an event as this, which would have affected a lover of the most ordinary sensibility, could not but sink deeply into the heart of one who had assiduously cherished the softer feelings, and whose habits of seclusion were so directly calculated to preserve a lasting impression of melancholy. He was so overwhelmed with grief that he found it necessary to try the effect of a change of objects; and he accordingly retired to the Continent, where he spent about eight years. His longest residence was at Paris and Rome; but he travelled through France, Germany, and Italy, visited the most celebrated universities, and conversed with men of learning. In the course of his peregrination, he is said to have formed an excellent collection, not only of the ancient classics, but likewise of the best writers in the French, Italian, and Spanish languages. He presented to the University of Edinburgh a collection of books and manuscripts, of which he printed a catalogue in the year 1627, prefixing to it an appropriate preface written in Latin. Of this well-known collection, the value, that is, the extrinsic or pecuniary value, which was far from inconsiderable at first, has been immensely increased by the lapse of two centuries. It contains many Scotish and English publications of singular rarity; and to these I have frequently been indebted in the course of my researches into the history of poetry. When Drummond returned to Scotland, he found his countrymen divided by fears and animosities. He now spent some time at the residence of his brother-in-law, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, a learned man, and an encourager of learning. Having continued in a state of celibacy till the age of forty-seven, he, in 1632, married Elizabeth Logan, the granddaughter of Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig; a lady in whom he traced a strong resemblance to his first mistress. Of this mar-

riage there were five sons and four daughters. John, their eldest son, died in his youth; William was knighted by Charles the Second, and lived to an advanced age;[1] Robert was married, but died about the age of forty without issue; the two youngest, Richard and James, died in their infancy. Their eldest daughter Elizabeth was married to Dr. Henryson, an eminent physician in Edinburgh;[2] but the other three, Margaret, Annabella, and Jane, died very young.[3] The father was a decided cavalier, and wielded his pen, though not his sword, in the king's service; and being reputed a malignant, he was exposed to some of the molestations of those unhappy times. The tragical fate of his sovereign is said to have hastened his own dissolution, for we are informed by Bishop Sage that Drummond, being weakened by hard study and disease, was so overwhelmed with extreme grief and anguish that he died on the 4th of December 1649.[4] But as the King was executed on the 30th of January, an interval of more than ten months must have occurred between his

[1] Sir William Drummond is more celebrated for his joviality than for his literature. An honourable instance of his humanity is recorded in the Memoirs of George Brysson, p. 285. In Dr. Pennecuik's Poems, pp. 49-52, he is mentioned in the following terms:—

Save Coldcoat, none Dalhousie knew
Who Jonas could at drink subdue.
Brave Nicolson, who's in his grave,
Did from him many a parley crave:
Drummond, who's yet alive, can tell
How from them all he bore the bell.

No less for Bachus shall kind Colcoats name
Be mustered in the registers of fame:
For all that brag'd him still the battle lost;
Ask Hawthornden and strong Dalhousie's ghost.

[2] This was probably Henry Henryson, M.D. of Elvingston, whose Latin version of the hundred and fourth psalm occurs in the *Ochipla*. Edinb. 1696, 8vo. He is more commonly called Henderson, which is a corruption of the other name. Elizabeth the heiress of her father, Dr. Henry Henderson of Elvingston, was married to John Clerk of Pennecuik. (Inquisitionum Abbreviatio, vol. i. Haddington, 341.)

[3] Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p. 573, compared with Sage's Life of Drummond, p. vi.

[4] Sir Thomas Urquhart, another poet, is said to have expired in a paroxysm of laughter, on hearing of the restoration of Charles the Second; a statement which is rendered sufficiently probable by the record of similar cases, and by the eccentric character of the individual. Aretæus, an ancient physician, specifies unextinguishable laughter as one of the causes of death: γέλως ἄσβεστος μέχρι θανάτου. (De Causis et Signis Morborum, lib. i. p. 35, edit. Boerhaave. Lugd. Bat. 1735, fol.) And other ancient writers have mentioned the names of different persons who died of excessive joy. (Valerius Maximus, lib. ix. cap. xii. Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. liii.) According to the common account, Sophocles was of this number. Urquhart is the author of a little volume published with the following title: *Epigrams, divine and moral. By Sir Thomas Vrchard, Knight.* Lond. 1641, 4to. The same publication, which is adorned with a very curious and characteristic portrait of the author, appeared with a new title-page, under the date of 1646. The epigrams of this redoubtable knight of Cromarty have very little to recommend them: the thoughts are not sufficiently ingenious to support themselves without the aid of more skilful versification; and his fancy and vivacity are more conspicuously displayed in his Jewel, and in his translation of Rabelais. One epigram I shall transcribe as a fair specimen of the collection.

He that agreeth with his povertie,
Is truly rich, while, on the other part,

death and that of his faithful subject; an interval so long as to render the biographer's inference somewhat questionable. He had nearly completed the sixty-fourth year of his age. His remains were interred in the church of Lasswade, which stands at the distance of about a mile from Hawthornden. He appears through life to have maintained a character of uniform respectability, uniting with his other qualities that of consistent piety, and blending morality with his devotion. His death was affectionately lamented by his friend Colonel Lauder,[1] who has left several other specimens of his poetical talents, and who was not the only Scotish soldier of this period that evinced his love of the Muses.[2]

Drummond was evidently a man of superior talents and accomplishments. We are informed that he was familiarly acquainted with the best Greek and Latin authors: his long residence on the Continent afforded him an excellent opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of the living languages: and he is said to have spoken French, Italian, and Spanish as fluently as his native tongue. To his graver qualifications he added no

He 's poore who 'midst the superfluitie
Of wealth, in new desires consumes his heart;
For 'tis an empty mind inflicts the curse
Of poverty, and not an empty purse.
P. 35.

[1] His poem, entitled "Damon, or a pastoral Elegy on the death of his honoured friend William Drummond of Hawthornden," was first printed in the collection of Drummond's Works, where the author is described as "the ingenious Colonel George Lawder of Hatton." He was a younger son of Alexander Lauder of Hatton, by Mary the third daughter of Sir Richard Maitland; and he is supposed to have been educated in the University of Edinburgh, where a person of his name took the degree of A.M. in the year 1620. He embraced the profession of a soldier, and a great part of his life appears to have been spent in foreign service. Several of his poems were printed at Breda. His *Scottish Souldier* and *Wight* were privately printed by Sir Alexander Boswell (Auchinleck, 1818, 4to) who has prefixed a list of Lauder's poems, amounting to eleven. Three of these may be found in Mr. Laing's Fugitive Scotish Poetry. The author died at an advanced age.

[2] Another poetical soldier, Simon Grahame, will be mentioned in the course of the present chapter, nor must the name of Patrick Hannay be entirely omitted. His father was a younger son of Donald Hannay of Sorbie. (Nisbet's System of Heraldry, vol. i. p. 385.) The poet must have received a learned education, for he describes himself as Master of Arts. He appears, as Mr. Ellis remarks, to have served in a military capacity under Sir Andrew Gray, colonel of foot, and general of artillery to the King of Bohemia. He is the author of several works. Two Elegies on the Death of our soueraigne Queene Anne: with Epitaphes. Lond. 1619, 4to. A happy Husband: or Directions for a Maid to chvse her Mate; together with a Wives Behaviovr after Marriage. Lond. 1619, 8vo. This last publication is subjoined, with a separate title-page, to Brathwaite's Description of a good Wife. Hannay afterwards published a volume of poems, containing the Nightingale, Sheretine and Mariana, a Happy Husband, Elegies on the Death of Queen Anne, Songs, and Sonnets. Lond. 1622, 8vo. This volume is ornamented with the author's portrait, and is highly valued, but chiefly on account of its rarity. The same copy produced at Mr. Bindley's sale, £35, 14s., at Mr. Perry's, £38, 6s.,

mean proficiency in music; and he occasionally sought a relaxation of his studies by playing on the lute, "which he did to admiration." He seems to have devoted a considerable portion of his time to the invention or improvement of various instruments and machines, applicable to various purposes of peace or war. They are curiously enumerated, to the extent of sixteen, in a patent which he obtained in the year 1627, and which secured to him the sole right and property within the kingdom of Scotland for the space of twenty-one years.[1]

His literary productions exhibit considerable variety. His compositions in prose chiefly consist of the Cypress Grove, some political tracts, and the History of the five Jameses: a work which embraces the history of Scotland from 1423 to 1542. "The best of Drummond's prose works," says Mr. Headley, "is his Cypress Grove, which, though quaint in its style, is worth reading for its vein of dignified morality." His history, which has alternately been the object of extravagant commendation and of unsparing censure, cannot now be regarded as a work of much value or interest: the author's materials are not generally drawn from recondite sources, and his manner is too rhetorical. For the reputation which he still retains, Drummond is chiefly indebted, not to his historical, but to his poetical excellence; and, in the opinion of competent judges, he is entitled to a distinguished place among the English poets of that age. As few of his poems extend to a considerable length, his genius cannot be estimated by the success of any great and continued effort; but notwithstanding the shortness of his flight, he generally soars on bright and steady wings. He is conspicuous for his delicate sensibility and warmth of fancy; and with these qualities, so essential in an amatory poet, he unites uncommon skill in versification. His taste seems in a great measure to have been formed upon the Italian model, nor are his compositions entirely free from Italian conceits; but he commonly maintains a degree of elegant simplicity to which few English poets of that age have attained.

and at Sir Mark M. Sykes's, £42, 10s. 6d. Some of Hannay's verses may be found in Ellis's Specimens, vol. iii. p. 135. Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature, vol. vi. p. 191, and Davis's Second Journey round the Library of a Bibliomaniac, p. 72. Lond. 1825, 8vo.

[1] Drummond's Works, p. 235. Edinb. 1711, fol.

The reputation which Drummond enjoyed during his life, appears to have suffered some diminution after his death. He was a gentleman, says Edward Phillips, "who imitating the Italian manner of versifying, vented his amours in sonnets, canzonets, and madrigals, and to my thinking, in a style sufficiently smooth and delightful; and therefore why so utterly disregarded and layd aside at present, I leave to the more curious palats in poetry."[1] After an interval of more than a century, the same complaint of unmerited neglect was repeated by Mr. Headley. "Without ostentatious praise (which is always to be suspected) it is but truth to observe that many of his sonnets, those more especially which are divested of Italian conceits, resemble the best Greek epigrams in their best taste, in that exquisite delicacy of sentiment, and simplicity of expression, for which our language has no single term, but which is known to all classical readers by the word *αφελεια*. It is in vain we lament the fate of many of our poets, who have undeservedly fallen victims to a premature oblivion, when the finished productions of this man are little known, and still less read."[2]

Drummond's sonnets form a very considerable proportion of his poetical works. The following eight may be selected as a specimen of the entire collection :—

I know that all beneath the moon decaies,
And what by mortalls in this world is brought,
In Times great periods shall returne to nought;
That fairest states have fatall nights and daies:
I know that all the Muses heavenly layes,
With toyle of spright which are so dearely bought,
As idle sounds of few or none are sought;
That there is nothing lighter than vaine praise:
I know fraile beauty like the purple floure,
To which one morne oft birth and death affords;
That love a jarring is of minds accords,
Where sense and will bring under Reasons power.
Know what I list, this all can not me move,
But that, alas! I both must write and love.[3]

[1] Phillips's Theatrum Poetarum, or compleat Collection of the Poets, part ii. p. 192. Lond. 1675, 12mo.

[2] Headley's Biographical Sketches (p. xlv.) prefixed to Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry. Lond. 1787, 2 vols. 8vo.

[3] Drummond's Poems, p. 2, edit. Lond. 1656, 8vo.

Sleep, Silence Child, sweet Father of soft rest,
Prince whose approach peace to all mortals brings,
Indifferent host to shepheards and to kings,
Sole comforter of minds that are opprest,
Loe, by thy charming rod all breathing things
Lie slumbring, with forgetfulnesse possest,
And yet o're me to spread thy drowsie wings
Thou spar'st, alas! who cannot be thy guest.
Since I am thine, O come, but with that face,
To inward light which thou art wont to shew,
With fained solace ease a true felt woe;
Or if, deafe god, thou do deny that grace,
Come as thou wilt, and what thou wilt bequeath,
I long to kisse the image of my death.[1]

That learned Grecian who did so excell
In knowledge passing sense, that he is nam'd
Of all the after worlds Divine, doth tell
That all the time when first our Soules are fram'd,
Ere in these mansions blind they come to dwell,
They live bright Rayes of that Eternall Light,
And others see, know, love, in Heaven's great height,
Not toyld with ought to Reason doth rebell.
It is most true; for straight at the first sight
My mind me told that in some other place
It elsewhere saw th' idea of that face,
And lov'd a Love of heavenly pure delight.
What wonder now I feele so faire a flame,
Sith I her lov'd ere to this earth she came.[2]

With flaming horns the Bull now brings the Yeare,
Melt do the mountains rouling flouds of snow,
The silver rivers in smooth channels flow,
The late-bare woods green anadeams do weare:
The nightingall forgetting winter's woe,
Cals up the lazy morne, her notes to heare:
Spread are those flow'rs which names of princes beare,
Some red, some azure, white, and golden grow.
Here lowes a heifer, there be-wailing strayes
A harmelesse lambe, not far a stag rebounds;
The shepheards sing to grazing flocks sweet layes,
And all about the ecchoing aire resounds.
Hils, dales, woods, flouds, and ev'ry thing doth change,
But she in rigour, I in love am strange.[3]

[1] Drummofid's Poems, p. 6. [2] Ibid. p. 15. [3] Ibid. p. 17.

Trust not, sweet soule, those curled waves of gold,
With gentle tides that on your temples flow,
Nor temples spred with flakes of virgin snow,
Nor snow of cheeks with Tyrian graine enrold:
Trust not those shining lights which wrought my woe,
When first I did their azure raies behold,
Nor voice, whose sounds more strange effects do show
Than of the Thracian harper have been told.
Look to this dying lilly, fading rose,
Darke hyacinthe, of late whose blushing beames
Made all the neighbouring herbs and grass rejoyce,
And thinke how little is 'twixt Lifes extreames.
The cruel tyrant that did kill those flow'rs,
Shall one, aye me! not spare that spring of yours.[1]

Deare Wood, and you sweet solitary Place,
Where I estranged from the vulgar live,
Contented more with what your shades me give,
Than if I had what Thetis doth embrace;
What snaky eye, grown jealous of my pace,
Now from your silent horrours would me driue,
When Sun advancing in his glorious race
Beyond the Twins, doth neare our Pole arriue?
What sweet delight a quiet life affords,
And what it is to be from bondage free,
Far from the madding worldlings hoarse discords,[2]
Sweet flowry place, I first did learne from thee.
Ah! if I were mine owne, your deare resorts
I would not change with princes stateliest courts.[3]

What doth it serve to see the Suns bright face,
And skies enamell'd with the Indian gold,
Or the moone in a fierce chariot rold,
And all the glory of that starry place?
What doth it serve Earths beauty to behold,
The mountaines pride, the meadows flowry grace,
The stately comlinesse of forrests old,
The sport of flouds which would themselves embrace?
What doth it serve to heare the Sylvans songs,
The cheereful thrush, the nightingale's sad straines,
Which in darke shades seems to deplore my wrongs?
For what doth serve all that this world containes,
Since she, for whom those once to me were deare,
Can have no part of them now with me here?[4]

1 Drummond's Poems, p. 24.
2 Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife. GRAY.
3 Drummond's Poems, p. 34.
4 Ibid. p. 47.

Look as the flow'r which lingringly doth fade,
The morning's darling late, the summey's queen,
Spoyl'd of that juyce which kept it fresh and green,
As high as it did raise, bows low the head :
Right so the pleasures of my Life being dead,
Or in their contraries but only seen,
With swifter speed declines than erst it spread,
And blasted, scarce now shows what it hath been.
Therefore, as doth the pilgrim, whom the night
'By darknesse would' imprison on his way,
Thinke on thy Home, my Soule, and thinke aright
Of what's yet left thee of life's wasting day.
Thy sun posts westward, passed is thy morne,
And twice it is not given thee to be borne.[1]

Of his madrigals, which likewise amount to a considerable number, I shall content myself with quoting a single specimen :

This Life, which seems so faire,
Is like a bubble blown up in the aire
By sporting childrens breath,
Who chase it every where,
And strive who can most motion it bequeath.
And though it sometime seem of its own might
Like to an eye of gold to be fix'd there,
And firme to hover in that empty height,
That only is because it is so light.
But in that pompe it doth not long appeare ;
For when 'tis most admired, in a thought,
Because it earst was nought, it turns to nought.[2]

To some of his compositions, which he has described as songs, this title is by no means applicable ; it is neither applicable to the vein of poetry, nor to the measure of the verse. One striking poem,[3] which he entitles a song, is written in heroic couplets, and contains such passages as this :—

And tell me, thou who dost so much admire
This little vapour, this poore sparke of fire,
Which Life is call'd, what doth it thee bequeath
But some few yeares which birth draws out to death ?
Which if thou paralell with lustres run,
Or those whose courses are but now begun,
In daies great numbers they shall lesse appeare,
Than with the sea when matched is a teare.

[1] Drummond's Poems, p. 104. [2] Ibid. p. 47. [3] Ibid. p. 55.

But why shouldst thou here longer wish to be?
One yeare doth serve all Nature's pompe to see,
Nay, even one day and night: this moone, that sun,
Those lesser fires about this round which run,
Be but the same which under Saturnes raigne
Did the serpenting seasons interchaine.
How oft doth Life grow lesse by living long?
And what excelleth but what dieth young?[1]

His collection of sacred verses, which he entitles Flowers of Sion,[2] contains much poetical imagery and expression. Some of the topics cannot be very safely approached by a poet, who must place his chief reliance on the exercise of his fancy; and the subsequent lines of this writer may sometimes occur to the recollection of his reader:—

Who would this Eden force with wit or sense,
A Cherubin shall find to bar him thence.[3]

One of the longest poems in this collection, entitled an Hymne on the fairest Faire, contains the following among many other striking passages:—

Ah! as a pilgrim who the Alpes doth passe,
Or Atlas temples crown'd with winter glasse,
The ayry Caucasus, the Apennine,
Pyrènes clifts where sun doth never shine,
When he some craggy Hills hath over-went,
Begins to thinke on rest, his journey spent,
Till mounting some tall Mountaine he do find
More hights before him than he left behind:
With halting pace so while I would me raise
To the unbounded limits of thy Praise,
Some part of way I thought to have o're-run,
But now I see how scarce I have begun,
With wonders new my spirits range possest,
And wandring waylesse in a maze them rest.[4]

It has been suggested by Mr. Headley that one would be induced to suppose Pope must have remembered these lines when he wrote a well-known passage in his Essay on Criticism:—

1 Ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος. MENANDRI Fragmenta, p. 46, edit. Clerici.

2 Flowres of Sion. By William Drummond Hawthorne-denne. To which is adjoyned his Cypresse Grove. Printed 1623, 4to. Eden-Bourgh, 1630, 4to.

3 Drummond's Poems, p. 131.

4 Ibid. p. 131.

So pleased at first the tow'ring Alps we try,
Mount o'er the vales, and seem to tread the sky;
Th' eternal snows appear already past,
And the first clouds and mountains seem the last;
But those attain'd, we tremble to survey
The growing labours of the lengthen'd way:
Th' increasing prospect tires our wand'ring eyes:
Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise.

The subsequent couplet, which occurs in the same hymn, is remarkable for its energetic simplicity :—

Uncomprehensible by reachlesse hight,
And unperceived by excessive light.

Another poem of considerable length he entitles the Shadow of the Judgment. It is left in an unfinished state, and is excluded from the collection published under the direction of Sir John Scot;[1] but it nevertheless contains many passages worthy of the author's reputation. An elegant critic has remarked that the following verses, describing God moved to wrath, are in Milton's manner:[2]—

[1] Poems by that most famous wit William Drummond of Hawthornden. Lond. 1656, 8vo. The editor was Edward Phillips, the nephew of Milton. In 1659, the same edition was exhibited under a new and fantastic title: "The most elegant and elaborrate Poems of that great court-wit Mr. William Drummond; whose labours, both in verse and prose, being heretofore so precious to Prince Henry, and to K. Charles, shall live and flourish in all ages whiles there are men to read them, or art and judgment to approve them." In different copies of this new title I observe some variety in the orthography. A more extensive collection of his poems is to be found in the Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden. Edinb. 1711, fol. Bishop Sage's life of the author is prefixed to this publication. Some of Drummond's short and fugitive poems may be gleaned from the following works:—Stirling's Doomes-day. Edinb. 1614, 4to. Gordon's History of Penardo and Laissa. Dort, 1615, 12mo. Miscellanea Poemata Godefridi Vander Hagen, p. 27. Middelburgi, 1619, 4to. Symson's Heptameron, the Seven Dayes; that is, Meditations and Prayers vpon the Worke of the Lords Creation. St. Andrews, 1621, 8vo. Symson's Samson's seaven Lockes of Haire. St. Andrews, 1621, 8vo. Sir Thomas Kellie's Pallas armata, or Militarie Instructions for the Learned, and all generous Spirits, who affect the Profession of Armes. Edinb. 1627, 4to. Bishop Cowper's Works, p. 816. Lond. 1629, fol. Sir William Moore's Trve Crvcifixe for true Catholickes. Edinb. 1629, 8vo. Person's Varieties; or, a Svrveigh of rare and excellent Matters, necessary and delectable to all sorts of persons. Lond. 1635, 4to.

Among the commendatory verses prefixed to Phillip's edition, there is a poem of two pages, by Mary Oxlie of Morpet. The same poetess seems to be elsewhere mentioned by Phillips in the following terms:—"Mary Morpeth, a Scotch poetess, and a friend of the poet Drummond, of whom, besides many other things in poetry, she hath a large encomium in verse." (Theatrum Poetarum, part ii. p. 259.) I suspect however that his memory must have deceived him, and that Morpeth is not her name, but that of her place of nativity or residence, a town in Northumberland. Under the name of Mary Morpeth, she appears in Mr. Dyce's Specimens of British Poetesses, p. 64. Lond. 1827, 8vo.

[2] Headley's Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 177.

So seeing earth, of angels once the inn,
Mansion of saints, deflowred all by sin,
And quite confus'd by wretches here beneath,
The World's great Sovereign moved was to wrath.
Thrice did he rowse himself, thrice from his face
Flames sparkle did throughout the heavenly place:
The stars, though fixed, in their rounds did quake:
The earth, and earth-embracing sea, did shake:
Carmel and Hæmus felt it, Athos tops
Affrighted shrunk, and near the Æthiops
Atlas, the Pyrenees, the Apennine,
And lofty Grampius, which with snow doth shine.
Then to the synod of the sp'rits he swore,
Man's care should end, and time should be no more.[1]

Drummond's poem in commemoration of Prince Henry, entitled Tears on the Death of Mœliades,[2] commences in a strain somewhat bombastic, but it contains some elegant and striking passages. The subsequent lines exhibit a very favourable specimen of his versification; and it is proper to recollect that the poem was printed so early as the year 1613. He describes the lamented youth as rejoicing to look down to the azure bars of heaven:—

And in their turning Temples to behold
In silver robe the Moone, the Sun in gold,
Like young eye-speaking Lovers in a dance,
With majesty by turnes retire, advance.
Thou wondrest Earth to see hang like a Ball,
Clos'd in the mighty Cloyster of this All;
And that poore Men should prove so madly fond
To tosse themselves for a small spot of ground;
Nay, that they even dare brave the Powers above,
From this base Stage of Change that cannot move.
All worldly pompe and pride thou seest arise
Like smoake that's scatt'red in the empty skies.
Other high hils and forrests, other tow'rs,
Amaz'd thou findst excelling our poore bow'rs,
Courts void of flattery, of malice minds,
Pleasure which lasts, not such as reason blinds.[3]

[1] Drummond's Poems, p. 33, fol. [printed by James Watson, Edin. 1711.]

[2] Teares on the Death of Mœliades. Edinb. 1613, 4to. His two sonnets and epitaph, which appear in this publication, are likewise inserted in the "Mavsolevm, or choisest Flors of the Epitaphs, written on the Death of the neuer-too-much lamented Prince Henrie." Edinb. 1613, 4to. The third edition of the Teares soon followed. Edinb. 1614, 4to. The second I have not seen.

[3] Drummond's Poems, p. 75. [edit. 1656.]

Among other excellent couplets which have frequently been quoted from this poem, are the following. The poet expresses his regret that Henry died undistinguished as a hero, and that he had not at once finished his life and the Christian warfare with the Turks :—

> Or, as brave Burbon, thou hadst made old Rome,
> Queen of the world, thy triumph and thy tombe.

In the subsequent couplet, he personifies the river Forth :—

> And as she rush'd her Cyclades among,
> She seem'd to plain that heaven had done her wrong.

Forth Feasting, a poem written in the year 1617 on the King's visit to his native dominions,[1] may be considered as his best performance ; it abounds with poetical imagery, and the versification possesses uncommon terseness and harmony. In all poems of the same age and denomination, the reader must necessarily expect a certain sprinkling of mythology ; this is a prevailing vice, an endemic disease, among the poets of that period ; but Forth Feasting is enlivened by an elegant vein of fancy and contains various passages of distinguished felicity. The subsequent lines, which afford an ample specimen, occur near the beginning : I need scarcely remark that the comparison with which they are introduced relates to the Phœnix :—

> So comes Arabias wonder from her woods,
> And far far off is seen the Memphis flouds :
> The feather'd sylvans cloud-like by her flie,
> And with triumphing plaudits beat the skie ;
> Nyle marvels, Seraps priests entranced rave,
> And in Mygdonian stone her shape ingrave ;
> In lasting cedars they do marke the time
> In which Apollo's bird came to their clime.
> Let Mother Earth now deck't with flow'rs be seen,
> And sweet breath'd zephyres curle the meadows green :
> Let heaven weep rubies in a crimson show'r,
> Such as on Indies shores they use to poure ;
> Or with that golden storme the fields adorne,
> Which Jove rain'd when his Blew-ey'd Maid was born.

[1] Forth Feasting: A Panegyricke to the King's most excellent Majestie. Edinb. 1617, 4to. This poem occurs in the Muses Welcome, p. 25.

May never Hours the web of day out-weave,
May never Night rise from her sable cave.
Swell proud my billows, faint not to declare
Your joyes as ample as their causes are:
For murmurs hoarse, sound like Arion's harpe,
Now delicately flat, now sweetly sharp;
And you my nymphs, rise from your moist repaire,
Strow all your springs and grots with lillies faire:
Some swiftest-footed, get them hence, and pray
Our flouds and lakes come keep this holy-day;
What e're beneath Albanias hills do run,
Which see the rising or the setting sun,
Which drinke sterne Grampius Mists or Ochels Snows;
Stone-rowling Tay, Tine tortoise-like that flows,
The pearly Don, the Deas, the fertile Spay,
Wild Neverne, which doth see our longest day;
Nesse, smoaking sulphur, Leave with mountains crown'd,
Strange Loumond, for his floating isles renown'd;
The Irish Rian, Ken, the silver Aire,
The snaky Dun, the Ore with rushy haire,
The christall-streaming Nid, loud-bellowing Clyde,
Tweed which no more our kingdomes shall divide;
Rank-swelling Annan, Lid with curled streames,
The Eskes,[1] the Solway where they lose their Names:
To ev'ry one proclaime our joyes and feasts,
Our triumphs; bid all come and be our guests:
And as they meet in Neptunes azure hall,
Bid them bid Sea-gods keep this festivall:
This day shall by our Currents be renown'd,
Our Hills about shall still this day resound;
Nay, that our love more to this day appeare,
Let us with it henceforth begin our yeare.
To virgins flow'rs, to sun-burnt earth the raine,
To mariners faire winds amidst the maine,
Coole shades to pilgrims which hot glances burne,
Are not so pleasing as thy blest Returne.
That day, deare Prince, which rob'd us of thy sight—
Day? no, but darknesse and a dusky night—

[1] In Scotland there are six rivers bearing the name of Esk, which in the Celtic tongue is a generic term for Water; but the poet evidently alludes to two rivers in Dumfriesshire. Black Esk, so called from its darker colour, unites with White Esk in the secluded parish of Eskdalemoor: the stream, which then bears the common name of Esk, gradually descending to a more romantic tract of country, beautifully variegated with hills and dales, wood and water, receives several tributary streams, particularly Ewes, Wauchope, Tarras, and Liddal, before it enters the ward of Eskdale in Cumberland; and after a further course of about eight miles, it discharges itself into Solway Firth.

Did fill our brests with sighs, our eyes with teares,
Turn'd minutes to sad months, sad months to yeares:
Trees left to flourish, meadows to beare flow'rs,
Brooks hid their heads within their segie bow'rs,
Fair Ceres curst our fields with barren frost,
As if againe she had her Daughter lost;
The Muses left our Groves, and for sweet songs
Sate sadly silent, or did weep their wrongs.

In the following nervous lines, he pays a warm and not unmerited compliment to the monarch's love of peace:—

Now, where the wounded Knight his life did bleed,
The wantone Swaine sits piping on a reed;
And where the canon did Joves thunder scorne,
The gawdy hunts-man winds his shrill-tun'd horne:
Her green locks Ceres doth to yellow die,
The pilgrim safely in the shade doth lye,
Both Pan and Pales carelesse keep their flocks,
Seas have no dangers save the winds and rocks:
Thou art this isles Palladium, neither can,
Whiles thou dost live, it be o're-thrown by Man.
Let others boast of bloud and spoyles of foes,
Fierce rapines, murders, Iliads of woes,
Of hated pompe, and trophees reared faire,
Gore-spangled ensignes streaming in the aire,
Count how they make the Scythian them adore,
The Gaditan, and souldiour of Aurore:—
Unhappy boasting! to enlarge their bounds,
That charge themselves with cares, their friends with wounds,
Who have no law to their ambitious will,
But, man-plagues, borne are human bloud to spill:
Thou a true victor art, sent from above,
What others straine by force to gaine by love;
World-wandring Fame this praise to thee imparts,
To be the only Monarch of all Hearts.

Of this poem, which rises so far above the ordinary standard of the age, I shall venture to produce another specimen:—

Run on, Great Prince, thy Course in Glories way,
The end the life, the evening crowns the day:
Heape worth on worth, and strongly soare above
Those heights which made the world thee first to love;
Surmount thy selfe, and make thine actions past
Be but as gleames or lightnings of thy last,

Let them exceed those of thy younger time
As far as autumne doth the flowry prime.
Through this thy empire range like Worlds bright Eye,
That once each yeare surveys all earth and skie,
Now glaunces on the slow and resty Beares,
Then turnes to dry the weeping Auster's teares,
Hurries to both the poles, and moveth even
In the infigur'd Circle of the Heaven.
O long long haunt these bounds, which by thy sight
Have now regain'd their former heat and light.
Here grow green woods, here silver brooks do glide,
Here meadows stretch them out with painted pride,
Embroyd'ring all the banks ; here hills aspire
To crown their heads with the æthereall fire : . .
Hills, bulwarks of our freedome, giant walls,
Which never friends did slight, nor Sword made thralls :
Each circling floud to Thetis tribute paies,
Men here, in health out-live old Nestors daies :
Grim Saturne yet amongst our rocks remaines,
Bound in our caves with many mettal'd chaines :
Bulls haunt our shades, like Ledas lover white,
Which yet might breed Pasiphaë delight ;
Our flocks faire fleeces beare, with which for sport
Endimion of old the moon did court ;
High-palmed harts amidst our forrests run,
And, not impall'd, the deep-mouth'd hounds do shun ;
The rough-foot hare safe in our bushes shrowds,
And long-wing'd hawkes do pearch amidst our clouds. . . .
Ah, why should Isis only see thee shine ?
Is not thy Forth as well as Isis thine ?
Though Isis vaunt she hath more wealth in store,
Let it suffice thy Forth doth love thee more :
Though she for beauty may compare with Seine,
For swans and sea-nymphs with imperiall Rheine,
Yet for the title may be claim'd in thee,
Nor she nor all the world can match with me.
Now when, by honour drawn, thou shalt away
To her already jealous of thy stay,
When in her amorous armes she doth thee fold,
And dries thy dewy haires with hers of gold,
Much asking of thy fare, much of thy sport,
Much of thine absence, long, how e're so short,
And chides perhaps thy coming to the North,
Loath not to thinke on thy much-loving Forth.

When the successor of this king visited his northern domin-

ions in the year 1633, Drummond contributed the verses for the pageants which welcomed his arrival in Edinburgh.[1] These verses, although they do not exhibit passages equal to those which we have lately examined, are not destitute of merit. I shall content myself with quoting the following lines, containing another encomium on his native country :—

Here are no Serean fleeces, Peru gold,
Auroras gems, nor wares by Tyrians sold :
Towns swell not here with Babylonian walls,
Nor Nero's sky-resembling gold-seel'd halls,
Nor Memphis spires, nor Quinzayes arched frames,
Captiving seas, and giving lands their names.
Faith, milke-white Faith, of old belov'd so well,
Yet in this corner of the world doth dwell,
With her pure Sisters, Truth, Simplicity ;
Here banish'd Honour beares them company :
A Mars-adoring brood is here, their wealth
Sound minds, and bodies of as sound a health ;
Walls here are men, who fence their cities more
Than Neptune, when he doath in mountaines roare,
Doth guard this isle, or all those forts and tow'rs
Amphions harpe rais'd about Thebés bow'rs.
Heavens arch is of their roofe, the pleasant shed
Of oake and plaine oft serves them for a bed.
To suffer want, soft pleasure to despise,
Run over panting mountains crown'd with ice,
Rivers o'recome, the wastest lakes appall,
Being to themselves oars, steerers, ship and all,
Is their renown ; a brave all-daring race,
Couragious, prudent, doth this climate grace ;[2]
Yet the firme base on which their glory stands,
In peace true hearts, in war is valiant hands,
Which here, Great King, they offer up to thee,
Thy worth respecting as thy pedigree :
Though it be much to come of princely stem,
More is it to deserve a diadem.

[1] Drummond's verses appeared in a publication entitled "The Entertainment of the high and mighty Monarch Charles, King of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland, into his auncient and royall City of Edinbvrgh, the fifteenth of June 1633." Edinb. 1633, 4to. The same collection contains a poem of six pages, written by Walter Forbes, and entitled "A Panegyricke to the high and mighty Monarch Charles, King of Great Britaine," etc.

[2] Illa pharetratis est propria gloria Scotis,
Cingere venatu saltus, superare natando
Flumina, ferre famem, contemnere frigora et æstus ;
Nec fossa et muris patriam, sed Marte tueri,
Et spreta incolumem vita defendere famam. —Buchanani Silvæ, iv.

Of the frequent compression and harmony of Drummond's couplets, every reader who has perused these extracts must be sufficiently aware; and the excellence of his versification has been highly extolled by an English critic. Waller and Denham are often regarded as the great improvers of a mode of versification which was carried to greater perfection by Dryden; but the Tears on the Death of Mœliades, and Forth Feasting, were composed several years before either of those poets had reached the age of manhood.[1]

Sir Robert Ayton is here entitled to a cursory notice as one of the first of our poets who wrote English verses with any degree of felicity.[2] He was a Gentleman of the King's Bed-

[1] Neve's Cursory Remarks on some of the Ancient English Poets, particularly Milton, p. 49. Lond. 1789, 8vo.—"Of these two poems of Drummond," he remarks, "it is observable that the first was written in 1612, the last in 1617. The earliest piece of Waller is that to the King on his Navy, in 1625. The piece in which Sir John Denham's greatest force lies, Cooper's Hill, was not written till 1640. The harmony of Drummond therefore at a time when those who are usually called the first introducers of a smooth and polished versification, had not yet begun to write, is an honour to him that should never be forgotten. Nor is his excellence half enough praised or acknowledged." With respect to the supposed merit of Waller and Denham as improvers of English versification, the reader may consult Mr. Crowe's Treatise on English Versification, p. 166. Lond. 1827, 8vo.

[2] A sonnet by Ayton is prefixed to the Earl of Stirling's Monarchicke Tragedies, and another occurs among "The Poeticall Essayes of Alexander Craige, Scotobritane," sig. F. 3. Lond. 1604, 4to. A third occurs among "The Poetical Recreations of Mr. Alexander Craig of Rosecraig," sig. B. 4 b. Edinb. 1609, 4to. An English poem of four stanzas, addressed to Sir James Hay, is prefixed to Ayton's "Basia, sive Strena Cal. Jan." Lond. 1605, 4to. Other ten of his poems are to be found in Watson's Collection, part ii. p. 114, part iii. p. 33, and two more were published from a manuscript in Pinkerton's Scotish Ballads, vol. i.

Alexander Craig mentions Ayton as "his dear friend and fellow-student." A third publication of the same author bears the title of "The amorous Songs, Sonnets, and Elegies of M. Alex. Craig, Scoto-Britan." Lond. 1606, 12mo. He likewise appears as a contributor to the Muses Welcome, p. 99. A pension of four hundred pounds was granted to "Mr. Alexander Craig, Poet," in the year 1605; and two years afterwards we find this grant ratified by an Act of Parliament. (Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 389.) In 1621, the same person, or at least a person of the same name, was member of Parliament for the town of Banff. (Ibid. pp. 594-6.) On the 20th of December 1627, James Craig was *retoured* heir to his father Alexander Craig of Rosecraig. (Inquisitionum Abbreviatio, vol. ii. inq. gen. 1372.) The poet must then have been dead; but as there is no limited period for this legal process, he may have died a considerable time before.

Robert Fairley is another Scotish poet whose name is connected with that of Ayton. He is the author of a Latin poem entitled "Naulogia, sive inventa Navis." Lond. 4to. It is inscribed in prose and verse to Sir Robert Ayton. He also published "*Kalendarium Humanæ Vitæ:* the Kalender of Man's Life." Lond. 1638, 8vo. This work consists of poems on the four seasons; and it is generally accompanied with the same author's "*Lychnocausia sive Moralia Facum Emblemata:* Lights Morall Emblems." Lond. 1638, 8vo. In these two productions, each poem appears in Latin and in English. The emblem was about this period a favourite species of composition: it had been recommended by the example of Alciatus, Beza, and other continental writers; and in England it was laboriously attempted by George Wither and Francis Quarles.

chamber,[1] and private secretary to two successive queens, the consorts of James and Charles. It further appears from the inscription on his monument in Westminster Abbey, that he was likewise master of St. Katherine's Hospital, that he had been employed in an embassy to the Emperor of Germany, that he lived unmarried, and died at Whitehall in 1638, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.[2] He was connected with several of the wits of that period; and Jonson averred to Drummond that "Sir R. Ayton loved him dearly."[3] He was evidently a man of sprightly talents, as well as an elegant scholar: his Latin poems, which occur in the Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, have been highly commended by Borrichius;[4] and his English poems, although inconsiderable for their number and length, are sufficient to evince that he was capable of higher efforts. I shall transcribe three of his little pieces as a specimen of his lively and pleasant vein. The first is on the subject of love.

There is no worldly pleasure here below
  Which by experience doth not folly prove,
But among all the follies that I know,
  The sweetest folly in the world is love;
But not that passion which with fools consent
  Above the reason bears imperious sway,
Making their lifetime a perpetual lent,
  As if a man were born to fast and pray.
No, that is not the humour I approve,
  As either yielding pleasure or promotion:

[1] Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 66.

[2] The following account of Sir Robert Ayton occurs in Aubrey's Lives of Eminent Men: "He lieth buried in the south aisle of the choir of Westminster Abbey, where there is erected to his memory an elegant marble and copper monument. His bust is of copper curiously cast with a laurell, held over it by two fig. of white marble. That Sr. Rob. was one of the best poets of his time: Mr. Jo. Dryden says he has seen verses of his, some of the best of that age, printed with some other verses. He was acquainted with all the witts of his time in England. He was a great acquaintance of Mr. Thos. Hobbes of Malmsbury, whom Mr. Hobbes told me he made use of (together with Ben Jonson) for an Aristarchus, when he made his epistle dedicatory, for his translation of Thucydides. I have been told (I think by Sr. John himself) that he was eldest son to Sr. John Ayton, master of the black rod, who was also an excellent scholar." (Letters written by Eminent Persons, etc. vol. ii. p. 200.) An engraving of the monument, together with a copy of the inscription, may be found in Smith's Iconographia Scotica. Lond. 1798, fol. 4to and 8vo. He is described as a descendant of the illustrious family of Ayton, "ad castrum Kinnadinum apud Scotos oriundus." The monument, as appears from the inscription, was erected by his grateful nephew, John Ayton.

[3] Drummond's Works, p. 225. [fol. edit.]

[4] Borrichii Dissertationes academicæ de Poetis, p. 149. Francof. 1688, 4to.—"Roberto Aytono Scoto famulantur Pierides quacunque incedit."

I like a mild and lukewarm zeal in love,
Although I do not like it in devotion;
For it has no coherence with my creed,
To think that lovers die as they pretend:
If all that say they dy, had dy'd indeed,
Sure long e're now the world had had an end.
Besides we need not love but if we please;
No destiny can force men's disposition,
And how can any die of that disease,
Whereof himself may be his own physician?
But some seem so distracted of their wits,
That I would think it but a venial sin,
To take some of those innocents that sit
In Bedlam out, and put some lovers in.
Yet some men, rather than incur the slander
Of true apostates, will false martyrs prove:
But I am neither Iphis nor Leander,
I'll neither drown nor hang my self for love.
Methinks a wise man's actions should be such
As always yield to reason's best advice:
Now for to love too little or too much,
Are both extreams, and all extreams are vice.
Yet have I been a lover by report,
Yea I have dy'd for love as others do,
But, prais'd be God, it was in such a sort,
That I reviv'd within an hour or two.
Thus have I liv'd, thus have I lov'd till now,
And find no reason to repent me yet;
And whosoever otherways will do,
His courage is as little as his wit.[1]

The next is on a woman's inconstancy:—

I lov'd thee once, I'll love no more,
Thine be the grief, as is the blame;
Thou art not what thou wast before,
What reason I should be the same?
He that can love unlov'd again,
Hath better store of love than brain.
God send me love my debts to pay,
While unthrifts fool their love away.

Nothing could have my love o'erthrown,
If thou had still continued mine;

[1] Watson's Collection of Scots Poems, part iii. p. 30. In transcribing Ayton's verses, I have in one or two instances omitted a superfluous *s*, which may have been inserted by the printer rather than the poet.

Yea, if thou had remain'd thy own,
I might perchance have yet been thine.
But thou thy freedom did recal,
That if thou might elswhere inthral:
And then how could I but disdain
A captive's captive to remain.

When new desires had conquer'd thee,
And chang'd the object of thy will,
It had been lethargy in me,
No constancy, to love thee still:
Yea it had been a sin to go
And prostitute affection so,
Since we are taught no pray'rs to say
To such as must to others pray.

Yet do thou glory in thy choice,
Thy choice of his good fortune boast;
I'll neither grieve, nor yet rejoice,
To see him gain what I have lost:
The height of my disdain shall be
To laugh at him, to blush for thee,
To love thee still, but go no more
A begging at a beggar's door.[1]

The third is on a gentlewoman that was painted:—

Pamphila has a number of good parts,
Which commendation to her worth imparts;
But amongst all, in one she doth excell,
That she can paint incomparably well;
And yet so modest, if that prais'd for this,
She'll swear she does not know what painting is,
But straight will blush with such a portrait grace,
That we would think vermilion dy'd her face.
One of her pictures I have oftimes seen,
And would have sworn that she itself had been,
And when I bad her it on me bestow,
I swear I heard the picture's self say, No.
What, think you this a prodigy? It's none;
The painter and the picture were both one.[2]

Sir David Murray was another court poet of the same period, and a person of some note among his contemporaries.[3] He was

[1] Watson, part iii. p. 41.

[2] Ibid. part ii. p. 115.

[3] Bishop Hall has addressed to Sir David Murray his epistle "concerning the miracles of our time." (Epistles, dec. i. epist. vi.) He is celebrated in one of Owen's epigrams. (Epigrammata, p. 134, edit. Lond. 1633, 12mo.) And Patrick Gordon has dedicated to him *Neptunus Britannicus Corydonis*. Lond. 1613, 4to.

a younger son of Robert Murray of Abercairney, by a daughter of Murray of Tullibardine, and was consequently related to several families of wealth and influence. He was long attached to the household of Prince Henry, not however, as Douglas avers, in the capacity of governor; for the prince's governor or tutor was Adam Newton, afterwards created a baronet: Murray was at first Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and, on the settlement of the household in 1610, was appointed Groom of the Stole, and Gentleman of the Robes.[1] In the year 1630, he obtained from the Crown a grant of the estate of Gorthy, but he left no children to inherit his possessions.[2] The poetry of Murray is not of a high order. He is not without some share of ingenuity; but his taste is not sufficiently refined, and his compositions abound with Scoticisms, and with ungrammatical expressions. His principal work, entitled "The tragical Death of Sophonisba,"[3]

[1] Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales, p. 16, 218. Lond. 1760, 8vo. Nichols's Progresses of King James, vol. i. p. 427. As groom of the stole, his wages were £22, 6s. 8d., with diet or board-wages: as gentleman of the robes, he received as livery £20, and in fees, £6, 13s. 4d. In 1613, he received a free-gift of £2000, and in 1615, £5200 to be applied to the payment of his debts. (Nichols, vol. ii. p. 374.) He appears to have stood very high in the young prince's favour: according to Sir Charles Cornwallis, he was "the onely man in whom he had put choise trust."

[2] Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p. 102. Edinb. 1798, fol.

[3] The tragicall Death of Sophonisba. Written by David Mvrray, Scoto-Brittaine. Lond. 1611, 8vo. This work is introduced by three commendatory sonnets; one addressed "to my louing cousin," by John Murray, another "to me kinde friend, by Michael Drayton, and the third "to my deere friend," by Simon Grahame. Sir David Murray in his *Cœlia*, has extolled the poetical talents of his cousin; who was a gentleman of the king's bedchamber, and died on the eleventh of April 1615. See a letter and a sonnet on his death, written by the Earl of Stirling, and printed in Drummond's Works, p. 150. He is likewise celebrated by Sir Robert Ayton, Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 72, and by John Dunbar, Epigrammata, p. 82, 83.

Simon Grahame is said to have descended from a respectable family, and to have been a native of Edinburgh; but the period of his birth is not mentioned. (Dempsteri Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Scotorum, p. 323.) In the dedication of his Anatomie of Hvmors to the Earle of Montrose, he speaks of himself as a traveller and a soldier:—"My peregrinations enlarged my curiositie, my soldier's estate promised to preferre me, and the smiles of court stuffed my braines with manie idle suppositions." He was, says Urquhart, "a great traveler, and very good scholar, as doth appear by many books of his emission; but being otherwayes too licentious, and given over to all manner of debordings, the most of the praise I will give him, wil be to excuse him in these termes of Aristotle:—'Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiæ.'" (Jewel, p. 195.) His fervour seems at length to have taken a different direction; for Dempster relates that, by the instigation of the Holy Spirit, he assumed the habit of St. Francis. The same writer informs us that, as he was returning towards his native country in 1614, he died at Carpentras. According to Dempster and Urquhart, his publications were numerous, but I am only acquainted with two of them. The passionate Sparke of a relenting Minde. Lond. 1604, 4to. The Anatomie of Hvmours. Edinb. 1609, 4to. The former of these works is a collection of poems; the latter, which consists of prose interspersed with verse, may possibly have suggested the title of Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, a singular and well-known production, first printed at Oxford in quarto in the year 1621.

is a long poem in stanzas of seven lines. The same tragic story had already been treated by many other writers, and particularly by the dramatic poets of Italy and France: the Sofonisba of Galeotto del Carretto, Marquis of Savona, which was completed about the year 1502, is described as the first attempt at tragedy in the Italian language; and the Sofonisba of Trissino, which was represented at Rome in 1515, is commonly regarded as the first regular tragedy composed in any of the languages of modern Europe.[1] Murray's poem, which contains little action, and chiefly consists of soliloquies, is not calculated to excite any particular interest, inasmuch as it seldom rises to genuine pathos. In more instances than one, we meet with glaring violations of propriety; the scene of action is in Africa, and the era is before the birth of Christ; yet the hero is familiarly acquainted not only with the Tagus, but even with the Tay; and we likewise hear of cloistered nuns, with their matins and even-song. To a Perthshire poet the river Tay must naturally be an object of no small interest; but to transfer this interest to an ancient king of Numidia is not quite so natural. When the heroine receives the fatal letter and poison from Massinissa, her soul is represented as the scene of a protracted debate between honour and life, where courage at length interposes to put an end to the contest. The author shows an undue predilection for double rhymes, which are not peculiarly adapted to a poem of this description. A single stanza will serve to exhibit his bias for such rhymes:—

> Why stay I then to surfet out this potion,
> Whose drousie liquour shall breed such a slumber,
> As I shall need to feare no careful motion,
> Nor with my sad disgrace my thoughts to cumber?
> My woes, my griefs, and my mishaps past number
> Shall all be buried in eternall sleepe,
> My heart and eyes shall no more sigh and weepe.[2]

But in this instance it cannot perhaps be affirmed that the double rhymes produce an unpleasing effect. Another quotation will further illustrate his vein of composition:—

> Her smooth cheekes whiter then the whitest lawne,
> Or winter snowes which cover Atlas face,

[1] Walker's Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy, pp. 9, 15. Lond. 1799, 4to.
[2] Death of Sophonisba, sig. D. 3 b.

Where nature artificially had drawne
Her fairer nose, that fairer part to grace ;
On whose each side a little distant space,
Vermillion roses and sweet lillies grew,
Which checker'd that faire field with crimson hew.

Her teeth, like rankes of orientall pearle,
With corrall died lips were compas'd round ;
From whence, farre sweeter than the well tun'd merle,
Her heart-bereauing tongue did softly sound
Words of such force the flintiest heart to wound :
Her baulmy breath in worth, in taste, in smell,
Did ciuet, muske, and amber-greaze excell. . . .

Her marble necke did vnder-prop those graces,
Which from her line-straight body stately sprung ;
Her foulding armes into their seuerall places
Close by her tender dainty sides downe hung ;
From whence her snow-white hands, smoothe, sleeke, and long,
In iuory colums did themselues forth spread,
Whose smallest touch the heauiest heart could glad.[1]

The subsequent stanza, though disfigured by an ungrammatical line, is not without some share of poetical grace :—

Vindictive thoughts, calamity and care,
Foes vnto beauty, maiesty, and grace,
Made her not seeme lesse beautifull, lesse faire ;
For though that sorrow seem'd to maske her face,
Yet her faire eyes, as if they scorn'd disgrace,
Whiles floods of languid pearles down fro them powres,
Did glance like Phœbus rayes in Aprill showres.[2]

To the Death of Sophonisba is subjoined a small collection of poems, which bears the title of *Cœlia*, borrowed from the name of this author's mistress. It comprehends twenty-six Sonnets, "The Complaint of the Shepheard Harpalus," and an "Epitaph on the Death of his deare Cousin M. Dauid Murray." It need scarcely be remarked that his sonnets are greatly inferior to those of Drummond and Stirling. Two of them have been selected by Mr. Ellis, and another is here subjoined as a further specimen :—

Bright angel's face, the paradise of loue,
High stately throne where majesty doth shine,

[1] Death of Sophonisba, sig c. 1.

[2] Ibid. sig. B. 4. b.

Beauties idæa, swetnesse sweetned shrine,
Cleare heauens, wherein proud Phœbus dazlers moue,
Faire pearly dolles that staine the iuory white,
Inuironed with corroll died walles,
Sweet nectard breath, more soft than Zephir's gales,
Heart-reauing tongue whose speech still breeds delight,
Smooth cheekes of rose and lyllies interlac'd,
Art-scorning nose, in framing which no doubt
Nature of her whole skill plai'd bankerout,
When it in midst of such perfections plac'd,
Gold-glittering tresses, and soules-wounding lockes,
Onely proud cares, more deafe then flinty rockes.[1]

Sir Robert Kerr, Earl of Ancram, an amiable and accomplished man, has likewise been enrolled among the poets of this period. He was a particular friend of the poet of Hawthornden; and Sage has related a curious little anecdote of Drummond peeping into an apartment of a London tavern, where Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton, Sir William Alexander, and Sir Robert Kerr, were engaged in jocular conversation.[2] In the year 1620, he had the misfortune to kill, in a duel at Newmarket, one Charles Maxwell, who is described as a giant, and to whom the quarrel seems to have been entirely imputed.[3] King Charles appointed him one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber in 1625, and created him a peer in 1633. During the civil wars he adhered to the King with the utmost constancy; but his eldest son, who had been created Earl of Lothian, did not espouse the same cause. After the King's execution, he retired to Holland, and, after experiencing many privations, died at Amsterdam in the

[1] Cælia, containe certaine Sonets. By David Mvrray, Scoto-Brittaine.—Another of his publications still remains to be noticed: A Paraphrase of the CIV. Psalme. By David Mvrray, Edinburgh, printed by Andro Hart, 1615, 4to. Of this edition, the only copy known to be extant is among Drummond's books in the University library. His different works have lately been reprinted for the Bannatyne Club, under the title of "Poems by Sir David Murray of Gorthy." Edinb. 1823, 4to.

[2] Sage's Life of Drummond, p. ix.

[3] Drummond's Works, p. 151. Nichols's Progresses of King James, vol. iii. p. 587. Kerr's antagonist may perhaps have been the same individual who is thus mentioned by Osborne: "The second matter of worth in the verses concerns Mr. Edward Hawley, an intimate acquaintance of mine, who coming to court on a grand day, Maxwell (more famous for this and wealth, than civility or education, not being ever able to read or write) led him out of the room by a black string he wore in his ear, a fashion then much in use. But this had like to have cost warm blood." (Works, p. 456, 9th edit. Lond. 1689, 8vo.) The effusion of blood was prevented by the interference of the King, "forcing the Scot to give humble satisfaction, to a quiet admission of what Mr. Hawley should desire."

year 1654, at the age of seventy-six.[1] There is some reason to believe that he was a frequent writer of verses, but few of his compositions have been preserved, or at least are commonly known. The following sonnet, which the Earl of Orford characterizes as "very pretty," and Mr. Park as "beautiful and sweetly plaintive," was transmitted with an interesting letter to his "worthy friend Mr. William Drummond of Hawthornden:"—

Sweet solitary Life, lovely dumb Joy,
That need'st no warnings how to grow more wise
By other men's mishaps, nor the Annoy
Which from sore Wrongs done to one's self doth rise.
The Morning's second mansion, Truth's first friend,[2]
Never acquainted with the world's vain broils;
Where the whole Day to our own Use we spend,
And our dear Time no fierce ambition spoils.
Most happy state, that never tak'st Revenge
For Injuries received, nor dost fear
The Court's great earthquake, the griev'd truth of change,
Nor none of Falshood's savoury Lyes dost hear,
Nor know'st Hope's sweet Disease, that charms our sense,
Nor its sad Cure, dear-bought Experience.

The Earl of Ancram has versified eleven of the psalms, some of them professedly "out of Buchanan." His version has never been printed, but is preserved in the handwriting of Drummond.[3] I shall transcribe his paraphrase of the hundred and thirtieth psalm, in which he professes to follow Buchanan, and to adapt his words to the French measure:—

Deepe suncke in flouds of griefe,
Vnto the Lord I prayd,
That hee would send reliefe,
And thus my sad heart sayd:

Lord heare the sighs and grones
That I before thee power,

[1] Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 137. A very interesting portrait of the Earl of Ancram may be found in Pinkerton's Scotish Gallery, Lond. 1799, 4to; and in Park's edition of Orford's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. v. p. 97.

[2] "Because the next way the morning goeth from the lap of Thetis, is to those that dwell in the country; for at court, and the great palaces of the world, they ly a-bed, and miss it, and truth getteth first welcome among those that be at leisure to consider of her excellency." Drummond's Works, p. 152, [fol. edit. Edin. 1711, where this "Sonnet in praise of a Solitary Life" is given with a letter, signed Ro. Kerr, and dated Cambridge, 16th December 1624. "The date of this starved Rhime, and the place, was the very bed-chamber where I could not sleep."]

[3] They are preserved among Drummond's papers in the library of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland.

Listen vnto my moanes,
And help me at this hower.

If like a judge seuere,
To punish thou be bent,
No flesh can be so cleere
As to proue innocent.

But mercifull thou art,
And from all passion free
But, Lord, it is our part
With feare to trust in thee.

Thy word, myne onlye hope,
Sustaines my wauering mynd,
And in that faithfull prop
All confidence I find.

No watchman of the night
More longeth for the day,
Than I do for the light
Which thy grace doth display.[1]

Then trust the Lord all yee
That doe him feare and know,
For it is only hee
That helps the weake and low.

James Grahame, Marquis of Montrose, who has commonly been ranked among heroes, is not without some pretensions to a place among poets. The history of this remarkable person, his alternate warfare for the Covenant and for the King, together with the whole of his brief and bloody career, are sufficiently known to every one acquainted with the annals of those unhappy times. He was born in 1612, and was beheaded in 1650, when he had only attained the age of thirty-eight. Some of his earlier years he had devoted to literature; and he is represented as having arrived at proficiency in the Greek and Latin, as well as in the modern languages. Seven little poems, ascribed to the Marquis of Montrose, appeared in Watson's collection sixty-one years after his death. Of those seven, one at least had been printed at a much earlier period, perhaps during his own lifetime;[2] nor is it improbable that some of the rest,

1 No watchman longeth more
To see the morning skye,
And haue the night past o're,
Than for thy grace doe I.

2 In the curious library of James Maidment, Esq., Advocate, there is a broadside with the following title: "Epitaphs. The first written by the Marquis of Montross

or all of them, had likewise been printed in a fugitive form, on those frail and evanescent papers commonly denominated Broadsides. The verses of Montrose, which are not destitute of poetical spirit, partly relate to subjects of love. Of his amatory strains, the following stanzas may be quoted as a specimen :—

My dear and only Love, I pray
This noble world of thee
Be govern'd by no other sway
But purest monarchie.
For if confusion have a part,
Which vertuous souls abhore,
And hold a synod in thy heart,
I'll never love thee more.

Like Alexander I will reign,
And I will reign alone,
My thoughts shall evermore disdain
A rival on my throne.
He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That puts it not unto the touch,
To win or lose it all.

But I must rule and govern still,
And always give the law,
And have each subject at my will,
And all to stand in awe.
But 'gainst my battery if I find
Thou shun'st the prize so sore,

with the point of his sword. The second begins thus,—

So falls the stately cedar, while it stood
That was the only glory of the wood.

This broadside, so far as one can judge from its appearance, may have been printed soon after the event to which the verses relate. The Marquis's Epitaph on King Charles is likewise inserted in different publications of an early date. (Cleveland's Poems, p. 88, edit. Lond. 1662, 8vo. Lloyd's Memoires, p. 228. Lond. 1668, fol.) The following allusion to it occurs in a circumstantial writer of that period: "This morning before I was up, I fell a-singing of my song, 'Great, good, and just,' etc., and put myself thereby in mind that this was the fatal day, now ten years since his Majesty died." (Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq., vol. i. p. 9.) And these verses have been translated into Latin by the Marquis's chaplain, Dr. Wishart, afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh. See the appendix to his Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose, p. 407, edit. Edinb. 1756, 8vo.

It has been suggested that this chaplain may have been the same individual who is commended as a good poet by Sir Thomas Urquhart, Jevel, p. 212. But the author of the Memoirs was George Wishart, D.D., and the poet William Wishart, B.D. The latter published a volume consisting of two hundred and twenty-four pages, and entitled "Immanuel: or the Mystery of God, manifested in the flesh.: sung in the several cantoes of Urania, Astræa, Melpomene. By Will. Wishartt, B.D. Scoto-Britan. and Preacher in both Kingdoms." Lond. 1642, 4to. George Wishart, D.D., contributed a Latin eclogue to the Funerals of Bishop Forbes, p. 336.

As that thou set'st me up a blind,
I'll never love thee more.

Or in the empire of thy heart
Where I should solely be,
Another do pretend a part,
And dares to vie with me;
Or if committees thou erect,
Or go on such a score,
I'll sing and laugh at thy neglect,
And never love thee more.

But if thou will be constant then,
And faithful to thy word,
I'll make thee glorious by my pen,
And famous by my sword:
I'll serve thee in such noble ways,
Was never heard before;
I'll crown and deck thee all with bays,
And love thee evermore.[1]

His verses on the death of Charles the First are more generally known; and in the opinion of Mr. Headley, "they are conceived with the vigour and dignity of a soldier."

Great, good, and just, could I but rate
My grief to thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world in such a strain
As it would one deluge again.
But since thy loud-tongu'd blood demands supplies,
More from Briareus hands than Argus eyes,
I'll tune thy Elegies to Trumpet-sounds,
And write thy Epitaph in Blood and Wounds.

Another poem which bears his name, but of which the genuineness is not so well attested, breathes a still deeper tone of determination. Between his sentence and execution only one night intervened; and a part of that night he is said to have employed in reducing to verse a hyperbolical sentiment of loyalty, and in engraving it with a diamond on the window of his prison. The verses are such as might have been expected from the Marquis of Montrose on such an occasion:—

[1] Watson's Choice Collection of comic and serious Scots Poems, both ancient and modern, part iii. p. 107. Edinb. 1711, 8vo. The first part appeared in 1706. The second part was printed in 1709. The book was "Printed by James Watson, and sold at his shop, next door to the Red-Lyon, opposite to the Tucken-Boothis."

Let them bestow on ev'ry airth a limb,
Open all my veins, that I may swim
To thee, my Saviour, in that crimson lake,
Then place my purboil'd head upon a stake,
Scatter my ashes, throw them in the air:
Lord, since thou know'st where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful[1] once thou'lt recollect my dust,
And confident thou'lt raise me with the just.

A person who writes verses on such an occasion as this, is at least entitled to a place among the most ardent lovers of poetry. Another characteristic circumstance, indicating the same poetical tendency, has been recorded of one of his unfortunate companions in arms, John Spotswood, a grandson of the Archbishop, and the only son of Sir John Spotswood of Dairsie. This young gentleman, who had held the rank of captain in his army, and had been taken prisoner at the same time with himself, was condemned to suffer the same punishment. When Montrose was quitting the prison for the scaffold, Spotswood "was admitted to give him his last adews in verse, which he did after such a manner that he drew tears out of the Marques eyes, who leand upon him and kissed him, his hands being all that time tyed with cords."[2]

[1] This application of the word *hopeful*, Dr. Beattie has classed among Scoticisms. (Scoticisms arranged in alphabetical order, p. 42. Edinb. 1787, 8vo.) It is however to be found in some English writers of a modern date: it occurs, for example, in the prefatory verses prefixed to Dr. Morell's Poems on divine Subjects. Lond. 1732, 8vo.

Hopeful from thy example, Young, to rise
One day with them to everlasting bless.

[2] Hay's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 163, MS. Adv. Lib. "With him suffered young Spotiswood of Dairsie, a compleat young gentleman, and worthy of mercy, had they been capable of showing any; being very young, but of an excellent disposition, and of great learning." (Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose, p. 322.) Hay has preserved a considerable number of his poems, which are more conspicuous for their loyalty than for their literary merit. He is the author of some commendatory verses prefixed to Drummond's Poems. Lond. 1656, 8vo.

CHAPTER XXV.

We have now entered a very barren field, in which the labourers are neither conspicuous for their merit nor their numbers. During the last year of the reign of James the Sixth, Alexander Garden, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, produced a work entitled the Theatre of the Scotish Kings, which remained in manuscript till the beginning of last century, when it was published by James Watson, a printer of considerable note.[1] It contains a series of inscriptions on one hundred and seven monarchs, real and imaginary, commencing with a worthy prince who reigned 330 years before the birth of Christ. Garden's work is manifestly formed from the historical inscriptions of Johnston, of which in very many instances it is little more than a mere paraphrase. The hexameters and pentameters of the original are not without a certain share of poetical ornament, but nothing can be more flat and prosaic than the imitation. Alexander the Third is thus exhibited by Johnston and Garden :—

Connubio Anglorum stabili nova fœdera pacis
  Conciliat, subeunt bella repente nova.
Omnia Norvegus late loca milite complet,
  Quem magno intrepidus robore fundit, agit.
Mutua dehinc pacis sociantur fœdera ; leges,
  Juraque dat populis munera grata suis.
Res hominum ah fragiles ! illum de rupe reclivi
  Præcipitem insani vis fera raptat equi:
Usque adeo certi nihil est mortalibus ævi,
  Et subeunt miseris mille repente neces.[2]

[1] The Theatre of the Scotish Kings. By Alexander Garden, Professor of Philosophy at Aberdeen. Done from the original Manuscript. Edinb. 1709, 4to. The manuscript is preserved ifi the Advocates' Library. That Garden belonged to King's College we learn from the subscription to a copy of Latin verses which he contributed to the Funerals of Bishop Forbes, p. 381.

[2] Jonstoni Inscriptiones Historicæ Regum

A noble Prince, by means of mar'age he
With England peace and quietnes concludes,
Bot in the time of this tranquilitie
The Norces with a flote into his fludes
Arrived, lands, and filld with blood his bounds,
Whill that his force thair furor all confounds.

There men a land at Larges thay ar lost,
Thair schippes the vinds and waters did devore ;
So be two great calamities thus crost,
King Magnus is compelled to restore,
And quite the Isles, and Boote and Arrane left,
Which laitlie Acho, but a right, had reft.

Thus by his sworde securde and setled so
From straungers stres his standing and estate,
He did conforme his friends, and forst his foe,
Bot could not frame to his effect his fate ;
For be a fall he perishes perforce,
Born doune a hewche with an vnhandsom horse.

Garden had at an earlier period completed another metrical work, which still remains in manuscript; namely, a paraphrase of Boyce's life of William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen.[1] After having exhibited the first eight lines, we shall take an abrupt leave of this professor; of whom we may charitably hope that his philosophy was better than his poetry.

When Bishop Blacater,
In Palestine deceased,
Transported was to Glasco's seat,
And protomyst thair placed,
The channons, clerks, and all,
All wonderfullie prone,
Prays and for pastor postulats
Ane William Elphinstone.

Scotorum, p. 50. Amst. 1602, 4to.—The author of these Inscriptions was John Johnston, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews. He was born in the county of Aberdeen, and was connected with the family of Crimond. After having studied in King's College, he spent eight years on the Continent, where he successively resided in the Universities of Helmstadt, Rostock, and Geneva. He married Catherine Melville, of the family of Carnbee, and died at St. Andrews on the 20th of October 1611.

[1] The Lyfe, Doeings, and Death of the Right Reverend and worthie Prelat William Elphinstone, be the divyne providence the 23 Bishope of Aberdone, who after 30 years government of this sea, the 83 of his age, depairted in Edinburgh the year of Chryst 1514; excerpted and translated out of the Lives of the Bishopes of Aberdone, writtin in Latine by the learned and famous chronographer Maister Hector Boœs, first Principall of the K. Colledge thair, be Al. Garden. Aberdone the year 1619. MS. 4to.

Sir James Semple of Beltrees, who was himself a poet, and the father and grandfather of poets, flourished about the same period. His father, John Semple, "the dancer," was the youngest son of Robert the third Lord Semple. He was himself named after the King; and, as he states in the dedication of a prose work, he was "nursed and schooled" in the court. He received various marks of the royal favour, and among the rest the appointment of ambassador to England in 1599, and to France in 1601. After his Majesty's accession to the English crown, he obtained a grant of the barony of Carbarry in the vicinity of Cork; but his heirs were deprived of this possession during the usurpation of Cromwell.[1] Semple is the author of two learned works in prose;[2] but at present he chiefly claims our attention as the author of a satirical poem entitled a Pick-tooth for the Pope, or the Pack-man's Pater-noster. I have not seen any edition of an earlier date than 1669, when the poem was printed with the additions of his son Robert Semple.[3] They are interwoven throughout the work; and the portions contributed by the father and the son are distinguished by the initials of their respective names. The form of this satire is a spiritual conference between a Pedlar and a Priest.

> A Polands Pedler went upon a day
> Unto his parish Priest to learn to pray;
> The priest said, Pack-man, thou must haunt the closter,
> And learn the Ave, and the Pater noster.

During the seventeenth century, Poland was overrun by Scotish

[1] Crawfurd's Hist. of the Shire of Renfrew, continued by Semple, p. 162. Paisley, 1782, 4to.

[2] Sacrilege sacredly handled; that is, according to Scripture onely. Lond. 1619, 4to. Scoti του τυχοντος Paraclesis contra Danielis Tileni, Silesii, Parænesin, ad Scotos Genevensis Disciplinæ Zelotas conscriptam, cujus pars prima est, de Episcopali Ecclesiæ Regimine. Anno 1622, 4to. This Latin volume has commonly been ascribed to Andrew Melville; but we learn from the competent authority of Calderwood that the real author was Sir James Semple. "The answer to Tilenus," says Dr. M'Crie, "is written with great ability, and in a style of nervous reasoning, seasoned with satire, which is, upon the whole, less severe than the rudeness of the attack which it repels would have justified." (Life of Melville, vol. ii. p. 457.)

[3] A Pick-tooth for the Pope: or the Packmans Pater-Noster, set down in a Dialogue betwixt a Pack-man and a Priest. Translated out of Dutch by S. J. S., and newly augmented and enlarged by his son, R. S. Edinburgh, printed by Andrew Anderson, anno 1669, 8vo. It may be inferred from the title-page, as well as from some verses which Robert Semple addresses to the reader, that this is not the earliest edition. To this polemical work, one Alexander Semple has contributed a sonnet, which is introduced in p. 7. Under the name of SEMPLE, several poems occur at the end of a manuscript copy of Alexander Hume's Poems in the Advocates' Library.

traders of various denominations: and, if we may credit the assertion of Lithgow, no fewer than thirty thousand Scotish families had established themselves in that country.[1] The dialogue is supported with a considerable degree of spirit: many arguments are shrewdly urged against purgatory, the invocation of saints, prayers in a dead language, and other articles of popish superstition; and although composed by two different authors, it exhibits no marks of abruptness or inconsistency. The language is not very decidedly Scotish, but is interspersed with a certain portion of vernacular words and idioms. After the priest has stated the expediency of using a Latin liturgy, the conference proceeds thus:—

And in this language mass is said and sung:
For private things pray in thy mother tongue.

PACK-MAN. Then must I have a tongue, Sir John, for either,
One for the mother, another for the father?

PRIEST. Thinks thou the mother doth not know such small things?
Christ is her son, man, and he tells her all things?

PACK-MAN. But, Good Sir John, where learned our lady her Latines?
For in her dayes, were neither mass nor matines,
Nor yet one priest that Latine then did speak,
For holy words were then all Hebrew and Greek:
She never was at Rome, nor kissed popes toe,
How came she by the mass then, would I kno?

PRIEST. Pack-man, if thou believe the Legendary
The masse is elder far then Christ or Mary;
For all the patriarchs, both more and lesse,
And great Milchesedeck himself, said mass.

PACK-MAN. But, good Sir John, spake all these fathers Latine,
And said they masse in surplaces and satine?
Could they speak Latine long ere Latine grew?
And without Latine no masse can be true.
And as for hereticks that now translate it,
False miscreants, they shame the masse and slate it.

PRIEST. Well, Pack-man, faith, thou art too curious,
Thy spur-blind zeal, fervent but furious:
I'd rather teach a whole cover of monks
Then such a pack-man, with his Puritane spunks.

[1] Lithgow's Panefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Trauayles, p. 422. Lond. 1632, 4to.—Of this book a Dutch translation was published under the title of "Willem Lithgouws 19. Jaarige Lant-Reyse." Amst. 1652, 4to. The first account of his travels was published at London, 1614, 4to. As a traveller, he is mentioned with approbation by a learned writer: "Sed Lithgow nostras, qui videtur accuratius respexisse loca circa Damascum," etc. (Jameson Spicilegia Antiquitatum Ægypti, p. 144. Glasg. 1720, 8vo.

This thou must know, that cannot be deny'd,
Rome reign'd over all when Christ was crucify'd;
Rome ethnick then, but afterwards converted,
And grew so honest and so holy hearted,
That now her emp'ror is turn'd in our pope,
His holiness, as you have read I hope.
He made a Law that all the world should pray
In Latine language to the Lord each day,
And this in our traditions you may try;
Which if you list to read, and shalt espy
The pope to be Christ's vicar, sole and sure,
And to the worlds end will so endure.

PACK-MAN. Surely this purpose puts me far aback,
And hath mo points, then pins in all my pack:
What ever power you give 'unto' your pope,
He may not make a man an ape I hope.[1]

This passage is the composition of Sir James Semple. The following quotation, which relates to the pope's supremacy, is the composition of his son:—

PRIEST. Know you not? Peter when he went to Rome,
He there was execute which was his doom;
And in his latter will and legacy,
At Rome he left his full supremacy
Unto the pope; which legacy was given
By Christ to Peter when he went to heaven.
And so the pope (though mediately indeed
By Peter) Christs sole vicar doth succeed;
And every pope sensyne from race to race
Succeeds each other in the papal place.

PACK-MAN. By your assertion surely I perceive
You press to prove that Peter then did leave
Such legacy to those who did him murther:
Think ye such fond conceits your cause can further?
That's but a very falsly forged fiction,
And proves most for your Romish whoors conviction:
For Rome did falsly fall from Peters faith,
And burreo-like bereft him of his breath;
And so your pope doth merit no preferment,
But, as an hang-man, Peter's upper garment.[2]

Another passage, written by the knight, I shall transcribe, as a further specimen of this curious performance:—

So if our Lord to mine own tongue be ready,
What need I then with Latine trouble our lady?

[1] Pick-tooth for the Pope, p. 5.

[2] Ibid. p. 6.

Or if both these my prayers must be in,
I pray thee tell me at whom to begin.
And to pray joyntly to them both as one
Your Latine prayers then are quickly gone;
For Pater noster never will accord
With her, nor Ave Mary with our Lord.
If I get him, what need I seek another?
Or dare he do nothing without his mother?
And this, Sir John, was once in question,
Disputed long with deep digestion,
Whether the Pater noster should be said
To God or to our lady when they pray'd:
When Master Mare, of learn'd diversitie,
Was rector of our universitie,[2]
They sate so long, they cooled all their kail,
Untill the master cook heard of the tale,
Who like a mad man ran among the clergie,
Crying with many a *Domine me asperge*,
To give the Pater noster to the father,
And to our ladie give the Aves rather;
And like a Welshman swore a great Saint Davies,
She might content her wel with creeds and Avees:
And so the clergie, fearing more confusion,
Were all contented with the cooks conclusion. . . .
And hereupon ye shall hear what befell
To certain clarks, that Latine well could spell,
With whom by chance I lodged at an inne,
Where an old wife upon a rock did spin;
And towards evening she fell to and pray'd,
But neither they nor I knew what she said.
One said, the carling counterfeits the canting,
Another said, it's but the matron's manting;
Some call'd it gibbers, others call'd it clavers;
But still the carling speaks, and spins, and slavers.
Now, good Sir John, what think ye of this hussie?
Where was her heart when her hands was so busie?
In end one said, Dame, wot ye what ye say?
No, not, saith she, but well I wot I pray.
Ye pray, said he, and wots not what? I grant.
Alace, how can ye be so ignorant?
The matrone musing little at the motion,
Said, Ignorance is mother of devotion.
Then, Dame, said he, if Ignorance be the mother,
Darknesse must be the daughter, and none other.

[1] John Mair, D.D., was appointed provost of St. Salvator's College in the University of St. Andrews in the year 1583, and retained this office till the year 1549.

Pray'd ye, said he, when all the time ye span?
What reck of that? said she, God's a good man,
And understands all that I say in Latine,
And this I do at even-song and matine.
Alace, Sir John, was not this wife abused,
Whose soul and senses all were so confused?
Ye know these unknown tongues can profit no man,
And one tongue is enough for any woman.[1]

The priest finding himself very closely pressed by the pedlar's arguments, proposed to refer the subject of their dispute to the prior of an adjoining convent. To him they accordingly repaired next day; but when the priest began to recapitulate their controversy, he treated them both as heretics, and threatened them with the extremity of the law. When the pedlar found himself in this jeopardy, he immediately commenced his retreat from the cloisters, but one of the friars compelled him to leave his pack behind him.[2]

Robert Semple of Beltrees was the son of this worthy knight, by a daughter of Elphinstone of Blythswood. He is best known as the author of the Piper of Kilbarchan; a poem which

[1] Pick-tooth for the Pope, p. 26.

[2] The errors of Popery were at a later period exposed in a rambling poem of some ingenuity, written in English by John Barclay, minister of Cruden, and entitled "A Description of the Roman Catholick Church; wherein the Pretensions of its Head, the Manners of his Court, etc. are represented in a Vision." Printed in the year 1689, 4to. Edinb. 1741, 8vo. This century produced many other volumes of ecclesiastical and religious verses, and a few of these I shall here enumerate.

The Turtle-Dove, under the Absence and Presence of her only Choice: or Desertion and Deliverance revived, etc. By a Lover of the Celestiall Muses. Edinb. 1664, 8vo. This lover of the celestial Muses, who is a very poor versifier, subscribes himself John Fullartoun of Careltoun.

The Saints Recreation, third Part, upon the Estate of Grace; containing and methodically delineating a Christians Progress, Priviledges, Comforts and Duties, etc. Compiled by Mr. William Geddes, Minister of the Gospel, first at Wick in Caithnes, and after at Urquhart in Murray. Edinb. 1683, 4to; Glasg. 1753, 8vo; Glasg. 1758, 8vo. The first and second parts were never printed.

The Mirrour of Divine Love unvail'd, in a poetical Paraphrase of the high and mysterious Song of Solomon: whereunto is added a Miscellany of several other Poems, sacred and moral, together with some few Pindariques in the close. By Robert Fleming, jun. V. D. M. Lond. 1691, 8vo. Fleming was a presbyterian clergyman, residing first in Rotterdam, and afterwards in London. His grandfather married a daughter of John Knox. (M. Crawford's Life of Knox, p. xlv.) Among the miscellaneous Poems we find "The Monarchical Image, or Nebuchadnezzar's Dream; a dramatique Poem," and a translation of four odes of Pindar. He "had once an intention to have translated all Pindar's works." He is the author of various works in prose, and has left some other specimens of his verse: one of these is a prolusion entitled "Fame's Mausoleum, a Pindarick Poem, with a Monumental Inscription, sacred to the glorious memory of William the Great, humbly offered as an Essay;" which is annexed to his "Practical Discourse occasioned by the Death of King William." Lond. 1702, 8vo. His chief model appears to have been Cowley, and his verses are very indifferent.

Divine Poems, in three parts: viz. Poeticall Applications, Job's Adversity, Poeticall

Dr. Leyden, by an anachronism of more than half a century, has ascribed to Hamilton of Gilbertfield.[1] It was printed, perhaps for the first time, in Watson's collection, and without the author's name; but a tradition has long prevailed in Renfrewshire that it was the production of Semple, who, as we have already seen, was otherwise known as a poet; and it was ascribed to him by his great-grandson Robert Semple,[2] who died in 1789 in the hundred-and-third year of his age. This noted piper was a real character, who seems to have died about the end of the sixteenth, or the beginning of the seventeenth century; and he is the subject of many traditions which still float on the popular breath in his native district. A piper was at one period a common appurtenance of a Scotish town; and the town-piper is represented as a person of some consideration. "The pipers of the Border," according to a late writer, "though not known to have been formed by any regular institution, rivalled the fame even of the Highlanders; and, at least in the opinion of their countrymen, were supposed to excel them in musical skill, as well as graceful execution. In the official capacity of town-piper, they commanded a much higher degree of respect from the peasantry, than wandering musicians; and, traversing the country at particular seasons, chiefly in Spring, for collecting seed-oats from the farmers, and at Autumn, about harvest-home, they exhibited the last remains of minstrelsy among the Borderers."[3] A more recent

Prayers; with Man's Looking-Glasse. By Arthur Nasmyth. Edinb. 1665, 8vo. He is a poet of the same class with Fullartoun.

Alexander Ross, chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, published a work containing an intermixture of prose and verse, and bearing the title of "*Mel Heliconium;* or Poeticall Honey, gathered out of the Weeds of Parnassus." Lond. 1642, 8vo. On the poetical mythology of the ancients the author endeavours to ingraft Christian morality and devotion. A specimen of his poetry may be found in Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature, vol. vi. p. 225. Like his father, he was a clergyman of Aberdeen (Garden, Vita Johannis Forbesii. p. 25); but his steady adherence to the cause of Episcopacy compelled him to seek refuge in England. He is the author of various works, in English and Latin, in prose and verse; but his name is most extensively known from a certain passage of Butler. Some of his Latin poems are inserted in the Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii. pp. 388-469. A good portrait of Dr. Ross is prefixed to his View of all Religions. Lond. 1653, 8vo. This last work, it may be proper to mention, was translated into French, Italian, and German. (Morhofii Polyhistor, tom. ii. p. 541.)

[1] Leyden's Dissertation on the Complaynt of Scotland, pp. 131, 142.

[2] In a short paper, containing some account of the piper himself, lately printed in a publication entitled Annual Miscellany, or Rational Recreations, p. 88. Paisley, 1812, 8vo. Various anecdotes of the Semples may be found in this publication, and in another bearing the title of the Paisley Repository.

[3] Leyden's Dissertation, p. 142.—"The

poet bewailed the death of John Hasty, the town-piper of Jedburgh ;[1] but this writer and his subject have not attained an equal degree of popularity. Semple's poem is distinguished by a very considerable share of humour and pleasantry ; and Ramsay professedly regarded it as the standard of that species of composition which he chiefly cultivated. The whole of it I shall here transcribe, as a specimen of the Scotish poetry of this unprolific period :—

The Life and Death of the Piper of Kilbarchan ; or,

The Epitaph of HABBIE SIMSON,
Who on his Drone bore bonny Flags :
He made his Cheeks as red as Crimson,
And babbed when he blew the Bags.

Kilbarchan now may say Alas !
For she hath lost her game and grace,
Both Trixie and the Maiden Trace ;
But what remead ?
For no man can supply his place,
Hab Simson's dead.

Now who shall play the Day it daws ?
Or Hunt up, when the cock he craws ?
Or who can for our Kirk-town cause
Stand us in stead ?
On Bagpipes now no body blaws,
Sen Habbie's dead.

Or wha will cause our Shearers shear ?
Wha will bend up the Brags of Weir,
Bring in the Bells or good play Meir,
In time of neid ?
Hab Simson cou'd, what needs you speer ?
But now he's dead.

So kindly to his Neighbours neest,
At Beltan and Saint Barchan's feest,

custom of having regular pipers in each of the border towns, is of very long standing, and it is only within a few years back that such an officer was considered as an unnecessary appendage. Kelso continues to adhere to the old practice, and a piper is still kept by the town, who however only officiates on public occasions, and at St. James's fair." (Haig's Topographical and Historical Account of the Town of Kelso, p. 105. Edinb. 1852, 8vo.)

[1] The Poetical Museum, containing Songs and Poems on almost every subject, p. 59. Hawick, 1784, 8vo. "The editor cannot exactly determine the time of this celebrated piper's death ; but as his Elegy has been out of print for at least these fifty years past, we may suppose he did not live within this century."

He blew, and then held up his breest,
As he were weid;
But now we need not him arrest,
For Habbie's dead?

At Fairs he play'd before the Spearmen,
All gaily graithed in their gear men,
Steel bonnets, jacks, and swords so clear then,
Like any bead:
Now wha shall play before such Weir-men,
Sen Habbie's dead?

At Clark-plays when he wont to come,
His pipe play'd trimly to the drum;
Like bikes of bees he gart it bum,
And tun'd his reed:
Now all our pipers may sing dum,
Sen Habbie's dead.

And at Horse Races many a day,
Before the Black, the Brown, the Gray,
He gart his pipe, when he did play,
Baith skirl and skreed:
Now all such pastime's quite away,
Sen Habbie's dead.

He counted was a weil'd Wight-man,
And fiercely at Foot-ba' he ran:
At ev'ry game the gree he wan,
For Pith and Speed;
The like of Habbie was na than,
But now he's dead.

And than, besides his valiant acts,
At Bridals he wan many placks:
He bobbed ay behind fo'ks backs,
And shook his head.
Now we want many merry Cracks,
Sen Habbie's dead.

He was Convoyer of the Bride,
With kittock hinging at his side:
About the Kirk he thought a pride
The ring to lead;
But now we may gae but a Guide,
For Habbie's dead.

Sa well's he keeped his Decorum,
And all the Stots of Whip-meg-morum.

He slew a Man, and wae's me for him,
And bure the Feed;
But yet the man wan hame before him,
And was not dead.

Ay whan he play'd, the Lasses leugh
To see him teethless, auld, and teuch.
He wan his Pipes beside Borcheugh,
Withoutten dread;
Which after wan him gear enough,
But now he's dead.

Ay whan he play'd, the Gaitlings gedder'd,
And whan he spake, the carl bledder'd.
On Sabbath days his Cap was fedder'd,
A seemly weid.
In the kirk-yard his mare stood tedder'd,
Where he lies dead.

Alas! for him my Heart is sair,
For of his Springs I gat a skair
At every Play, Race, Feast, and Fair,
But Guile or Greed.
We need not look for Piping mair,
Sen Habbie's dead.[1]

Some poet of this name, probably Sir James Semple, is celebrated, among other Scotish poets of that age, by William Lithgow, who, though chiefly known in his capacity of a traveller, was likewise a copious writer of English verse:[2]—

[1] Watson's Collection of Scots Poems, part i. p. 32.

[2] William Lithgow has repeatedly mentioned Lanark as the place of his nativity; and he appears to have been born in the year 1582. In a work published in 1645, he takes occasion to state that he was then in his "climaterick yeare." (A true, experimentall, and exact Relation upon that famous and renowned Siege of Newcastle, p. 29. Edinb. 1645, 4to.) I shall subjoin a list of such of his poetical works as I have had an opportunity of inspecting. 1. The Pilgrimes Farewell to his native Countrey of Scotland: wherein is contained, in way of dialogue, the Joyes and Miseries of Peregrination. Edinb. 1618, 4to. 2. Scotland's Welcome to her native Sonne and soveraigne Lord King Charles. Edinb. [1633], 4to. 3. The gushing Teares of godly Sorrow: containing the Causis, Conditions, and Remedies of Sinne. Edinb. 1640, 4to. 4. Scotland's Parænesis to her dread Soveraign, King Charles the Second. Printed in the year 1660, 4to. The last poem is anonymous; but that it was the composition of Lithgow, appears from a marginal reference to the author's poem, entitled "Scotland's Welcome to King Charles in anno 1633." He has interspersed many verses in his Travels and in his Siege of Newcastle, and one short poem is introduced into his "True and experimentall Discourse upon the Beginning, Proceeding, and victorious Event of the last Siege of Breda." Lond. 1637, 4to. How long he survived the date of his last publication, 1660, I have not been able to discover; but we are informed that he ended his long and wandering life in his native parish, and was buried in the churchyard of Lanark. (Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xv. p. 33.) Some notices of Lithgow may be found in Granger's Supplement to the Biographical History of England, p. 156.

Amongst these long goodnightes, farewell ye poets deare,
Graue Menstrie true Castalian fire, quicke Drummond in his spheare.
Braue Murray, ah! is dead, Aiton supplies his place,
And Alens high Pernassian veine rare poems doth embrace.[1]
There's manie moe well knowne, whome I cannot explaine,
And Gordon, Semple, Maxwell too, haue the Pernassian veine.[2]

Francis Semple, who belongs to the third generation of poets, was the son and heir of Robert Semple: his mother was a daughter of Lyon of Auldbar.[3] He appears to have been a man of humour, with some degree of eccentricity, and various anecdotes of him are still circulated in the county of Renfrew. He married his cousin-german, a daughter of Campbell of Arkinglass, and left an impaired estate to his son. After having sold Beltrees, he retained another portion of the family property, called Thirdpart; and this was alienated by his grandson in the year 1758. In a poem entitled "The Banishment of Poverty by James Duke of Albany," he alludes to his having been involved in many difficulties by suretiship:[4]—

Pox fa that poultring Poverty,
Wae worth the time that I him saw!
Since first he laid his fang on me,
Myself from him I dought ne'er draw;
His wink to me hath been a law,
He haunts me like a penny-dog;
Of him I stand far greater awe,
Than pupil does of pedagogue.

The first time that he met with me
Was at a Clachen in the West,
Its name, I trow, Kilbarchan be,
Where Habbie's drones blew many a blast.
There we shook hands; cald be his cast,
An ill deed may that custron die;
For there he gripped me right fast,
When first I fell in Cautionrie.[5]

[1] Robert Allen is the author of a commendatory poem prefixed to Lithgow's Peregrination. Lond. 1616, 4to. It is addressed "To my deere friend, countriman and condisciple William Lithgow."

[2] Lithgow's Pilgrimes Farewell, sig. H. 4.

[3] Crawfurd's Hist. of the Shire of Renfrew, continued by Semple, p. 162.

[4] Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, among the prevailing misfortunes of the gentry of his own time enumerates "that vniversall plague of cautionarie, throughout the whole kingdome, whereby there is such a generall intercourse of distresse, each one for another, as all are linked into it." (Encouragements for New Galloway, sig. E. 2. Edinb. 1625, 4to.)

[5] Watson's Collection of Scots Poems, part i. p. 11.

This poem is written in a lively and characteristic manner; and the author details his own distress and mortifications with no small portion of good humour. He represents Poverty as adhering to him like an inseparable companion: they set out for Edinburgh on foot, and in the course of their journey bait thrice on a Scotish groat:—

We held the lang gate to Leith-wyne,
Where poorest purses use to be,
And in the Caltown lodged syne,
Fit quarters for such companie.
Yet I the High-Town fain wou'd see,
But that my comrade did discharge;
He wou'd me Blackburn's ale to prie,
And muff my beard, that was right large.

The morn I ventur'd up the Wyne,
And slundg'd in at the Nether Bow,
Thinking that trowker for to tyne,
Who does me damage what he dow.
His company he does bestow
On me to my great grief and pain;
Ere I the throng cou'd wrestle throw,
The lown was at my heels again.

I green'd to gang on the Plain-stanes,
To see if comrades wou'd me ken;
We twa gaid pacing there our lains,
The hungry Hours 'twixt Twelve and Ane.

This was no doubt the fashionable hour of dinner at that period; but as he had not a *Rig-Marie* in his purse, he dined with St. Giles and the Earl of Murray:—

I din'd with saints and noble men,
Ev'n sweet Saint Giles and Earl of Murray.

By this expression, which was perhaps proverbial, he evidently means that he spent the dinner hour at St. Giles's church, where the Earl of Murray was interred. It is equivalent to the old English phrase of dining with Duke Humphrey; that is, beguiling the hour of dinner by lingering in St. Paul's,[1] near the

[1] "It was the fashion of those times," says Osborne, "and did so continue till these (wherein not only the mother but her daughters are ruined) for the principal gentry, lords, courtiers, and men of all professions not merely mechanick, to meet in St. Paul's church by eleven, and walk in the middle isle till twelve; and after dinner, from three to six; during which time some discoursed of business, others of news. Now, in regard

reputed tomb of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. After various incidents, the poverty-haunted poet has recourse to the expedient of seeking a refuge within the precincts of the Palace, where no person can be arrested for debt contracted elsewhere; and here he is speedily released from his embarrassments by the Duke of York, whom he describes by his Scotish title of Albany.

It's but my galloping a mile
Throw Canogate with little loss,
Till I have sanctuary a while
Within the girth of Abbay-closs.

There I wan in, and blyth was I
When to the Inner-Court I drew,
My governour I did defy,
For joy I clapt my wings and crew.
There Messengers dare not pursue,
Nor with their wands men's shou'ders steir,
There dwells distressed lairds enow
In peace, tho' they have little geer.

'An hour or twa I did not tarry,'[1]
When my blest fortune was to see
A sight, sure by the mights of Mary,
Of that brave Duke of Albany;
When one blink of his princely eye
Put that foul foundling to the flight;
Frae me he banish'd Pouerty,
And made him take his last Good-night.

Semple is the reputed author of several Scotish ballads of great popularity;* namely, Maggie Lauder, the Blythsome Bridal, Hallow Fair, and She rose and let me in.[2] Of these the first three are remarkable for their broad and native humour. Maggie Lauder may be considered as almost unrivalled in its own peculiar strain, nor is the Blythsome Bridal less distin-

of the universal commerce, there happened little that did not first or last arrive there. (Works, p. 449.)

[1] This is apparently the true reading of the line. As it is printed by Watson, it has neither cadence or rhyme:—

I had not tarry'd an hour or twa.

[2] Annual Miscellany, p. 82.—He is elsewhere mentioned as the author of She rose and let me in, "also satires upon the Whigs, some of which still remain in manuscript." (Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xv. p. 492.) "It is to be regretted," says a later writer, "that the manuscripts of Francis Sempill are irretrievably lost. They fell into hands which knew not their value, and it is to be feared out of them they will never be recovered." (Essay on the Poets of Renfrewshire, p. xx.)

guished by its strong and rustic vein of merriment. The ludicrous conceptions of this author are commonly expressed with no small degree of vivacity.

William Cleland was a writer of Scotish poetry about the same period. He is supposed to have been a native of Dumfriesshire, but apparently for no better reason than his familiar mention of the county town, and the rivers Nith and Annan. He was the son of Thomas Cleland, who is described as gamekeeper to the Marquis of Douglas:[1] he prosecuted his studies in the University of St. Andrews;[2] and it appears from his poems that he visited the courts of several princes. He was a zealous adherent of the Presbyterian party; and as indignation has frequently urged a man to write verses, it seems likewise to have prompted Cleland to most of his poetical efforts. The atrocities which were then practised under the colour of law and justice, cannot now be contemplated without sickening the heart of every one who is not rendered utterly callous by invincible bigotry or prejudice. It may be affirmed with peculiar emphasis that they "shed the blood of war in peace." Nor is it any vindication of the general spirit of the Scotish government, to aver that the people appealed to arms, and that they were guilty of some acts of violence which admit of no adequate justification: they were rendered desperate by every species of oppression and cruelty; and had recourse to that final appeal which all large bodies of men, if they possess the ordinary courage of men, will at length be disposed to make when oppression arrives at a certain height. The divine right of kings, and the unlimited obedience of subjects, was at that period the standard doctrine of the Church of England; but when James began to assail the Church itself, the clergy did not generally evince any disposition to adhere to this doctrine. When the Presbyterians had recourse to arms in 1679, Cleland, who was then about eighteen years of age, was appointed one of their officers; and the victory at Drumclog was in a great measure ascribed to his courage and conduct. He bore the rank of captain at the disastrous battle of Bothwell Bridge, where all was

[1] Wodrow's Hist. of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 524.

[2] Memoirs of William Veitch, p. 108. Dr. M'Crie's note.

lost by the fanaticism of the army, and the imbecility of the leader. He afterwards found a place of refuge in Holland; and it was perhaps about this period that he visited some other countries on the Continent. In the year 1685, he had returned to Scotland, and was then lurking among the wilds of Lanark and Ayr; but after the Earl of Argyle's unfortunate expedition, in which he likewise bore arms, he again found himself under the necessity of flying for his life. In 1688, he arrived from Holland as one of the accredited agents of the Scotish exiles, and was instrumental in preparing his countrymen for the revolution. Much of his time appears to have been spent at the residence of the Marquis of Douglas, whose only son, the Earl of Angus, was strongly attached to him. On the raising of the Earl of Angus's, better known by the name of the Cameronian regiment, Cleland was appointed lieutenant-colonel. He had the satisfaction of seeing the last of the Stewarts precipitate himself from a throne of which he was unworthy; and in the cause which he had maintained by his talents and bravery, he finally shed his own blood. On the 21st of August 1689, before he had completed the twenty-eighth year of his age, he was slain at Dunkeld, where between seven and eight hundred men of his undaunted regiment repulsed a body of 5000 Highlanders. When he felt himself mortally wounded, he made an ineffectual attempt to retire to an adjoining house, in order that the soldiers might not be discouraged at the sight of his dead body.[1]

The poetry of this brave soldier frequently displays a rough ingenuity, but is too generally deficient in polish and harmony. His volume was meanly and incorrectly printed after the author's death;[2] nor is it improbable that many of the palpable errors in grammar are to be imputed to the printer. In some of his

[1] Crichton's Life of Lieut.-Col. Blackader, pp. 90-95. Edinb. 1824, 12mo.—"His son was the author of the letter prefixed to the Dunciad, and is said to have been the notorious Cleland, who, in circumstances of pecuniary embarrassment, prostituted his talents to the composition of indecent and infamous works; but this seems inconsistent with dates, and the latter personage was probably the grandson of Colonel Cleland." (Scott's Minstrelsy, vol. ii. p. 69.) I am not aware of any early authority for representing Pope's friend as the son of Colonel Cleland, but William Cleland, who died in 1741, was the father of John Cleland, the individual who has deservedly incurred this censure. The father is erroneously described as a colonel by Mr. Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the eighteenth Century, vol. ii. p. 457.

[2] A Collection of several Poems and Verses, composed upon various occasions, by Mr. William Cleland, Lieutenant-Collonel to my Lord Angus's Regiment. *Printed in the year* 1697, 8vo.

shorter pieces he endeavours to adhere to the English phraseology; and one of them, entitled *Hollow, my Fancie,* is not without a portion of poetical spirit.[1] But in his longer poems he has shown a sufficient predilection for his native tongue. One of his most entertaining productions is entitled "A mock Poem upon the Expedition of the Highland Host, who came to destroy the Western Shires, in Winter 1678." The following is a part of his description of the barbarians who were thus employed in fulfilling the cruel purposes of a most profligate government :—

Yea, sure such sights might have inclin'd
A man to nauceat at mankind :
Some might have judg'd they were the creatures
Call'd Selfies, whose customes and features
Paracelsus doeth discry
In his occult philosophy ;
Or Faunes, or Brownies, if ye will,
Or Satyres, come from Atlas hill :
Or that the three-tongu'd tyke was sleeping,
Who hath the Stygian door a-keeping.
Their head, their neck, their leggs and thighs,
Are influenced by the skies,
Without a clout to interrupt them ;
They need not strip them when they whip them,
Nor loose their doublet when they're hang'd ;
If they be miss'd, it's sure they're 'wrang'd.' . . .
Nought like religion they retain,
Of moral honestie they're clean.
In nothing they're accounted sharp,
Except in bag-pipe, and in harpe.
For a misobliging word,
She'll durk her neighbour ov'r the boord,
And then she'll flee like fire from flint,
She'll scarcely ward the second dint.
If any ask her of her thrift,
Foresooth her nain sell lives by thift.[2]

His account of Grahame of Claverhouse, the person who had

[1] "William Cleland," says Dr. Nott of Bristol, "a poet of no small merit, though not very generally known, . . . has a beautiful ode to fancy, where he speaks and advises in a similar tone" with that of Herrick in the address "To his Muse." (Select Poems of Herrick, p. 1. Bristol, 8vo.) This writer is evidently mistaken in supposing Cleland's Poems were first printed in 1658, for the author was not born before the year 1661.

[2] Cleland's Poems, p. 11.

the honour to command this chosen body of men,[1] contains several strokes of humour. When he makes his appearance, the Red Shanks are filled with indignation at his omitting to lift his cap when addressing their chiefs; and from this supposed want of proper deference, they conjecture that he must be the Duke of Lauderdale or the King himself:—

> While with such grace and state he stood,
> All the bulk of Highland brood
> Admir'd their chance and their mishap,
> When that he did not lift his 'cap,'
> While he was speaking to the laird;
> Had it not been for the life-guard,
> She would have durkt him when she saw
> He keeped so the laird in aw.
> The whole crew stair'd him in the face;
> Some asked if it was his Grace,
> And other some, who knew nothing,
> Did ask if he could be Sir King.

The longest poem in the collection he entitles "*Effigies Clericorum*, or a mock Poem on the Clergie when they met to consult about taking the Test in the year 1681." It is indeed so long as to appear tedious, but is not without some instances of a sarcastic and satirical vein of humour. The subsequent passage may be quoted as somewhat characteristic of Cleland's manner:—

> No Muses help I will implore,
> For I was nev'r at Lesbos shoar,
> Neither did haunt Arcadian glens,
> Groves, mountains, watersides, and fens;
> My feet, ne'er filed that brooky hill
> Where ancient poets drank their fill.
> But these who have the Thames and Humber,
> The Tees and Tyne, need not them cumber
> To go so farre to fetch a drink;
> For I am verie apt to think
> There's als much vertue, sonce, and pith
> In Annan, or the water of Nith,

[1] This atrocious murderer of the pious and unarmed peasantry of his native country has, with some peculiarity of taste, been described as a *Gallant General*. A member of the Bannatyne Club has lately printed a collection of "Letters of John Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, with illustrative Documents." Edinb. 1826, 4to.

Which quietly slips by Drumfries,
Als any water in all Greece.
For there and several other places,
About mill-dams, and green brae-facès,
Both elrich Elfs and Brownies stayed,
And green-gown'd Fairies daunc'd and played
When old John Knox, and other some,
Began to plott the baggs of Rome,
They suddenly took to their heels,
And did no more frequent these fields.[1]

Alexander Pennecuik, M.D., another writer of Scotish verses, was born in the year 1652. His father was of the same name and profession: he was, as the son informs us, for some time surgeon to General Bannier in the Swedish wars, and afterwards Surgeon-general to the Scotish army serving in England.[2] He was descended from the ancient family of Pennecuik of Pennecuik; and—

From old forbeirs much worth he did inherit,
A gentleman by birth, and more by merit.[3]

In the year 1646, he purchased the estate of Newhall, situated in the county of Edinburgh, and in the vicinity of that town from which his family derived its name. James, another of his sons, was educated for the bar, and followed the profession of an advocate. Dr. Pennecuik continued for many years to practise physic in Tweeddale, devoting some portion of his time to the pursuits of a scholar, and to the recreations of a country gentleman. By his intermarriage with Margaret Murray, an heiress,

[1] Cleland's Poems, p. 58.—Alexander Tyler, a poetaster of this period, published in English rhyme, "Memoires of the Life and Actions of the most invincible and triumphant Prince, John the Great, Third of that name, present King of Poland, etc. Done in verse (out of H. G's. Historical Account of the said Princes Life and Actions) by a Lover of the Peace and Glory of Christendome." Edinb. 1685, 4to. He was minister of Kinnettles in the county of Forfar; where, he remarks, "I have now lived these fifteen years past." His poem is preceded by a dedication in chief to the King, and this is followed by letters to the Duke of Queensberry, the Earl of Perth, the Earl of Strathmore, and Sir George Drummond. The reader will easily discern his spirit, when he is informed that Tyler ventures to characterize James the Seventh as "the wisest, the valiantest, the most just and generous, most noble and glorious prince in the world."

[2] Christopher Irving, M.D., inscribed one of his publications "For his honoured friend Alexander Pennycuik of New-hall, sometime Chirurgian to General Bannier, and late Chirurgian-General to the Auxiliary Scotch Army." This publication is a translation from the Latin of Blochwich's "Anatomia Sambuci; or, the Anatomie of the Elder." Lond. 1655, 12mo. The dedication is dated "At the Camp in Athol, June 30, 1651," and is subscribed C. de Iryngio.

[3] Pennecuik's Poems, p. 58.

he acquired the estate of Romanno in the county of Peebles.[1] On this estate he resided till the time of his death, when it descended to his younger daughter, the wife of Farquharson of Kirktoun of Boyne in Aberdeenshire, by whom it was afterwards transferred to a new possessor. The destination of his other estate was still more unfortunate: it was settled on his other daughter's husband, the eldest son of Oliphant of Lanton, in the county of Edinburgh; and in order to disencumber himself of debts which he had contracted by his expensive mode of living, he sold it in 1703, the year after his marriage. Her father long survived this mortifying event, having attained the age of seventy, and closed his career in 1722.[2]

A few years before that period, he had published a topographical and historical description of the county in which he chiefly resided. This work, though not of the most elaborate denomination, contains some gleanings of curious information; and it is accompanied with the collection of the author's poems, in which the Scotish language generally predominates.[3] Some of these had already been printed in a detached form.[4] With respect to the language, he makes the subsequent remarks in his dedication to the Earl of March. "Nor have I, my Lord, in the following sheets affected altogether the English idiom: I love not pedantry, nor do I reckon that dialect preferable to

[1] Pennecuik's Description of Tweeddale, p. 14.—Here the author introduces an account of a singular incident which occurred in his own time. "Upon the first of October 1677, there happened at Romanno, in the very spot where now the dovecoat is built, a memorable *polymachy* between two clanns of gipsies, the Fawes and Shawes, who had come from Haddingtoun fair, and were going to the Harestains to meet other two clanns of those rogues, the Baillies and Browns, with a resolution to fight them, and fell out at Romanno amongst themselves, about divideing the spoyl they had got at Haddington, and fought it manfully; of the Fawes were four brethren and a brothers son; of the Shawes, the father with three sons, with several women on both sides: old Sandie Faw, a bold and proper fellow, with his wife, then with child, were both killed dead upon the place, and his brother George very dangerously wounded. February 1678, old Robin Shaw, the gipsie, with his three sons, were hang'd at the Grass-Mercat for the abovementioned murder committed at Romanno, and John Faw was hang'd the Wednesday following for another murder."

[2] Memoirs of Dr. Pennecuik, prefixed to his Works. Leith, 1815, 8vo.

[3] A geographical and Historical Description of the Shire of Tweeddale; with a miscellany and curious Collection of select Scotish Poems. By A. P., M.D. Edinb. 1715, 4to. The author's name is subscribed to the dedication. The same edition of his poems was long afterwards exhibited with a new title: "A Collection of curious Scots Poems, on the following subjects," etc. Edinb. 1762.

[4] The Linton Address was printed on a broadside; and four leaves contain the original edition of "The Tragedy of Gray-Beard or the Brandy-Bottle of Kinkegolaw: with an Answer to Mr. Guild's Vindication," etc. *Printed in the year* 1700, 8vo.

our own, if it be not accounted so in regard it is now turn'd modish, being the general language of the court of Great Britain, and the richer kingdom of England." His poems include several imitations of Greek, Latin, and Italian writers, which are not executed with much felicity. Many of his original verses relate the characters and incidents of his own immediate neighbourhood, and might once excite a considerable degree of local interest; and as his works have lately been republished, it may be inferred that this interest is not entirely extinguished. He exhibits occasional strokes of humour and strong painting; but his versification is too frequently deficient in terseness, and some of his strains are too rustic. In such lines as the following, he thinks proper to address Mr. Guild, minister of Kirkmichael, who had written a reply to his Tragedy of Grey Beard :—

> Infamous scribler, natur's fool and shame,
> O senseless Satyre, beast without a name,
> Thou scandal to devotion, scurvy priest,
> Why made thou earnest of a merry jeast?
> Base Balladero,[1] etc.

His principal effort is an allegorical poem, entitled *Truth's Travels*, which is more in the style of the early Scotish poets than any of his other compositions. The subsequent quotation will afford a favourable specimen :—

> When kirk was skaeld and preaching done,
> And men and women baith haime,
> Nae man call'd Truth to his disjeun,
> Albeit he was of noble fame.
> Their was not one that kept a craim,
> But they had bacon, beef, and ale,
> Yet no acquaintance Truth could claim,
> To wish him worth a dish of kail.
>
> Except pastors or judges sought him,
> I trow his dinner was but cauld;
> For advocats much skaith they wrought him,
> He makes their gowns so bare and auld;
> And merchant men, that bought and sauld,
> For sindrie things could not abide him,
> And poor craftsmen, albeit they wald,
> They had no portion to provide him.

[1] Pennecuik's Poems, p. 10.

Truth could not get a dish of fish,
For cooks and kailwives baith refus'd him,
Because he plainted of their dish,
And paltry men plainly misus'd him;
The baxters boyes came and abus'd him:
So Truth got wrang of every one,
Yea, not a karline but accus'd him,
That sell'd the tripes about the Troan.

A tapster took Truth in her sellar,
She gave him drink and other cheir,
But all the laive were like to fell her,
Because she let him come so neir.
Quoth they, Thief, if he shelter here,
Baith thou and we are clean undone,
We shall not winn the haill lang yeir
So meikle as will mend our shoon.

Then Truth he travelled our the street,
For lack of godly company,
Till with three blades he chanc'd to meet,
Who were not of his quality.
Falset came first, then Vanity,
Who brings great hurt to all estate;
As they forgathered there all three,
Then afterward comes in Deceit.[1]

In his imitations of other poets, Dr. Pennecuik has more than once transgressed the proper limit of borrowing a hint, or adopting an expression; he has transcribed entire lines with very little alteration. In the following passage, he applies to his mistress what an English poet had applied to Sir Charles Sedley:—

For, ah! she hath a most prevailing art,
And doth with such resistless charms impart
Even pleasant wishes to the chastest heart,
Raises such tempests, kindleth such a fire,
Betwixt resolved vertue and desire,
That the cold hermit might in these expire.[2]

The Earl of Rochester, in his imitation of one of Horace's satires, has supplied him with the entire passage:—

Sedley has that prevailing gentle art,
That can with a resistless charm impart

[1] Pennecuik's Poems, p. 86. [2] Ibid. p. 121.

The loosest wishes to the chastest heart,
Raise such a conflict, kindle such a fire,
Betwixt declining virtue and desire,
That the poor vanquish'd maid dissolves away
In dreams all night, in sighs and tears all day.

But a more glaring instance of plagiarism occurs in his verses "Against passionate Love;" the poem consists of twenty-four lines, and twenty of these are stolen from Sir Robert Ayton.[1]

Alexander Pennecuik, who describes himself as a "burgess and guild-brother of Edinburgh," lived and wrote about the same period. His Streams from Helicon[2] are not always very pure streams. He commonly professes to write in English; but his "Merry Tales for the lang Nights of Winter" are sufficient to evince that he was capable of employing his native tongue with considerable effect. These tales, which only consist of a few pages, exhibit some curious specimens of broad and unrefined humour.

William Hamilton, of Gilbertfield, who likewise claims a cursory notice, was the son of Hamilton of Ladylands in the county of Fife; and at an early period of his life he embraced the profession of a soldier, but a lieutenancy seems to have been the highest preferment to which he attained. During his latter years he resided at Letterick in the county of Lanark; where he died in 1751 at a very advanced age. He has sometimes been confounded with William Hamilton of Bangour, who cultivated English poetry, and who has displayed a more elegant taste. The lieutenant's attempt to modernize Henry the Minstrel's poem has already been mentioned as idle and injudicious.[3] He was one of the literary friends and correspondents of Ramsay; and three of his familiar epistles in rhyme occur among the works of that poet. But he is chiefly noted as the author of a poem entitled "The last dying Words of Bonny Heck, a famous Grey-hound in the Shire of Fife."[4] It

[1] Compare Pennecuik's Poems, p. 132, with Ayton's verses on love, quoted in p. 555.

[2] Streams from Helicon; or, Poems on various subjects: in three parts. By Alexander Pennecuik, Gent. Edinb. 1720, 8vo. Some copies, with the same date, bear "the second edition," and the imprint of London. He is the author of a prose work, entitled "An historical Account of the Blue Blanket, or Crafts-mens Banner: containing the fundamental Principles of the good Town, with the Powers and Prerogatives of the Crafts of Edinburgh," etc. Edinb. 1722, 8vo.

[3] See above, p. 197.

[4] Watson's Collection of Scots Poems, part i. p. 33.

is written in the manner of Semple's Piper of Kilbarchan; and Ramsay, in an epistle to Hamilton, professes to have regarded this poem as one of his principal models.

But the most poetical production of that period is the admirable ballad of Hardyknute, which was originally published as an ancient fragment.[1] It is now universally regarded as a modern composition; and, according to one conjecture, the real author was Sir John Bruce of Kinross. In a letter addressed to Lord Binning, he gives the following account of his pretended discovery of this poem: "To perform my promise, I send you a true copy of the manuscript I found, some weeks ago, in a vault at Dumfermline. It is written in a fair Gothic character, but so much defaced by time, as you'll find that the tenth part is not legible." This is evidently the counterpart of Chatterton's more recent discoveries in Redcliffe church; nor can we for a single moment consider such an account as entitled to credit. "Sir John Bruce," says Mr. Pinkerton, "forgetting his letter to Lord Binning, used Mrs. Wardlaw, it would appear, as the midwife of his poetry, and furnished her with the stanza or two she afterward produced; as he did not wish his name to be used in the story of the vault."[2] The same opinion was at length adopted by Bishop Percy.[3] The lady here described as Mrs. Wardlaw was Elizabeth Halket, the wife of Sir Henry Wardlaw, and the sister-in-law of Sir John Bruce, who has herself been frequently represented as the authoress of Hardyknute. Among other arguments against Bruce's claim, it has been stated that we find no proof of his having ever written any poetry. But with respect to his private habits or pursuits we possess no information whatsoever; and that he never wrote any poetry, is certainly not in evidence. Sir Charles Halket

[1] Hardyknute, a Fragment. Edinburgh, printed by James Watson, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty, 1719, fol.—After an interval of five years, this poem was inserted in Ramsay's Ever-Green, with the addition of several stanzas. It was afterwards published under the title of "Hardyknute, a Fragment; being the first canto of an epick Poem: with general remarks, and notes." Lond. 1740, 4to. This anonymous editor, who has endeavoured to introduce the English orthography, is inclined to believe that the poem may have been written before the year 1600. "There is," he remarks, "a grandeur, a majesty of sentiment diffus'd thro' the whole; a true sublime, which nothing can surpass."

[2] Pinkerton's List of the Scotish Poets, p. cxxviii. [in vol. i. of Ancient Scotish Poems from the Maitland Collection, Lond. 1786.]

[3] Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 120.

and Miss Menzies concur in asserting that Lady Wardlaw was a woman of elegant accomplishments, who wrote other poems; and, to render this proof still stronger, we are assured that she "practised drawing, and cutting paper with her scissors."[1] But it is more material to be informed that the late Mr. Hepburn of Keith often declared he was residing in the same house with this lady when she composed Hardyknute; and that her daughter Mary, the wife of Charles Wedderburn of Gosford, averred to Miss Menzies that the poem was written by her mother. Although this last evidence may appear to be sufficiently direct, it is yet to be remarked that we have no immediate communication with the persons whose names are thus introduced; that their declarations have not been committed to writing by themselves. Mr. Hepburn might have been in the same house with Lady Wardlaw when she wrote Hardyknute; or he might only have been in the same house with Lady Wardlaw when he supposed she must have written Hardyknute. Few persons of education have lived long in the world, without having too many opportunities of hearing bold surmises and rash assertions respecting the authors of anonymous works which have excited any high degree of attention.

Lady Wardlaw was the second daughter of Sir Charles Halket of Pitferran, was born in 1677, and in 1696 became the wife of Sir Henry Wardlaw, a gentleman of Fifeshire. She died about the year 1727. If she was in reality the writer of Hardyknute, she must have possessed a large portion of poetical genius; for it would perhaps be difficult to mention any imitation of the ancient ballad combining an equal degree of simplicity and vigour. This poem was admired by Gray:[2] it appears to have made a strong impression on the imagination of Warton, who has characterized it as a noble poem,[3] and introduced its hero into one of his odes:—

> Haste, let me shroud from painful light,
> On that hoar hill's aerial height,

[1] Chalmers's Life of Allan Ramsay, p. xxxi.

[2] "I have been often told that the poem called Hardicanute (which I always admired and still admire) was the work of somebody that lived a few years ago." (Gray's Works, vol. ii. p. 284, Mitford's edit.)

[3] Warton's Observations on Spenser, vol. i. p. 156.

In solemn state, where waving wide,
Thick pines with darkening umbrage hide
The rugged vaults and riven tow'rs
Of that proud castle's painted bow'rs,
Whence HARDYKNUTE, a baron bold,
In Scotland's martial days of old,
Descended from the stately feast,
Begirt with many a warrior guest,
To quell the pride of Norway's king,
With quiv'ring lance and twanging string.[1]

Whether the author of Hardyknute has ingrafted his own composition on any fragments of an ancient ballad, may be considered as doubtful. It has indeed been stated that Thomson the musician, who published the Orpheus Caledonius in 1733, declared he had heard such fragments repeated in his infancy, before the poem was known in its present state.[2] But traditions of this kind are frequently vague and unsatisfactory; nor has a single fragment of Hardyknute been hitherto discovered in any old book or manuscript. It must not be forgotten that a second part was long afterwards produced by Mr. Pinkerton,[3] who professed to be "indebted for most of the stanzas now recovered, to the memory of a lady in Lanarkshire;" but in a subsequent publication he confessed that this continuation was entirely written by himself.

[1] Warton's Poems, ii. p. 26, Mant's edit.
[2] Percy's Reliques, vol. ii. p. 106.
[3] Pinkerton's Select Scotish Ballads, vol. i. p. 16. Lond. 1783.

GLOSSARY.

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In the old Scotish language, the letters *u*, *v*, *w*, also *i* and *y* (vowel), are used indiscriminately; and the Saxon *g* is alike represented by *g*, *y* (consonant), *yh*, or *z*, as will be seen in this small Glossary, so that words not found under G, must be sought under Y or Z. *Quh* corresponds to the English *wh*. The Possessive and Plural cases of Nouns end in *ys*, or its synonyme *is*. The Present Tense of verbs generally has *ys* or *is* for its termination in all the Persons, Singular and Plural. The Present Participle ends in *and*, like the Islandic in *andi*, the Saxon in *ende*, and the German in *end*. And there is very great irregularity in the Spelling of all words—a defect inherited in part from the Anglo-Saxon itself.

A, AN, on, upon, at; an, one. '*An* even and *a* morewe,' *i.e.*, *at* even and *at* morn, 74; 'Hir *a* schanke blake,' *i.e.*, her *one* leg black, 75.

ABAISIT, abashed, astonished, 138.

ABANDOUN, at will, completely (Old Fr. *à bandon*. Ducange), 137.

ABATE, casting down the eye, 138.

ABONE, ABOUE, above, 139.

ABUSIOUN, abuse, impropriety, 357.

ADDRES. 'Sal him addres,' *i.e.*, shall address itself, shall claim its right (Med. L. *adresare*, juri stare, from *directum*, Fr. *droit*. Ducange), 287.

AFFERME, support, confirm, 118.

AGGREVIS, aggrieves, weighs down, 113.

AIR, heir, 168.

AIR and LAIT, early and late, 458.

AIRTH, AIRT, place, corner, quarter of the heavens (G. *ort*, *örte*), 566.

ALAWE, A LAWE, alow, below, 141.

ALL or SUM, all or any, 443.

ALLANERLY, only, alone, 311, 384.

ALLANGST, along, 162.

ALLKYN, ALKIN, all kinds of, 242, 245.

ALLUTERLIE, utterly, wholly, 292.

ALMORIE, press, cupboard, 295.

ALMOUS, ALMUS, alms, 216, 120.

ALS, ALS SO, AL SO, ALSUA, also.

ALS-THEN, then (G. *alsdann*), 64.

AMORETTIS, love-knots, 139.

AN, give, grant (A.-S. *unnan; ic an*, I grant), 62.

AND, AN, if. '*And* he cummis not in,' *i.e.*, *if* he comes not in, 304.

ANE, an, one. ANIS, ANYS, once.

ANENTIS, in regard to, 129.

APLIGHT, at once, completely, 63.

ARAYE, array, order, 76.

ARE, AR, or, ere, before, 64, 88.

ARSOUN, saddle-bow (Fr. *arçon*), 192.

ARTOW, art thou, thou art, 62.

ASSIS, asks (A.-S. *áhsian*), 390.

ASSOILLZIE, ASOILIE, assoil, absolve.

ASSONE, as soon, instantly, 507.

ASSONYEIT, excused (Old Fr. *essoigne*). 'He till him assonyeit nocht for thi,' *i.e.*, he did not make excuse to himself for that—did not evade the encounter, 191.

ASTERT, STERT, rushed, 138.

AT, that, so that.

AT ALL, wholly, 419.

ATHE, oath; pl. ATHIS (A.-S. *áth*), 203.

ATHER, either, each (A.-S. *áther*.) '*Ather* ran at uther,' *i.e.*, *each* ran at the other, 358.

ATHORT, athwart, through, 437.

ATOURE, ATTOUR, over, beyond, around; moreover, besides.

AUISION, AVISION, vision, dream, 274.
AVAILL, in value, esteem, 129, 271.
AWCHT, eight, 119.
AWCHT, ought, owes (A.-S. *áhte*). 'That he *awcht*,' *i.e.*, what he *owes*, 104.
AWFUL, venerable. 'Til his legis all *awful*,' *i.e.*, much *revered* by his subjects, 120.
AWANT, vaunt, ostentation, 171.
AWNTYRE, AWENTUR, adventure, 81, 195.

BABBED, BOBBED, BOBBIT, 575, *i.e.*, moved his body up and down and sideways—danced with the whole of it except the feet, keeping time to the music. BOBBIT is equivalent to *hotch'd* in *Tam o'Shanter:*

'E'en Satan glowr'd, and fidg'd fu' fain,
And hotch'd and blew wi' might and main.'

BAID, delay. 'But baid,' *i.e.*, without delay, 191.
BAGGS, entrails, 585.
BAIRN, BEIRN, BERNE, child, man, knight.
BALAS, kind of rubies (Fr. *balais*), 138.
BANKAT, banquet, 246.
BANYS, bones (A.-S. *bán*), 105.
BAPTYSYNE, baptism, 112.
BASNET, helmet, casque, 191.
BAXTERS, bakers, 439.
BE, by, beside, from (A.-S. *be* or *bi*). 'Knaw ane leill man *be* ane theif,' *i.e.*, know an honest man *from* a thief, 352.
BEDOWIN, besmeared, muddy, 286.
BEEDES, prayers (A.-S. *bid*), 283.
BEERDYS, BEIRDS, beards, 80, 411.
BEFORNE, before. 'Here beforne,' *i.e.*, heretofore, in former times, 48.
BEFT, buffeted, beaten, 288.
BEGARIED, variegated, 475.
BEGOUTH, BEGOUDE, began, 235.
BEINLY, snugly, 442.
BEIT, BET, mend, mended, made better (A.-S. *bétan, bette*), 90, 293.
BELAPPIT, surrounded, hemmed in, 419.
BELTAN, first of May, 375.
BELYVE, quickly, presently, 221, 272.
BEND, bound, spring, leap, 332.
BEND UP, strike up, 575.
BENE, BEN, am, is, are, be, been.
BENT, moor, plain, declivity, country at large, 47.
BERIAL, beryl, 236.
BESENE, beseen, adorned, 294.
BESTIALLS GERS, grass for cattle, 443.
BETEICH, betake, give to (A.-S. *betæcan*), 200. 'Beteche,' Chaucer.
BETRAISIT WITH, betrayed by, 222.
BEWIS, boughs, 207, 236.
BI CAUSE, by cause, because, 88.
BID, ask, pray (A.-S. *biddan, ic bidde;* G. *ich bitte*). BAID, begged, 410.
BIDE, BID, abide, endure (A.-S. *bídan*), 47, 107.
BIKKIR, bickering, attack, skirmish, 238.
BILAFT, left. 'A lond *bilaft*,' *i.e.*, *left* on land, 61.
BIRKIN-BOBBYNIS, birch seed-pods, 450.
BIRNEIST, burnished, picked clean, 295.
BLA, BLAE, blue, livid, 215.
BLADS, large portions, 197.
BLANSCHIT, blanched (Fr. *blanchir*), 286.
BLEDDERED, babbled, 577.
BLENK, blink, glance, 217.
BLERED HURE EYE, bleared her eye, 377.
BLINNIS, stops, ceases. BLAN, stopped, ceased (A.-S. *blinnan, blan*), 246.
BLOMYS, blossoms.
BLOUT, naked, bare, 287.
BO, BATHE, both, 94, 120.
BODDUM, bottom, valley, plain, 286.
BODWART, message, 280.
BORROWE, pledge, safe-guard, 136.
BORROWIT, defended, guarded, 222.
BORROWSTOUNIS, borough-towns, 354.
BOS, BOSS, BOIS, hollow, empty, 477.
BOSTIT, threatened, bullied, 356.
BOT, BUT, without. BUT MERYT, undeservedly, 112.
BOT GIFE, but if, unless, 203, 245.
BOUN, ready, 63.
BOURDIS, scoffs, jests, 434.
BOURDIN, mock, jeer, 435.
BOWSUM, buxom, pliant, lively (A.-S. *búcsum;* G. *biegsam*), 458.
BRAGS OF WEIR, brags of war, war-defiance, 575.
BRAID, embroidered, 237.
BRASIT, embraced, 207.
BRAUNIS, calves of the legs, 358.
BRAWNIT, brawned, muscled, 246.
BRAY, BRAE, side of a hill, 286.
BREID, breadth. 'On breid,' open, 246.
BREMIS, brims, edges (A.-S. *brymme*), 236.
BRENNYNGE, burning, 88.
BREVIS, letters, writs, decisions, 113.
BRITTENED, broke, cut up (A.-S. *brytan*), 76.
BRODDING, pricking, spurring, 423.
BRUIK, brook, use, enjoy (A.-S. *brúcan*), 481.
BRUT, BRUTE, bruit, fame, 310.
BRYM, fierce. 'Brym as a bair,' *i.e.*, fierce as a bear, 366.
BUDS, gifts, boot (A.-S. *bót*), 476.

Buff, stroke, slap, 150.
Buird, board, repast, 90.
Bunweed, ragwort, 366.
Burde, border, band, 294.
Burdoun, staff (Fr. *bourdon*), 227, 293.
Bure, bur, bore, carried, 332, 192.
Burgeans, burgeouns, buds (Fr. *bourgeon*), 107.
Busteous, bousteous, huge, strong, fierce, rough, 47.
But, out. '*But* scho come into the hall,' *i.e.*, *out* she came into the hall, 294.
By helde, beheld, 75.
By-worne, worn-out, spent. 'Fer by-worne,' *i.e.*, far past, 288.
Byrny, cuirass, coat of mail (A.-S. *byrne*), 192.
Bythoute, bethought, 74.

Caill, kaill, broth. 'Peis breid and watter *caill*,' *i.e.*, piece of bread and *broth*, made without meat, 442.
Cair-weids, dress of sorrow, mourning, 246.
Cairfull, carefull, alarming, sorrowful, 239, 220. Cairfully, sorrowfully, 203.
Can, couth, can, could (A.-S. *cunnan*, *ic can*, *cūthe*).
Can, gan, began, 213. *Gan*, *can* and *couth* before infinitives often correspond to *did* in modern English.
Cankcart, ill-conditioned, cross, 395.
Carkat, carkanet, necklace, 458.
Carlage, churlish, 172.
Carlingis, old women, 358.
Carpe, speak, tell, sing, 425.
Caruell, caravel (Span. *caravela*), 313.
Caryar, carrier, conveyer! 366.
Cast, lot, fate, 578.
Castin, cast, thrown, made, 291.
Castis, strokes of art, 366.
Cawtelis, wiles, sleights! 366.
Chaffery, merchandise, 303.
Chaft-blaid, jaw-bone, 376.
Chaip, escape (Fr. *échapper*), 245.
Cheinyie, chain; *pl.* cheinyeis, 458.
Cheir, chere, cheer, mien, aspect, 234.
Chelaundre, goldfinch, 107.
Cheping, cheeping, chirping, 287.
Cherarchy, hierarchy of angels, 233.
Cherl, carle, churl (A.-S. *ceorl*), 88.
Cheverit, shivered, 215.
Child-ill, labour pains, 105.
Chirmynge, chirming, cry of birds before a storm, 287.
Chop, shop, 303.
Chymers, cymars, skarfs (Fr. *simarre*), 210.
Clachen, clachan, small village, 578.
Clais, clothes, 378.
Clame, climbed (A.-S. *climban*, *clamb*).
Clamschellis, scallop shells, 227.
Clene, clean, entirely, quite.
Clewis, cliffs, clefts (A.-S. *cleof*), 239.
Coft, bought (G. *kaufen*), 222.
Comestow, comest thou, 63.
Commend, comment, 289.
Comperyng, comparing, comparison.
Conqueiss, get, obtain, 88.
Continwance, continence, 223.
Corage, heart, inclination, 137.
Corss, corpis, body, 423.
Cour, cower, kneel, 204.
Couth, cuth, could, was able.
Couth, known, familiar, 210.
Craibit, crabbit, crabbed.
Craig, throat, neck, 378, 501.
Craim, shop, stall (G. *kram*), 587.
Crak, crack, talk, chat, 401.
Crake, crack, split, 62.
Crampland, curling, crisp, 202.
Cramsie, crimson (Fr. *cramoisi*), 468.
Crap, crept (A.-S. *creópan*, *creáp*), 237.
Creillis, panniers, 358.
Crew, crowed (A.-S. *crāwan*, *creow*).
Croppis, tops, shoots (A.-S. *cropp*), 236.
Croude, fiddle, 64. 'Crowd,' Spenser.
Crukit guse, lame goose, 403.
Crumbawchty, Cromarty, 119.
Crune, crone, hum, sing placidly, 390.
Cubicularis, grooms of the chamber, 358.
Culum, tail, 376.
Cummer, cumber, vexation, 377.
Cumpas, intention, purpose, 87.
Cumyn, cumd, come, 138, 507.
Cunnand, knowing, skilful, 81.
Cunyngs, conies, rabbits, 293.
Curall, coral, 141.
Curchey, kerchief, 293.
Cure, care, pains. 'To schaw hes done thair *cure*,' *i.e.*, have taken *pains* to show, 345.
Curtaiss, courteous, 108.
Curyws, curious, nice, 81.
Custe, kissed, 74.
Custron, beggar, scullion? 578.

Da, ra, hartis and hyndis, doe, roe, harts and hinds, 350.
Daffis, plays the fool, 418.
Daine, decorous, decent, 355.
Dé, die. Dede, deed, death, 192, 458.
Decretit, decreed, 351.
Defays, deface, 287.
Degeist, sedate, composed, 355.
Deid, deed. Upon deid, indeed, 291.

DEIR, DERE, injure, hurt; injury (A.-S. *dere*), 296, 200.
DEIS, DES, *pl.* DEISSIS, chief-seat, throne, (Old Fr. *dais*), 280, 273.
DELIVER, active, nimble.
DELIVERANCE, delivery, agility, 234.
DENTY, dignity, esteem, 235.
DEPAINIT, depainted, 237.
DEPARTE, divide, separate, 118.
DEPURIT, depurate, pure, 235.
DERNE, dark, hidden (A.-S. *dearn*), 244.
DEVAILL, bow, bend, 273.
DEVIT, deafened, stunned, 243.
DEVYS, devise, direct, 297.
DEYM, dame, 167.
DICHT, DYCHT, dight, arrange, prepare, make (A.-S. *dihtan*), 293.
DIGNE (Fr.), DING, worthy, noble, 138.
DISAGYSIT, disguised, 348.
DISCHARGE, prohibit, forbid, 579.
DISESE, discomfort, uneasiness.
DISJEUN, breakfast (Fr. *déjeûné*), 587.
DOBBING, dubbing, knighthood, 74.
DOM, DOME, doom, sentence, 196, 357.
DONE, to do, 138.
DONK, dank, moist, damp, 286.
DOOLIE, mournful, 213.
DOTE, dotard, 68.
DOUBILNESS, duplicity, 409.
DOUCHT, was able (A.-S. *dugan, dóhte;* G. *taugen, taugte*), 320.
DOUNG, struck, pushed, 288.
DOUNTHRINGERS, down-pressers, overthrowers, 395; *see* THRING.
DOUT, doubt, fear, 303.
DOW, can, is able, 579; *see* DOUCHT.
DRAGOWNYS, dragons, 119.
DRAIN, drawn, 66.
DREID, DREDE, dread, doubt, 88, 152.
DRESS, arrange, 396. 'Dressit him,' *i. e.*, prepared himself, 368.
DROWPIT, weak, 215.
DRYWYN, driven. OUR-DRYWYN, driven over, passed over, 107.
DUELL, dwell, halt. DUELLIDE, dwelled, dwelt, 77.
DUERE, dear, 74.
DULE-WEID, mourning-dress, 348.
DUSHT, DUSCHYT, dasht, fell suddenly, 150, 192.
DUYNYNG, dwindling, pining (A.-S. *dwînan.*) 'Duynyng to the deed,' *i.e.*, pining to death, 468.
DYKE, ditch, wall.
DYSMEL, dismal or black art, 304.
DYTE, diction, composition, 82.
DYWYNE, divine, 117.

E, eye, *pl.* EGHNE, ENE, EYEN.
EFFEIRS, properties, qualities, 234.
EFT, after, again. EFT-SONES, eftsoons.
EIK, EKE (A.-S. *éac*), also, 82.
EIK, add to, increase (A.-S. *eácan*).
EIKWELL, equal, just, 424
EILD, ELDE, age, old age, 113.
EITH, easy (A.-S. *eáth*), 318.
EKYDE, EKED, added, 118.
ELLIS, else, otherwise, 138.
ELNE, ELNIS, ell, ells, 366.
ELRASCHE, ELRICHE, ELDRITCH, fiendly, ghastly, 439, 585.
EM, EME, uncle. EMYS, uncle's (A.-S. *eám;* G. *oheim*), 66, 120.
ENDLANG, along (A.-S. *andlang*), 140.
ENI, any, 88.
ENLAGISSID? 132 [*sic* in P.]
ENNIME, inimical, hostile, 311.
ENTENDEN, are intent, 107.
ENTRES, entrance, entry, 356.
ERSCHE, Erse, Gaelic, 243.
ESS, ease, comfort, 104.
EVERICHONE, every one, 450.
EVERILK, every, 308.
EXPONE, expound, explain, 289.
EXPREME, express, show, 332.

FACUND, eloquence (L. *facundia*), 81.
FAILYHE, fail or fails, is wanting, 104.
FAIR, FEIR, manner, appearance. FEIRIS, manners. 'Fond in his feiris,' *i.e.*, silly in his manners, 368.
FALLOW, rival, compare or match with, 235.
FALOWE, comrade, companion, 136.
FALSET, falsity, falsehood, 419.
FANG, take (G. *fangen*), 246.
FARCE, stuff (Fr. *farcir*), 273.
FARLYIT, wondered, 106.
FARNE, fared; *see* FOORE.
FASHERIES, annoyances (Fr. *fâcherie*).
FASSOUN, custom, manner, 223.
FASTLINGIS, nearly, almost, 451.
FAUCHT, fought, 359.
FAUNT, child (Susan), 88.
FECKLES, feeble, 476.
FEDDERED, feathered. 'His cap was fedder'd,' *i.e.*, had a feather in it, 577.
FEED, FEID, feud, 577.
FEILE, feel. 'Sen I feile doun sweyand the ballance,' *i.e.*, since I feel the balance swaying downwards, 288.
FEILL, feeling, grasp, knowledge, 195.
FEILL, FEYLL, FELE, many (A.-S. *féala;* G. *viele*), 192.
FEINYE, feign, pretend, 368.
FEIR, FERE, compeer, mate, 246; company, 90.
FEIRCLIE, stoutly, briskly, 332.

FEIRFUL, reverend, comely, 210.
FEIRISNES, fearishness, fright, 358.
FEIS, fees. 'Our litil feis,' *i.e.*, too small fees, 413.
FEK, FECK, space, distance, bulk (A.-S. *fæc*). 'Fell attour ane fek,' *i.e.*, fell at some distance, 298.
FELTERIT, felted, entangled, 215.
FEND, defend. 'Fend the laif,' *i.e.*, defend the rest, 234.
FENYHE, feign, 102. FEYNYT, feigned, 137.
FERD, fourth, 415.
FERLIES, FERLYS, wonders, 48, 88.
FERLIFUL, wonderful, 245.
FETHRAME, feathering, plumage (A.-S. *fether-homa*), 167.
FEYRE, fair, 74.
FLANE, FLONE, arrow (A.-S. *flân*), 150.
FLASHE, sheaf. 'Flashe of felloun flanes,' *i.e.*, sheaf of fierce arrows, 215.
FLEAND, fleeing, shunning, 289.
FLEICHEOURS, flatterers, 395.
FLEISE, fleece, 246.
FLEIT, float, abound, 349.
FLEMED, banished (A.-S. *flyman*), 481.
FLEYAND, flying, 119.
FLEYIT, frightened, afraid, 280.
FLURE, floor. 'To the flure he gayis,' *i.e.*, goes upon the floor, 296.
FLUREIST, flourished, flourishing, 350.
FLYTING, scolding, brawling, 354.
FOORE, FURE, fared, went (A.-S. *faran, fór, ge-faren*), 472.
FORBEIRS, ancestors, 585.
FORCHAIST, chased away, 280.
FORCY, strong, 315.
FORDWART, forward, 351.
FORFARE, go away, perish, die out (A.-S. *forfaran*), 48.
FORGATHERED, met together, 588.
FORGEIT, shaped, made, 246.
FOR-LAIN, deny (G. *verläugnen*), 66.
FORLEIT, forsook, quitted (A.-S. *forlêt*; G. *verliess*), 182.
FORLOPPEN, fugitive, vagabond (G. *verlaufen*), 439.
FORLORNE, lost (A.-S. *forloren*), 48.
FOROUTIN, FOR OWTYNE, without.
FORTÉ, FOR TO, to, 74, 107.
FOR-THI (A.-S.), for that, therefore, 66.
FORTHOCHT, repented, 412, 437.
FORWEPIT and FORPLEYNIT, worn with weeping and complaining, 139.
FORZET, FORYET, forgot, 90.
FOUNDIT, tended to, went to (A.-S. *fundian*), 91.
FOUTH, fulness, plenty, 20. FOW, full, 410.
FOWSEYIS, FOUSEIS, fosses, 438.
FRA, FRAE, from, after, since.
FRACKAR, more eager, nimbler, 228.
FRAINED, asked, inquired (A.-S. *frægn*; G. *fragen*), 48.
FRAK, moved swiftly, 239.
FRELI, beautiful, noble, 88.
FREMYT, FREM, alien, strange, unkindly, (A.-S. *fremed*; G. *fremd*), 137.
FRETWISE-COUCHIT, inlaid, studded, 138.
FROISLIS HOIR, frost-curls hoar, 215.
FROSNIT, frozen, frosted, 215.
FRUCTIS, fruits.
FUDDER, FOTHYR, load, large mass (A.-S. *fother*), 242.
FULICHE, foolish, 419.
FULTHE, filth, foulness, 88.
FUN, found, 317.
FUNDLYNG, foundling. 'Thy fader fundlyng withal,' *i.e.*, thy father's foundling withal, 74.
FUR, furrow. 'Hald the fur,' *i.e.*, keep the furrow, 304.
FYLLAT, fillet, chine (Fr. *filet*), 192.
FYREFLAWCHT, lightning (A.-S. *fyr-flâh*, fire-arrow), 119, 242.

GABINGIS, idle talk, any sort of speech that comes from the mouth (*gab*) only, and no farther.
GAITLINGS, children, 577.
GAMEN, GAMYN, game, diversion (A.-S. *gamen*), 76.
GAMMIS, gums or teeth, 200, 253.
GAN, GON, GUN, began. *See* CAN.
GANESTANDIS, resists, 411.
GANGANDE, going, playing, 16.
GANIS, suits, befits, 295; *see* GAYN.
GAPT, gaped. 'Gaped as he war weid,' *i.e.*, gaped as he were mad, 296.
GAR, cause, make, 223. GERT, GART, made, caused, 105. 'Gart abound,' *i.e.*, made to abound, 351.
GARDEVYANCE, keeping, 248.
GARTH, garden, enclosure (A.-S. *geard*).
GAS, GAYIS, GAES, goes, 79.
GAYN, fitting, convenient, 63, 194.
GEDDERED, gathered, 577.
GEES, side-motions, aberrations, 418.
GEKKS, gecks, scorn, derision, 241.
GENT, gentle, noble, neat, 434.
GENTRICE, gentleness, nobility, 314.
GERSOME, GERSUM, GRESSOUME, premium given for a new lease, 129, 442.
GERSSIS, grasses, 286.
GESSERANT, jacket of mail, 141.
GESTES, gests, romances (L. *gesta*), 48.
GETTERNE, cithern, 76.
GIF, GIFE, GYF, GYFF, if, give (246).

GILT, been guilty of, 137.
GIRND, GIRNT, grinned, 241, 296.
GIRNELL, granary, 442.
GIRTH, sanctuary, 580.
GLAIKIT, giddy, silly, 422.
GLES, glees, 64.
GLEWMEN, glee-men, minstrels, 68.
GLOIS, gloze, flatter, fawn, 434.
GLOURT, GLOWRT, stared wildly, 296.
GOB, GAB, mouth, 414.
GOME, man (A.-S. *guma*), 88.
GONE, go (A.-S. *gán*; G. *gehen*), 137.
GOULIS, gules, red, 236.
GOURL-WEDDIR, gusty, growling, tempestuous weather, 286.
GRAIP, grope, feel (A.-S. *grápian*), 152.
GRAITHET, equipped, made ready.
GRANIS, groans (A.-S. *grânan*), 241.
GRANTYNG, GRANTEN, grant, 288.
GREE, grade, degree. 'The gree he wan,' *i.e.*, he won the victory, 576.
GREENING, eagerness, 507.
GREENIS, desires eagerly.
GREIT, weep (A.-S. *grætan*), 236.
GREWE, Greek, 20.
GREW-HOUNDIS, greyhounds, 75.
GREYS, degrees (Fr. *gré*), 118, 120.
GROGRAINE, GROGRAIN, grogram, 458.
GROUFE; ON GROUFE, AGROUFE, on the ground with face downwards, grovelling, 283.
GROUNDIN, ground, sharp, 315.
GROWIT, struck with horror. 'Growit beistis hare,' *i.e.*, made the hair of beasts stand on end, 286.
GRUNTILL, snout, 376.
GRWNDYT, GRUNDIT, grounded.
GRYLLE, grim, horrible, 107.
GRYSE, GRYCE, pig, pigs, 377, 227.
GYAND, GYANE, giant, 194, 222.
GYES, pl. GYIS, guise, fashion, 215, 241.
GYRD, strike at. 'Leit gyrd to,' *i.e.*, let fly at, 90,

HABLE, enable, make fit, 138.
HABOUNDANDLÉ, abundantly, 180.
HAIKNAY, hackney, 379.
HAIL, heal. 'Hail baith seek and seir,' *i.e.*, heal both sick and sore, 304.
HAILLALIE, wholly. 'Baid me gar him understand my beseynes all haillalie,' *i.e.*, begged me to make him understand my business all wholly, 410.
HAINE, spare, economize, 458.
HALKYNG, hawking.
HALLE, HALE, whole, 105.
HALSE, neck (A.-S. *hals*), 75; to clasp round the neck, hail, salute, 232.
HAN, have, 107.
HAP, covering of any sort, 303.
HAPPIT, covered, covered up, 332.
HARBORIE, harbour, lodging, 293.
HARLOTTIS, ribalds, 241.
HASTOW, hast thou, 68.
HAVINGIS, properties, 419.
HAWAND, having, 112.
HAWTANE, haughty. 'In hawtane wyis,' *i.e.*, haughtily, 241.
HE, high. 'Hé on hicht,' *i.e.*, high up, 291. 'Upon hicht,' *i.e.*, upward, 292. HELIE, highly, 246.
HECHT, hight, promised, 211, 213.
HEGEIT, hedged, 244.
HEILDIT, covered, hidden (A.-S. *hélan*), 244.
HEILIE, holy (G. *heilig*), 241.
HELE, health, 64. *See* HALE.
HELYNG, covering; 107. *See* HEILDIT.
HEM, HYM, HUS, HURE, them or him, his, their, 61, 377. *See* HIM.
HEND, gentle, polite, 222.
HENTE, HINT, caught, took up, 74, 410.
HEO, she; HIRE, her, to her, 74.
HER, their, 64, 107.
HERDE, hearts, 107.
HERE, HER, hear, 48, 107.
HERTES, harts, 76.
HERYIT, harried, stript, robbed, 307.
HEUYED, heavied, grew heavy or difficult. 'Heuyed wele the more,' *i.e.*, grew much more difficult, 49.
HEW, HEWIS, hue, hues.
HEWID, head, 107.
HEY, HEYE, HIE, high, dignified. 'Hey na law,' *i.e.*, high nor low.
HICHTIT, raised, 442.
HIDDEL, concealment, secret, 368.
HIDDY-GIDDY, see-saw, giddy, 248.
HIDLIS, dens (A.-S. *hydels*), 287.
HIDWYSS, hideous.
HIE, HY, haste. 'Scho is went in hie,' *i.e.*, she is gone in haste, 293.
HIM, to him, to them. 'Him cometh,' *i.e.*, come to him, 64. 'Thought him,' *i.e.*, seemed to them, 64.
HIRNIS, corners, holes (A.-S. *hirne*), 287.
HIRRITAGE, heritage, 62.
HOBLAND, hobbling.
HOIP, HOP, hope, 20, 43. 'Hop I nay,' *i.e.*, I hope not, 295.
HOIS, hose, 224, 354.
HOIST, HOST, cough (A.-S. *hwósta*), 259.
HOLKIT, hollowed, dug out, empty, 202.
HOLTIS, woods, forests. 'Holtis hair,' *i.e.*, hoary woods, 366.
HOMECYD, homicidal, 247.
HORSSCRAG, neck of horse, 191.
HOSÉ, whoso, 88.

Houris, hours, orisons, 232, 236.
Hout, holt, wood, 287.
How, hollow, 202, 215.
Howlat, owl, 167.
Hud-pykis, misers, 242.
Huirkland, cowering. 'Huirkland with huidis into our neck,' *i.e.*, cowering with hoods on our necks, 395.
Humlock-sawers, hemlock-sowers, 395.
Hurdaris, hoarders, 242.
Hy, hye, haste, 105, 139.
Hymselve, these same, 377.

Ich (A.-S. *ic*; G. *ich*), I, 63, 66.
Ilk, ich, same, each, every (A.-S. *ælc*). 'That ilk,' *i.e.*, that same, 48, 64.
Ilkane, each one, every, 303.
Impnis, hymns, 141.
In, into. 'Brak thame all *in* inschis,' *i.e.*, broke them all *into* pieces, 438.
Indeficient, undeficient, plentiful, 349.
Inding, unworthy, 307.
Indyte, indite, 233; diction, writing, 203, 240.
Ingyne, genius, wit, ability, 349.
Inschis, inches, pieces, 438.
In-sondyr, asunder, 192.
Intak, take in, bring in, 443.
Inthrang, pressed in (G. *eindrang*), 244. *See* Thring.
Intill, into, in, on. '*Intill* a morrow,' *i.e.*, *on* a morning; '*in-to* thair bouris,' *i.e.*, *in* their bowers, 236. '*Into* his slepe,' *i.e.*, *in* his sleep, 288.
Inuy, invy, inwy, envy, hatred, ill-will.
Inymyis, enemies, 137.
Iwill, evil, ill. 'Scho makys yone *iwill* cher,' *i.e.*, she looks so *ill*, 105.

Jak, jack, coat-of-mail, 442.
Jangill, babble, prate, 137.
Japand, jibing, jeering, 366.
Jouk and beck, shift and bow, 395.

Kaill, caill, cabbage, greens, broth.
Karline, carlin, old woman, 588.
Keik, peep (G. *gucken*), 246.
Keipit, defended, guarded, 234.
Kemmit, kembed, combed, 245.
Kene, bold, ardent (G. *kühn*), 87.
Kepe, care, attention (Chaucer). 'For he gaif sic *kepe*,' *i.e.*, because he gave such *attention*, 288.
Kethat, robe or cassock, 241.
Ketterells, heretics (G. *ketzer*; Old It. *gazzari*, vulgar for *cathari*, puritans; *see* Muratori Rer. Ital. t. ix.), 396.
Kinryk, kingdom, *pl.* kinrykis (G. *königreich*), 100.
Kirnalis, battlements (Med. Lat. *charnelli*; Fr. *carneaux*, Ducange), 292.
Kist, chest (A.-S. *cyst*), 303.
Knapscall, head-piece, helm, 442.
Kneleden, knelt, 377.
Knoppis, knobs, buds (A.-S. *cnæp*; G. *knopf*), 236.
Kynrent, kindred (A.-S. *cynren*), 410.
Kyth, show (A.-S. *cythan*), 304.
Kythand, showing, 91.

Laif, laiff, laive, rest, remainder, 414, 167, 588.
Lains, our lains, alone, we only, 579.
Lair, teaching, lore (A.-S. *lær*).
Laithly, loathly, loathsome, 202.
Lange, language. 'On light lange,' *i.e.*, in easy language, 53.
Larbaris, laggards, 246.
Larying, should be tarying, 219.
Lasit, laced, 223.
Lattis, lets, hinders.
Lattit, hindered, 214.
Lauderie, laudery, revelling, 295.
Lawchtir, laughing-matter, 248.
Lawrie, name for the fox, 439.
Lawtie, law, loyalty, truth, 48.
Layn, lie. 'Nought to layn,' *i.e.*, not to lie, 66.
Layndar, laundress, 105.
Lecam, the body (A.-S. *líc-homa*), 278.
Leches, leeches, physicians, 64.
Leding, leading, governance, 43.
Lee, peace, security, 47.
Leeveth, believeth, 88.
Leid, people (A.-S. *leode*; G. *leute*), 'No *leid* unleil thay leit,' *i.e.*, they let (tolerate) no dishonest *men*, 419.
Leif, live, 412.
Leil, loyal, true, honest, 47.
Leir, learn, 217.
Lemis, gleams, beams, rays, 236, 348.
Lemmans, lovers, 80.
Leuedi, lady, 94.
Leuir, lever, liefer, rather (A.-S. *leófre*), 194, 295.
Leveis, leave, dismissal, 246.
Lewed, ignorant, laic or unclerical, 53.
Lewrand, lurking, 439.
Lewyt, levyt, left, 190.
Lext, liest, speakest falsehood, 63.
Libberlay, stick, cudgel, 297.
Libellis, books, 199.
Lichtliet, despised, 435.
Lift, air (A.-S. *lyft*), 358.
Liggis, lies (A.-S. *liggan*), 293.
Limmers, knaves, jades.
Limmery, wantonness, 390.
Lipper, leper, leprous, 217.

LIST, it pleased, liked, 137, 293.
LOCHIS, LOUCHIS, lochs, lakes, 350.
LOF, laugh, 63.
LOKAR, curled, 210.
LOKE, look on, regard, deal toward, 62.
LONDE, land. 'A lond,' *i.e.*, on land, expletive: 'Who he be a londe,' *i.e.*, whoever he may be, 74.
LOUERD, LORDING, lord, 74, 94.
LOUGH, LEUCH, laughed, 66.
LOUNE, rascal, rogue, 150.
LOUYNG, loving, praising; praise, 314, 319. *See* LOWYS.
LOW, LOWE, flame, blaze, 236.
LOWS, LOWSE, loose, 319. 200,
LOWT, LOUT, bow (A.-S. *lútan*), 296.
LOWYS, lauds, praises, 118. LOWED, praised, 88.
LUFE, LUWE, love, 137, 79.
LUFFIT, loved, 332.
LUSTILY, gaily, beautifully, 234.
LUSUM, lovesome, lovely, 207.
LYART, grey-haired (A.-S. *læ*, locks, and *hár*, hoar), 215.
LYKAND, grateful, pleasant, 236.
LYKING, liking, delight, 107.
LYMB, limbo, 316.
LYMMARIS, knaves, rogues, 396.
LYND, LIND, linden, lime-tree, 207.
LYNE, line, thread (of Fate), 137.
LYRE, flesh, skin (A.-S. *lira*), 215, 360.
LYSTE, LUSTE, it pleases, pleased (A.-S. *lystan*), 74.
LYTE, a short while, 138.
LYTHE, soften, assuage (A.-S. *líthian*), 74.
LYVEDE HYM WEL, believed him truly, 377; *see* LEEVETH.

MA, make, 107. MAYSS, makes, 104.
MA, MAE, MAIR, MAR, moe, more.
MAIK, MAKE, mate, companion, husband or wife (A.-S. *maca, mace*), 245.
MAIKLES, matchless, 114. 'Of micht he grew *maikles*,' *i.e.*, grew *matchless* in strength, 171.
MAILL, rent (A.-S. *mœl*), 129.
MAILYEIS, plates or links of mail, 223.
MAIN, main, power (A.-S. *mœgn*), 66.
MAISSARS, macers, 474.
MAKAR, MACKAR, maker, poet, 239.
MAKDOME, figure, shape, 246.
MALINGS, MAILINGS, portions, rented farms (A.-S. *mœl* or *mal*), 411.
MAN, one (G. *man*.) 'Gyff man bad,' *i.e.*, if one bade, 104.
MANACE, menace, haughtiness, 138.
MANGERY, feast. 'Mak at mangery,' *i.e.*, attempt a feast, 171.
MANKIT, defective (Fr. *manquer*), 415.
MANYONE, many a one, 49.
MAPPAMOUND, map of the world, the universe (Fr. *mappe-monde*), 220.
MARKIT, MERKIT, rode, 356.
MASTIIS TYKES, mastiff-dogs, 395.
MAUGRE, in spite of (Fr. *malgré*), 137.
MAY, MADYN, maiden, 422, 114.
MEDICINAR, physician, 358.
MEDILL-ERTHE, middle-earth, the outer world (A.-S. *middan-eard*), 76.
MELDROP, moisture, 215.
MELL, mingle, 245, 140.
MENNIS, MENIS, men's, 203.
MENNYS, men's. 'Mennys fute met fyftene,' *i.e.*, fifteen feet measure, 119.
MENSUORNE, MAINSWORN, forsworn, 439.
MERCHETIS, fines on marriage, 129.
MERRYS, mars, injures, 105.
MET, METE, measure (A.-S. *mete*), 119.
MET, METTE, dreamt, 139.
MINZEARDE, soft, elegant (Fr. *mignarde*), 485.
MIRK, dark (A.-S. *myrc*), 390.
MISKEN, disavow, ignore, 419, 479.
MISLYKEN, mislike, 74.
MITHIAR, mightier, 220.
MOLD, mould, earth (A.-S. *molde*), 220.
MON, may, must, 88, 113.
MORAVE, Moray, 119.
MORGING, proud (Fr. *morgue*), 485.
MOT, may, must (A.-S. *ic mót, thú móst, he mót, we móston, etc.*).
MOWAR, mocker; MOW, mock, 273, 276.
MOWIS, jests, mockeries, 401.
MUDDIR, mother, 232.
MUMMIL, mumble, 355.
MUSTARDE-STONE, stone for grinding mustard, 298.
MUTE, moot, speak, 332.
MYANCE, means, fee (Fr. *moyen*) 248.
MYCHARE, miser, 171.
MYNDIS, mounds, 438.
MYSTER, need, 120. 'Gif it be misteris,' *i.e.*, if it be necessary, 129.
MYTHE, might. 'Mythe asoilie hem,' *i.e.*, might absolve them, 377.

NANIS. FOR THE NANIS, for the nonce (A.-S. *for than anes*), 241.
NEIF, NEUIS, NEIVIS, fist, fists, 402, 410.
NEIH-HONDE, at hand, 88.
NEMPNED, named, 94.
NERE, NE WERE, were not (A.-S. *nære*), 74.
NO, not. '*No* wer it,' were it *not*, 66.
NO NOTHER, not another, none other, 68.
NOBLEYE, nobleness, dignity, 48.
NOR, than. '*Nor* to the hiast in degré,' *i.e.*, *than* to the highest in rank, 410.

NOUGHT-FOR-THI, nevertheless, 112.
NOUGHT, NOGHT, NOCHT, nought, not.
NOY, annoyance.
NUCKE, nook, 183.
NYCHBOURE, NYCHTBOURE, neighbour.
NYL (A.-S.), NE WYL, will not, 434.
NYLT (A.-S.), NE WILT, wilt not, 141.

OBSERVANCE, respect, habits, 237, 288.
OCHT, aught (A.-S. *óht* or *áht*). 'Ocht neir,' *i.e.*, anywise near, 296.
OCKERARIS, usurers (G. *wucherer;* A.-S. *wócor*, increase, usury), 242.
OFT-SYIS, oft-times (A.-S. *oft-síth*), 319.
OGAIN, OYAIN, again, against, 62, 63, 66.
OHTE, ought. 'Whet he speken ohte, *i.e.*, what he ought to say, 74.
OIS, OYSS, use, 20, 95, 120.
ON LOFT, aloft, 368. ONE, on, 76, 77.
ONCLED, unclad, not clad.
ORDINANCE, place, settlement, 356.
OSILE, ousel, blackbird (A.-S. *osle*), 468.
OUER, OURE, over, too. 'My wit was oure thynne,' *i.e.*, too slender, 49.
OUERWHERE, everywhere, 48.
OUIRFRET, over-fretted, decked (A.-S. *ofer-fræt wian*), 215.
OUR-HELIT, covered over (A.-S. *ofer-hélan*), 237.
OUTHER, either, 297.
OWCHT, aught, anything, 20.
OWHEN, own. 'Thine owhen mot it be,' *i.e.*, may it (blessing or banning) be thine own, 62.
OWRESKALIT, overspread, 236.
OWTTOUR, quite over, over, 297.

PACE, PASCHE, passover, Easter, 368.
PADYANE, pageant, 243.
PALLAT, PELLET? skin? 248.
PALMAIR, palmer, pilgrim, 171.
PALTRY-MEN, hucksters, 588.
PALYEOUN, pavilion, tent, 272.
PANE, pains, labour, toil (Fr. *peine*), 19.
PANSE, think of (Fr. *penser*), 467.
PANTONIS, slippers, 360.
PARAMOURIS, love, gallantry, 203.
PARDONEIR, seller of pardons, 171.
PARTIE, party-coloured, 368.
PARTINENCE, appurtenance, 443.
PATELET, ruff, or neck-band, 224.
PATRENE, pattern, 408.
PAYNYS, pains, toils, 106.
PECE, PEIS, piece, fragment, 66.
PECH, puff, pant, breathe heavily, 442.
PEDDER, pedler, 303.
PEIRTRYKS, partridges, 443.
PEND, arch, vault, 475.
PENNAIR, pen-case, 210.
PENNIS, feathers, 501.
PER TOUT, throughout, 316.
PERDÉ, verily, truly, 77.
PERELLYS, PIRELLS, perils, 106.
PERIGALL, equal, 420.
PERQUER, perfectly, exactly (Fr. *par cœur*. Or *per quair*, by book), 104.
PERSONAGIS, parsonages, 413.
PERSOUNE, parson, minister, 195.
PERTLI, apertly, evidently, 88.
PETWYSLY, PETWISLY, PETUISLY, piteously, 106.
PIETUUS, pious, 311.
PLAINTED, complained.
PLAK, coin, one-third of a penny, 355.
PLANEIST, replenished, 419.
PLENYIES, plain, complain, 442.
PLESS, PLESYS, please, pleases, 104.
PLET, folded, 422.
PLEUERS, plovers, 443.
PLEYNE, amuse, 138.
PLOTT, scald, pluck, cleanse, 585.
PLYE, plight, 217.
POLICIE, pleasure-ground, 129.
POSTROUN, postern, 293.
POT-GUN, mortar, 438.
POUIR, PURE, poor, 105, 167.
POW, pull, 297.
PRACKTIKIS, practice, 248.
PRECELL, excel, 307.
PREIF, proof, 248.
PREIS, press, crowd, 246, 272.
PRENT, print or stamp, 242.
PRIE, try, taste, 579.
PRINE, plum-tree (L. *prunus*), 88.
PROFFERIT, urged, 90.
PROPYRTE, property, reality, 104.
PROUT, proud, 62.
PROVES, trials of skill, 87.
PROVIANCE, purveyance, provision, 356.
PRYSS, prize, 104.
PURFILLIT, embroidered, 223.
PURVAIT OF, provided with, 136.
PYKIS, prickles, 245.
PYLGRYNE, pilgrim (It. *pellegrino*), 120.
PYSTYL, epistle, 81.

QHOW (error for QUHOW), how, 288.
QUAIR, book, 214.
QUHAIR, where.
QUHATTANE ANE, what a, 422.
QUHEN, when, 292.
QUHETHIR, QUHIDDER, whether, 104, 274.
QUHILE, sometimes, 102.
QUHILK, which, 291.
QUHILL, whilst, until, 167.
QUHILUM, whilom, at one time, sometimes (A.-S. *Hwilon -um*).
QUHIPS, whips, 411.

QUHYT, white, 246.
QUIK, quick, alive. 'Quik thai wald him sle,' *i.e.*, they wished to slay him *alive*, 66.
QUYTE, quit, rid, 377.
QWEYNE, queen. 'Til hys eme qwene,' *i.e.*, queen to his uncle, 120.

RACHES, spaniels (A.-S. *rœcc*), 75.
RADIUS, radiant, 234.
RADOUN, return, 192.
RADOUR, fear, 280; *see* RED.
RAGEMEN, papal bulls, 377.
RAGHTE, reached, got, 377; *see* RAX.
RAIFE, rave, 379.
RAIKE, reach, hand (G. *reichen*), 181.
RAK, reck, care for, 410.
RANG, reigned, prevailed, 412.
RANUNGARD, renegade, 439.
RATHE (A.-S.), quickly, 88.
RAWCHTIR, rack (for torture), 248.
RAX, reach, stretch, 253, 297.
REBOYTYT, rebutted, scorned, 167.
RED, RADE, RAD, afraid, 387.
REDDIT, rid, cleared, 192.
REDE, speak, tell, advise, 50, 120.
REFFIS, reaves (A.-S. *reáfian*), 414.
REIF, robbery, pillage, 352.
REIRD, clamour, din (A.-S. *reord*), 239.
REKY, reeky, smoky, 313.
RELESCHE, relaxation, release, 137.
RELEUE, relief, 386.
RENSE WYNE, Rhenish wine, 458.
REPLEID, plead. 'Repleid agane,' *i.e.*, plead against, 305.
REPLEIT, replete, full, 419.
REPUTE, reputed, considered, 435.
RESSET, receive, harbour, 357.
RESETTARIS, receivers of stolen goods, 200.
REUTHE, REWTH, ruth, pity, 74, 224.
REVERTIS, revives, 313.
REW, to pity. 'Ne will rew,' *i.e.*, will not pity, 105.
REWID, reft from, 107; *see* REFFIS.
RIGGAN-STANES, ridge-stones, 438.
RIGMARIE, 579. 'Not a rigmarie' still in use for 'not a farthing,' in Dumfriesshire.
RIKE, rich, potent (A.-S. *rîce*), 64.
RING, reign, 288; *see* RANG.
RINK, ring, course, race, 358.
RON, shrub, 207.
ROSEIR, rose-bush, 235.
ROTHLY, wrathful, 88.
ROUNE, whisper, talk in general. 'Rede in roune,' tell in talk, 50.
ROUTIS, roars, cheers, shouts, 150.
ROWM, room, space (A.-S. *rûm*), 192.
ROWP, cry, shout (G. *rufen*), 243.
ROWT, rout, noisy company.
ROWTIS, roars, 287.
RUMPILLIS, rumples, folds, 241.
RUSE, praise, boast, 246.
RYALLIE, royally, splendidly, 246.
RYCE, shrubbery, brushwood, 236.
RYGNAND, reigning, 120.
RYND, rime, hoar-frost, 207.
RYPS, RIPES, rips, rifles, 413.
RYS, rise, originate, 118.

SA, SUA, SWA, so.
SACRING, consecrating, 248.
SAIKLES, innocent (A.-S. *sacleas*), 320.
SAILYES, assails, 435.
SAL, shall, 20. SALBE, shall be, 91.
SALAND, sailing, 366.
SALUST, saluted, 210, 237.
SAMIN, together, 273.
SARIELY, 'artfully' (Jamieson), 107.
SAUNFAYL, without fail, 63.
SAUORIOUS, savoury, agreeable, 107.
SAWAGE, undaunted? 195.
SAWRIS, savours, 280.
SAWTRYE, psaltery, 76.
SCAR, SKAR, scare, 305.
SCHAIP THE, get thee, go (G. *schaffen, schaffe dich*), 87, 192.
SCHALK, knight, fellow (G. *schalk*), 87.
SCHANE, shone (A.-S. *scînan, scân*), 76.
SCHANKE, shank, leg (A.-S. *sceanca*).
SCHAW, shew. 'Syn till us thow *schaw* thé,' *i.e.*, then *show* thou thyself to us, 297.
SCHAWIS, woods, groves, 206.
SCHED, parted (G. *scheiden*), 213; 245.
SCHELDES, shields, 63.
SCHENE, shining, bright, 87.
SCHENT, shend, shame, ruin, confound (A.-S. *scendan*, G. *schänden*), 238.
SCHILL, SHILL, shrill.
SCHIR, SCHYR, SCHER, SERE, sir.
SCHOURIS, battles? showers, 203, 213.
SCHREVIN, shriven, 355.
SCHROUD, dress, array (A.-S. *scrûd*), 87.
SCHRYVE, shrive, confess (A. S. *scrîfan*).
SCHUPE, shaped, ordered, 137.
SCHUTAND, shooting, spouting, 119.
SCHYRE, sheer, pure, bright, 245.
SEDGEYNG, saying, telling, 48.
SEIGHE, saw, 64; *see* SEN.
SEITH, seeth, boil, 273.
SELCOUTHE, seldom-known, strange, singular (A.-S. *seld-cûth*), 53.
SELDE. 'Me ne *selde*,' I *should* not, 74.
SELES, SELYS, seals, 377.
SELIE, simple, 280.
SELLIKE, wonderful (A.-S. *sellic*), 64.

SELUIN, SELVIN, self, same.
SEMBLIT, assembled, 163.
SEN, see (A.-S. *seón, seáh, gesawen*), 66.
SENDILL, seldom.
SENSYNE, since, 571.
SER, SERE, SEIR, several, many, 107, 118.
SERWYT, served, furnished, 191.
SĖT, sat, suited, 224.
SETHTHEN, since (A.-S. *síththan*), 62.
SETTEN, set, fix, suppose (A.-S. *settan*), 137. 'Sett it even ogain,' *i.e.*, set it evenly against, or exactly on, 66. 'Set he couth swom,' *i.e.*, suppose he could swim, 193.
SEY, sea, 303.
SEYNE, SEY, SEID, say, said, 138, 88.
SEW, sowed, scattered, distributed, 120.
SHOKLIS, ICE-SHOKLIS, icicles, 215.
SHUIF, shaved (A.-S. *scafan, scóf*), 141.
SIB, akin (A.-S. *sib*, peace, alliance, adoption, affinity). 'I am to you als *sib* as seif is to ane riddil,' *i.e.*, I am as much *akin* to you as sieve is to a riddle, 368.
SIBNES, kinship. 'I for *sibnes* to him socht,' *i.e.*, I sought, or had recourse, to him for *kinship*, 410.
SKAELD, SKAILD, dispersed, 587.
SKAFFING, spunging, shifting, 476.
SKAIR, share (A.-S. *scýr*), 577.
SKELLAT, little bell (G. *schelle*), 248.
SKIRL, screech, 576.
SKREED, scream, 576.
SLA, SLE, slay; SLOUGH, slew, 120, 62.
SLEIF, sleeve, 410.
SLOPPIS, gaps, intervals of sky, 236.
SLUNDGED, sauntered, sneaked, 579.
SMORING, smothering, 481.
SOBIR, poor, small, weak, 203.
SOBIRLY, neatly (G. *säuberlich*), 237.
SONGYN, sung, 366.
SONS, SONCE, plenty, abundance, 79.
SOREWE, SEREWE, sorrow, 74.
SOTH THING, in sooth, 66.
SOUCHAND, SOUGHAND, whistling! 287.
SOUDROUN, southern (speech), 20.
SOUNE, swoon, 150.
SOWNYS, sounds. 'Sownys ser,' *i.e.*, sounds manifold, 107.
SPANGIS, spangles, 139.
SPANYSYS, expands, blows, 119.
SPEIR, sphere, 313.
SPEIRIT, SPERYT, asked, inquired (A.-S. *spirian*), 295.
SPRAINGS, tints, 475.
SPRAY, spray, sprig, 245.
SPRENT, sprang, 239.
SPRINGIS, sprightly tunes, 332.
SPRITIS, spirits, 158.
SPUILYE, SPULZE, spoil, rob.
SPUNKS, sparks, fire, 570.
SPYNIST, expanded, 245.
STABIL, fix, form. 'Stabil myne intent,' *i.e.*, form my purpose, 113.
STAD, placed, fixed, 79. *See* STEDE.
STAKIT, situated, accommodated, 411.
STAKKERIT, staggered, 90.
STALL, stole (A.-S. *stæl*), 171.
STALWART, brave, 108.
STANKIS, stanks, ditches, 291.
STANNERIS, banks of gravel or small stones on river-banks, 236.
STEDE, STEID, place, station (A.-S. *stede*), 203.
STEEM, esteem, value. 'Ouer gestes it hes the steem,' *i.e.*, is superior to romances, 48.
STEIK, shut, close, 152.
STEILD, STELL'D, placed (G. *stellen*), 506.
STEIR, stout, great, 303; *see* STORE.
STEIR, stir, move, touch, 411.
STEKIT, stabbed (A.-S. *stician*), 192.
STENTIT, extended, stretched, 105.
STERFE, die (A.-S. *steorfan*), 203.
STERNIS, stars, 236.
STINTS, ceases, cease, 395.
STIRK, young bullock or heifer (A.-S. *styrc*), 201.
STORE, large, robust (A.-S. *stór*).
STOUND, hour, moment (A.-S. *stund*), 386.
STOUR, battle, fight.
STRAIK, strike; STRAIKIS, strokes, 358.
STRAMPE, trample.
STREENE, strain, constrain, 245.
STRIDLINGIS, astride, 332.
STRYND, stock, race (A.-S. *strýnd*), 314.
STUDY, STYDDY, stithy (Isl. *stedia*), 248.
STURT, strife, trouble, vexation, 102.
SUAIF, suave, sweet, 420.
SUERE, neck (A.-S. *swira* or *sweora*).
SUGGARAT, SUKERT, sweet, 239, 246. 'Sugred,' Chaucer.
SUITHLY, in sooth, 305.
SULD, should, would, 53.
SUPPLÉ, supply, money, 410.
SUPPOWALE, support, 129.
SUPPRYSIT, suppress, obscured, 348.
SUTHFASTNES, truth (A.-S. *sothfæstnes*), 82.
SUYLK, SWILK, SWICHE, SIC, such (A.-S. *swylc*), 48, 105, 64.
SWAILS, swills? 442.
SWAKET, struck sharply, 190, 280.
SWAYN, a youth not yet an esquire, a peasant, 62.
SWEIR, heavy, lazy (A.-S. *swær*), 395.
SWINK, labour (A.-S. *swinc*), 64.

Swongeors, sluggards, laggards (A.-S. *swong*, lazy), 395.
Swonyt, swooned, 192.
Swyth, swift, strong, 280.
Swythe, soon, quickly, 74.
Syken, sigh, sob (A.-S. *sican*), 74.
Sylit, hidden, 213.
Syn ellis, since else, 90.
Syngen, sing, 107.
Sythe, *pl.* Syss, time, occasion (A.-S. *sith*), 107. 'Oft syss,' oft-times, 106.

Tables, backgammon, 64.
Takyn, token, sign, 138.
Taryage, tarrying. 'Than for to fle he tuk no taryage,' *i.e.*, then he fled instantly, 192.
Tauld, told, 108; *see* Tellyne.
Teindis, tenths, tithes, 129.
Tellyne, tellen, tell, 293; tauld, told (A.-S. *tellan, tealde, ge-teald*), 108.
Tene, teyn, anger, sorrow, injury (A.-S. *teón*). 'Twa part in tene,' *i.e.*, more than half angry, 90.
Tent, attention, heed, 359.
Teynd, tenth, tithes, 411.
Thé, thrive, prosper (A.-S. *theón*). 'So mote thou *thé*,' *i.e.*, so may thou *thrive*, 88. 'Sa mote I thrive,' 90.
Thei, though (A.-S. *theáh*), 64.
Thir, thyr, this, these, 196, 120, 88.
Tho, when, then (A.-S. *thá; G. da*). '*Tho* he no might hem nought se,' *i.e., when* he lost sight of them, 61. 'Stude abaisit *tho* a lyte,' *i.e.*, stood abashed *then* a little, 138.
Tho, thai, those (A.-S. *thá*), 138, 104.
Thoch, thocht, though, 297, 332.
Thocht, thought, 360.
Tholl, thoill, thole, suffer, endure (A.-S. *thólian*), 224; tholit, endured, 224.
Thorw-out, throughout, 88.
Thraip, threap, insist, contend, 90.
Thraly, eagerly, obstinately, 91.
Thrawe, space of time (A.-S. *thrah*), 138.
Thrawin, cross, ill-humoured.
Threll, thryll, thrall (A.-S. *thræl*).
Thrift, thriving, 378; *see* Thé.
Thring, thrust, press (A.-S. *thringan*). 'Doun thring,' *i.e.*, suppress, 287.
Thristit, thrust, 90.
Throch, through, thoroughly, 373.
Thryllyt, thralled, enthralled, 192.
Thuddis, heavy sounds or blows, 287.
Thyn, thence. 'Fra thyn,' *i.e.*, thence-forward, 293.
Thyrldome, threldome, thraldom, 104.
Tine, tint, y-tent, lose, lost, 68.
Tirris, tears, strips 'discovereth,' 513.
Titely, timely, soon (A.-S. *tídlice*), 62.
To-broke, broken to pieces (A.-S. *to-brocen; G. zerbrochen*), 377.
Tod, todds, fox, foxes, 304, 473.
Toforowe, tofore, before (A.-S. *to-fór; G. zuvor*), 136, 235.
Tome, toom, tume, empty, 253.
Tother, tothir, other, 88.
Toun, town. 'In toun' is expletive, 50.
Traist, trow, trust, 129, 345.
Trammis, shafts, handles, 358.
Tranoynt, march suddenly, 273.
Transcurris, flows through, 349.
Transs, a kind of dance.
Trator-toddis, traitor-foxes, 395.
Trauayle, trawaill, travail, toil, 48.
Treuthe, troth (A.-S. *treówth*), 74.
Trompe, sound trumpets, 88.
Trouche, trough, 296.
Trowker, trucker, vagrant, 579.
Trumpour, deceiver (Fr. *trompeur*), 241.
Tryst, appointment to meet, 293.
Tuay, tuá, twae, twa, two, 295.
Turse in, carry off into, 395.
Turturis, turtle-doves, 107.
Tusché, girdle, 294.
Twists, twigs, boughs, 53.
Twychys, touches, alludes to, 122.
Tyde, time, season (A.-S. *tíd*), 287.
Tyist, entice. 'That do men tyist the hie way kennand thame fra Christ, *i.e.*, who, knowing the high or right way, do entice men from Christ, 395.
Tyke, dog (Cerberus), 583.
Tyl, till, to, for, 118, 223.
Tyt, seized, snatched.
Tyte, quick, 192; *see* Titely.

Uattiris, waters, 512.
Udir, vder, wder, other, 235.
Umquhyle, sometime, formerly (A.-S. *Hwíl-on* or *-um*, one while), 348.
Unbald, unbold, humble, 202.
Unbeleue, unbelief, 385.
Unbowe, unbend, 74.
Uncouth, unknown, strange, 47.
Underly, undergo, 278.
Unfulyeit, undefiled, 245.
Unhandsom, unruly, 568.
Unheildit, uncovered, 273.
Unkend, unknown, 395.
Unknawin, not knowing enough, 90.
Unsemand, unseemly, 90.
Unset, unbefitting, 90; *see* Set.
Unthankes, ingratitude. 'Al our unthankes,' *i.e.*, in spite of us all, 79.

The English response of Robert de Brunne (Hearne's edit. p. 272) to the mockery ("hething") of the Scots, in that memorable siege of Berwick, is vehement and scornful enough, and was written in 1303, or only some seven years after the siege. The "Jon," is John Balliol:—

"Now is Berwik born doun, abaist is that cuntré;
Jon gete thi coroun, thou losis thi dignité.
Now dos Edward dike Berwik brode and long,
As thei bad him pike, and scorned him in ther song:
'Pikit him, and dikit him,' on scorn said he.[1]
He pikes[2] and dikes in length, as him likes, how best it may be;
And thou has for thi piking, mykille ille likyng, the sothe is to se.
Without any lesyng, alle is thi hething fallen upon the;
For scatred er thi Scottis, and hodred[3] in ther hottes,[4] neuer thei ne thé![5]
Right als I rede, thei tombled in Tuede, that woned bi the se."

[1] *They* (A.-S. *hí*). [2] *Picks.* [3] *Huddled.* [4] *Huts.*
[5] 'Neuer thei ne thé,' *i.e.*, may they never thrive, bad luck to them always!

UP-A-LAND, upon land (expletive), 440.
UPCLOSSERS, shutters—'of hevins yet,' *i.e.*, of heaven's gate, 395.
UPHEILD, upheld, 287.
UPSPRED, evolved, unfolded, 245.
URE, luck, fortune (F. *heur*), 278.
USCHÉ, issue, go out, 293.

VAILYE QUOD VAILYE, happen what may (F. *vaille que vaille*), 361.
VER, VERE, VEIR, spring.
VERRAY, very, truly. 'That verray,' *i.e.*, so truly, 138.
VOLYIS, vollies, 438.
VULT, face, aspect, 469.

WA, woe, sorrow (A.-S. *wá*), 246.
WAIF, wave, shake, 286. WAIFFIT, shook, plied, 358.
WAIST, waste, 411.
WAIT, knows, 279; *see* WATE.
WALK, watch, wake, 293, 443.
WALKENED, wakened, lively, 509.
WALLIS, WALS, waves, 313, 475.
WALLOWAND, withering, 207.
WALOWIDE, WALLOWED, shrunken, withered (A.-S. *wealowode*), 118, 152.
WANDRETHE, danger, misfortune, 279.
WANIS, dwellings, 241.
WANTHRIVEN, faded, decayed, 481.
WAP, sudden stroke, 150.
WAR, aware, 482.
WARANDE, warrant, proof, 118.
WARDOUR, verdure, 245.
WAREIT, accursed (A.-S. *werigan*), 201.
WARLO, liar, evil one (A.-S. *wærloga*), 242.
WARS, wears, 293.
WASLAGE, vassalage, courage, feat, 192.
WATE, WOTS, knows (A.-S. *witan, he wát*, he knows), 49.
WATTIR-LYNNIS, cataracts, 287.
WAVERAND, wavering, deviating, playful, 82, 368.
WAWIS, waves ('wawes,' Chaucer), 137.
WAWIS, walls, 413.
WED, pledge, wager (A.-S. *wedd*), 150.
WEDDER, WEDDIR, weather, 349, 381.
WEDDIR, wether, 152, 424.
WEDE, madness (G. *wuth*), 88; *see* WODE.
WEID, WEDE, WEED, weeds, clothing (A.-S. *wæd*), 215. 'Red wede on the dyk,' *i.e.*, red or withered clothing of the dyke, 286.
WEIL'D, WAIL'D, chosen, 576.
WEIR, war, dispute. 'Withouttin weir,' *i.e.*, without dispute, 346. 'It worthis na weir,' *i.e.*, there is no dispute of it, 91.
WEIR, obstruction, 207. 'But weir,' *i.e.*, freely, 386.
WELDE, wield, possess, command (A.-S. *wealdian*; G. *walten*), 74.
WENCUSYT, vanquished, 100.
WENIS, WEND, WENDEST, weens, weened, didst ween, 63, 66, 279.
WENYNG, weening, opinion, fancy, 103.
WER, worse. 'Weil wer than deid,' *i.e.*, truly worse than death, 105.
WERD, weird, fate (A.-S. *wyrd*), 201.
WERELY, warlike, 386.
WERRAY, VERRAY, very, 196.
WERYFYD, verified, 43.
WESAR, visor, 192.
WHYLES, WHILES, sometimes, 507-8.
WICH, witch, 171.
WICHTLIE, wightly, swiftly, 358.
WIDDY, WIDDIE, halter, 248.
WIDE-WHARE, far and near, 64.
WIKKITNESS, wickedness, 100.
WILD, WILLE, would, will, 48.
WINNING, dwelling (A.-S. *wunung*), 211.
WIRRIARE, worrier, devourer, 439.
WISH, washed, 303.

Wisse, guide, direct (A.-S. *wísian.*) 'Crist the wisse and yeve the hevene bliss,' *i.e.*, thee guide and give thee heaven's blessing, 74.
With-thi (A.-S.), with that, provided that.
Wndyrtuk, undertook, 195.
Wobstare, webster, weaver, 171.
Wode, wood, mad (A.-S. *wód*), 66.
Woil, well, 437.
Woir, wore, 215, 224; *see* Wars.
Wolde, walde, would, wished, 61, 191.
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